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APRIL, 1912—SEPTEMBER, 1912

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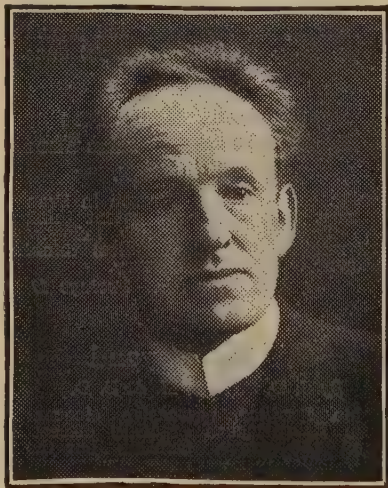
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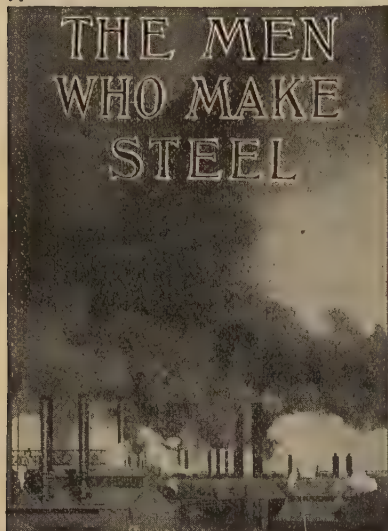
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SOCIAL FORCES

BY THE EDITOR

AFTER THE BATTLE

Let the Lawrence strike pass unchallenged into its appointed and unique place in the industrial history of New England. Let no one seek to keep alive its bitter controversies and to project its tragic incidental blunders into the new era of prosperity, which, we may earnestly hope, will soon smile upon the textile industry. Let the roving sociologists speedily find other laboratories, and the imported strike leaders seek outlet for their unusual gifts where other groups of workers, if such there are, have like grievances. For these mill hands, as we can see plainly after the battle is over, did have their grievances. It is profitable to ask, but not easy to answer, whether the responsibility rests with individual mill owners, who misinterpreted the spirit of the law reducing hours of labor, and underestimated the money worth of the labor of their mill hands; or with the immigration policy of the nation, which invites an exploitable body of laborers to a mill district, and then leaves them without adequate protection; or with ineffective labor organization, which has failed heretofore to weld these groups into a compact body capable of successful collective bargaining; or with some failure in the less tangible influences which operate in the long run on personal efficiency and character, such as religion, education, and neighborliness.

As the incident disappears from newspaper headlines and becomes industrial history, we have our duty, as a journal of constructive philanthropy, to gather up the salient facts, and to interpret them from different points of view. Earlier events at Lawrence and the hearings at Washington on the police interference with the sending of children to other states, have already been described by our staff correspondents and interpreted by Mr. Woods, Judge Rowell, and others. In this number we present valuable information and illuminating comment by a manufacturer, a mill overseer, a militiaman, an expert in the care of neglected children, a college professor, a student of co-operative enterprises, a social worker, a former leader in the old line trade union movement, and the strike committee. These articles, which will be read in cold blood, mainly in an atmosphere far removed from the angry tumult of the labor conflict, are written with the echoes of that conflict resounding in the ears. Their value is that of contemporaneous testimony; their interest like that of the spoken word of actors in a stirring time that tried men's souls.

On all sides people are asking, Is this a new thing in the industrial world, which from now on must be taken into account? Are we to see another serious, perhaps successful, attempt to organize labor by whole industrial groups instead of by trades? Are we to expect that instead of playing the game respectably, or else frankly breaking out into lawless riot which we know well enough how to deal with, the laborers are to listen to a subtle anarchistic philosophy which challenges the fundamental idea of law and order, inculcating such strange doctrines as those of "direct action," "sabotage," "syndicalism," "the general strike," and "violence"? Yes, frankly, we think such an attempt to create "one big

union," rather than many local trade unions, is in progress. We think that our whole current morality as to the sacredness of property and even of life is involved in it. We think that eloquent appeals to the solidarity of "labor" as having nothing whatever in common with the rest of society will be made in the name of this new movement, and that the ideas of this revolutionary socialism are likely to be proclaimed with increasing boldness and vigor. The "violence" which is the corner stone of this doctrine may not take the form of dynamiting. Changing a bill of lading or neglecting to oil a machine or misplacing a switch have been its more favorite forms in Europe, and the "general strike,"—undertaken not to secure the redress of some specific grievance, or an increased share in some increasing product, but rather as one more skirmish which, whether it succeeds or fails, will inevitably bring nearer the decisive battle in which the existing industrial order is to be overthrown—this general strike may be regarded as its most complete expression in action. We shall hear more of the general strike, and of the theory of violence on which it is based.

Nevertheless we prefer not to appeal to the fear of the I. W. W. and its revolutionary ideas as a reason for dealing with such problems as have been revealed by the Lawrence strike. We should put our house in order not for the sake of meeting some dreaded enemy who may take advantage of our confusion but because our house is out of order. Strong and healthy communities and nations establish justice because they prefer justice, not because they are afraid of what some revolutionist will do to them if they allow injustice to stalk abroad. If steel-workers are employed twelve hours for seven days in the week we should put a stop to it, not to head off socialism, but because the twelve-hour day and seven-day week are intolerable. If textile workers are earning less than a living wage we should pay them more, not because they will follow strange doctrines and smash machinery if we do not, but because it is right and decent that they should have a living income. No law should be necessary to secure these things, but if a law is necessary we will do it that way, of course. Paul U. Kellogg's suggestion¹ that immigrants at least must be paid a living wage if they are employed at all, may or may not be administratively practicable. But it must be admitted that if such a plan had been in operation, it would have effectively prevented the conditions which led to the Lawrence strike and which are precipitating other similar conflicts.

In view of the urgent need for clear thinking and frank discussion concerning all aspects of the industrial problem, we cannot refrain from voicing an indignant protest against the demand of a Boston newspaper that Wellesley College should dismiss a professor from its faculty on account of the speech to the Lawrence strikers which we republish in this number. This protest might be put on grounds similar to those which we have already repudiated in another connection, that academic Socialism, as a colleague has said, is the most harmless of safety valves. But our resentment goes deeper. Such discussion as that of Professor Scudder furnishes the very foundation of free institutions in a democracy. The college which stifles it will lose and deserve to lose public confidence and respect. If Columbia University were to dismiss its president because he considers the initiative, referendum, and recall dangerous subversions of our form of government, or Wellesley were to dismiss Professor Scudder because she dares to speak of justice to a mass meeting of strikers and to demand strict observance of law by strikers and public officials alike, we would surely have fallen on evil days. Academic freedom is not merely a harmless safety valve. We may come to a time when it needs defense on that ground. Just now we may defend it rather on the ground that it is essential to the rational treatment of serious public questions.

¹An Immigrant Labor Tariff, by Paul U. Kellogg, *THE SURVEY*, Jan. 7, 1911. Price 25 cents.

THE COMMON WELFARE

THE BRITISH COAL STRIKE OUTLOOK

As this issue of THE SURVEY goes to press, however undecided the underlying issues may be, the outlook is for a settlement of the far-reaching British coal strike. From a legislative standpoint, matters were brought to a head on March 28, after a stormy week during which it looked as if a deadlock had been reached in the three-cornered negotiations between the British coal operators, the miners, and the ministry. The government's Coal Mines Bill, providing machinery for a minimum wage in the mining industry, was introduced on March 19, and ten days later had passed both houses. Its industrial, as distinct from its political, enactment hinged on the referendum among the miners the current week, the outcome of which it was prophesied would be favorable. The coal operators accepted the terms of the bill on March 27.

The bill provides no fixed minimum, but establishes local boards which are to set "reasonable minimums" based upon conditions in the districts. The boards are to go into operation on the cessation of the strike and their awards are to be retroactive, the new rates to begin not with the award of the board, but with the return to work. The minimum set is to be safeguarded for the employer by the setting of a standard of efficiency. No miner fall-

ing below this is to receive the minimum. The bill contains no penal provisions compelling acceptance by either side, and is designed as a temporary measure to last in its present form for three years.

The bill as it stands met no general opposition from the operators, their attack being concentrated on the two amendments urged by the miners' representatives.

On the side of the miners, so far as press dispatches indicate, there was no such willing acceptance of the bill in its present form and the favorable referendum is in great part due to the argument of hunger, and perhaps too to the pressure brought to bear by almost 2,000,000 other workers thrown into idleness by the stoppage in the mines. Considering their great need it is remarkable that only a very few thousand in all are said to have returned to work throughout the month.

Violence has been almost entirely lacking.

Far from the miners' original demands though the Coal Bill is, labor leaders regard it as almost unprecedented for the government under duress from a body of workers to pass a law recognizing a principle which these workers have laid down, and this principle, too, a minimum wage for adult males. On the other hand, it may be said that there is some fear among the unionists that the minimum wage being established by the government will be regarded by the mine operators as an average or even as a maximum limit.



Minor in St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

PROTEST.

THE EFFICIENCY SOCIETY LAUNCHED

The American Society for Promoting Efficiency was launched last week at a series of meetings in New York attended by bankers, accountants, manufacturers, engineers, economists, and government officials. It applied the spirit of the movement to the letter of its own name so effectively that it came out of the organization meetings with a very short title—Efficiency Society—but with a long membership, 800 or more.

The main sessions were each assigned to the development of some one topic or group of topics connected with industrial efficiency.

John A. Gray, professor of economics in the University of Minnesota, introduced the symposium on organization, taking as his topic the benefit of efficiency to the employer, the employe, and the public. Dr. Gray believed that the movement was of the greatest value to employer and public and that it should be of equal value to the worker. His analysis of the relative increase in profits and wages, however, as estimated by efficiency engineers, the latter running from 30 per cent to 60 per cent, the former from 100 per cent to 300 per cent, illustrated its tendency toward absolutism to an extent which he held to be opposed to the growing democratic spirit in industry. The efficiency engineer proceeded, he felt, upon the principle that the industry belonged to the employer, and the workmen should be thankful for such benefits as were given him and had no right to demand equal benefits with the employer. This is the foundation, in Dr. Gray's opinion, of the trade-union opposition to efficiency, and unless the system can be readjusted to meet this criticism, it will tend to cause still greater inequalities of wealth than now exist, and to drive the labor movement into more and more radical channels.

William S. Kent, formerly professor of engineering at Syracuse University, held that in order to break down the opposition of organized labor the supporters of the efficiency movement must put themselves in a position to be able to disprove the charge of inequality of benefits

suggested by Dr. Gray, and the further charge of increasing unemployment.

LOWER LABOR COST AND HIGHER WAGES

The practical organization of a single manufacturing establishment was described by Henry R. Towne, who showed how the Yale and Towne Lock Company had so specialized, or functionalized, its work as to get the largest possible ratio of results to expenditure of energy, or, in terms of money, the largest profit for the amount spent. He gave numerous practical examples of savings in different departments: such as in one case reducing labor cost fifty per cent with an increase of 81 per cent in wages, and 275 per cent in output; in another reducing the labor cost 75 per cent, in this case decreasing wages 14 per cent because the new method required only unskilled labor and increased output threefold. The essentials to success in establishing an efficiency system were, in Mr. Towne's opinion, a receptive attitude on the part of the manufacturer, a knowledge of the science of the particular industry, the use of an expert, the functionalizing of processes, the segregation of the system until fully perfected from the regular work of the factory, the gradual progression from easy to hard problems and the training of individual workmen as leaders.

T. W. Carpenter, ex-president of the Herring-Marion Safe Company, took efficiency a stage higher and described the saving of time, labor, and money resulting from the organization of an aggregation of manufacturing establishments in the same or allied trades. He believed that co-operation had proved to be cheaper and better than competition. He desired this co-operation to take into its scope the labor force and believed from experience that this could be accomplished by a committee system of management, since this method is democratic and tends to reduce antagonism between employer and workmen.

Under the title, the Organization of a Whole Industry, William T. Schieffelin told of the principle of co-operation between employers, workers, and public, on

which the arbitration and sanitary boards in the cloak, suit, and skirt industry in New York city are carried on. He reported that the sanitary board is now issuing a certificate, or label to be displayed on goods, to shops conforming to twenty-eight sanitary rules which the board lays down. At present 344 shops employing half the workers in the trade have the right to use the certificate. Dr. Schiefelin believed that this sanitary board has already accomplished more than any amount of factory inspection and that the sanitary certificate would be a means of securing the co-operation of the public in this work for raising standards in the garment trades.

A SYMPOSIUM ON MANAGEMENT

The symposium on the second day of the conference was devoted to management. The special topics were Administration by Melville W. Mix, president of the Dodge Manufacturing Company; Sales by W. H. Cottingham, president of the Sherwin-Williams Company; Advertising by W. H. Ingersoll of the Ingersoll Watch Company; Purchasing by Elihu C. Church of the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity of New York city; Production by John Calder of the Remington Typewriter Company; Record and Cost by S. S. Wheeler, president of the Crocker and Wheeler Company.

The final topic under the head of management was of more than trade interest. This was the human element, which was discussed by Luther H. Gulick. Said Dr. Gulick:

No scheme of social or business efficiency can succeed which specializes the man out of the scheme. There are definite limits to the standardization of human life. The fundamental fact of human life is the need of variation. The stimuli must vary in kind, vary in method and vary in intensity. Without varying conditions there seems to be little life.

No scheme of business or industrial activity can be permanent which does not build on hope or anticipation. Human life is not satisfied with attainment; it looks for something beyond mere achievement. Men will strike or lose interest, except where desire has opportunity to go on and on. Human nature must be appealed to in a more direct way than you

have yet appealed to it if you want the highest efficiency.

Dr. Gulick believed that in the shorter work day lies one solution of this problem, that the socializing of recreation and education by the wider use of the school plant may be made to counteract the stultifying effect of mechanical work in the factory. Welfare work is not to his mind a substitute for good wages; nor do shop activities of this sort take the place of the free play of energy and the chance for rational excitement and adventure which the race normally craves. The shortened work day will give outlet for these natural instincts to come into their own, and it should be the responsibility of the community rather than the shop to supply the opportunities for recreation and social life.

METHODS OF EFFICIENCY

A dinner meeting was devoted to efficiency in government methods. Among the speakers were F. A. Cleveland, director of the President's Commission on Efficiency and Economy, Herbert Knox Smith of the Federal Bureau of Commerce and Labor, and George Von L. Meyer, Secretary of the Navy, who described the practical workings of efficiency in the reorganization of the navy department. From his experience as both an executive officer of the government and for sixteen years a judge of the Supreme Court of New York, Mayor Gaynor, who spoke on Efficient Methods in Legal Procedure and Practice, made the statement that "So great has the inefficiency of certain branches of the judiciary become that they have hampered the progress of every other department of government." He went on:

There is so much delay, uncertainty and unreliability that litigation is almost hopeless. In fact, our merchants will hardly go into the courts for litigation at all.

There is no excuse for the delays and aggravations of the present system. In London cases are begun one month and tried the next. Here they drag on and on, often for three years or more; by that time witnesses are lost, main points of the case forgotten and every one discouraged. And when the man gets his judgment there is the endless delay while appeals are being argued. And the criminal



CITY EXHIBIT POSTER

How things look over the chimney pots of the modern city.

courts are even worse; the procedure is wholly inefficient, and the technicalities, most of them relics of dark ages, are appalling.

Why, only recently our Court of Appeals ruled in a case that certain evidence had been admitted erroneously, and while admitting that the evidence in question was trivial, the lower court was reversed, because the Court of Appeals "could not judge what influence it might have had on the court and jury." What a tribute to our civil courts and the intelligence of our jurors!

The ruling of the Court of Appeals on the law forbidding the manufacture of tobacco in tenement houses is a notable example. They quoted the constitution which forbids the restriction of any person's liberty or the confiscation of property as an excuse for allowing a man to fill the lungs of his wife and children with tobacco fumes. It was the same in the case of the underground bakeries, the women night workers and the Employers' Liability Law.

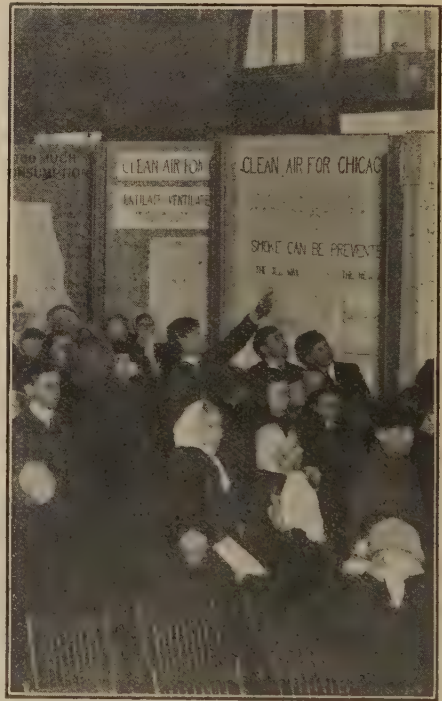
Such silly construction of a principle which dates from Magna Charta will go down like a cob house and go down very soon, simply because the intelligence of an enlightened people won't stand for it.

The legislature, by a simple amendment of the law, recently overturned one of these decisions—I think the fashionable word now is "recall"—but it shows that we do recall decisions now, and those persons who think they are giving us something new along this line

would better go back to school. The constitution of the state provides for a constitutional convention every four years, and at the next constitutional convention every decision of this kind will be "recalled."

TRAVELING EXHIBIT FOR CITY WELFARE

A traveling civic exhibit, available for neighborhood display in all parts of Chicago, has been arranged by the Woman's City Club.¹ The plan was suggested by the success of the Child Welfare Exhibit held in Chicago last spring, and is in some degree an effort to perpetuate the interest then aroused among large numbers of Chicago people in the community's attitude toward its young people. The traveling exhibit is composed of some of the material shown last spring, to which have been added special ex-



AN INSTRUCTION CORNER

hibits prepared by the Woman's City Club and contributed from various de-

¹The committee of the Woman's City Club in charge of the preparation and management of the exhibit is composed of Mrs. W. I. Thomas, chairman, Mrs. Frederic C. Bartlett and Antoinette Rowe, Mrs. J. Paul Goode, Mrs. Orville T. Bright, Mrs. W. H. Buhlig, with two advisory members, Mrs. William F. Dummer and E. L. Burchard, director of social museum and exhibits in the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.

of the people are to be used for the exhibit, which in its complete form started on its travels early in January. A preliminary display had first been held in the Chicago Normal School, where, for three days, there was an average attendance of 700 people a day, a large proportion of the visitors being teachers and pupils from near-by schools. In connection with the maps, charts, and pictures, stereopticon lectures are to be provided as well as "live demonstra-

South Chicago, with an attendance of 3,500; and at Mark White Square, with an attendance of 6,000.

A NEW EXHIBIT OF HOME WORK

The Exhibit of the National Child Labor Committee at the Women's Industrial Exhibition, given last month, under the auspices of ten New York organizations, presented the resultant situation in New York after more than a



A TENEMENT FAMILY MAKING DOLLS' CLOTHES.

Photo by Hine.

The doll industry, say the commercial journals, is being transplanted into America from Germany. This photograph gives the reason.

tions." One of the latter will be on the care of babies.

The exhibit has already been displayed in the John Fiske School with a total attendance of 4,000; in the Burnside School, where it was made a special feature by the graduating class of 1912, an attendance of 5,000 being registered; in Palmer Park, as the center of five industrial communities, with an attendance of 6,500; in the Bowen High School,

decade of ineffective sanitary legislation to regulate tenement house work. The exhibit contained new and first hand material collected by the investigators of the committee under the direction of Elizabeth Watson for the New York State Factory Investigating Committee since December 1, 1911. It reflected contemporary conditions in tenement industry in New York. It showed that with the progress and improvement of

factory inspection and compulsory education legislation enforced with respect to factories, manufactures which thrive on the very cheapest labor have come to be carried on more and more by practically unregulated home work. Sixteen screens representing facts gathered in 1,037 visits told the story of this relation between factory regulation and tenement immunity. They showed how little the present sanitary law amounts to, at best, how hard it is to enforce, and

without any regulation as to the age of these household workers or the hours they worked. The state thus legalizes the work of the little nut-pickers of four, five and eight years, and the night work of the little children whose photographs appeared on one screen, at work on dolls until 10 or 11 o'clock at night. This screen showed a Christmas scene of a sort, for these dolls were being made for the Christmas sales. In the words of another screen, "Some chil-



HOW THE FASHIONS AFFECT HOME WORK.

Photo by Hine.

Making the arms and legs of the Campbell Kid, the newest thing in dolls.

how home work done under perfectly legal conditions is able to break down all child labor laws.

Under the New York labor laws, a tenement-house owner must take out a license for his building before home work in any of forty specified industries can be carried on in it.

The first screens showed a tenement exterior and interior where such home work was done, under conditions which met the legal sanitary standards, but

dren play with dolls, some don't." The "don'ts" make them, working for long hours in their tenement homes. Other screens showed classes of children whom school and factory laws are devised to keep from work—little ones below school age and foreign-speaking children too illiterate to secure working papers. The scheme of the law is that they must go to school long enough to get the rudiments of education, but they almost unconsciously become truants as the home

work makes their time profitable to their parents. They do not readily come under the notice of either factory inspectors or attendance officers. Thirty-six per cent of the workers found on the visits of inspection were children under fourteen years and the case of these children was well summed up on a screen headed "Home under any other name would be a factory, and subject to factory regulation." "All these children," said another screen, "can work at night; numbers of them do work at night; many of them were found working at night."

Numerous charts and photographs showed the unenforcibility of the sanitary provisions with respect to home work designed to safeguard the consumer against disease. Several showed a tubercular woman at work, a tubercular boy in the room with home workers, and other families of workers in which children were sick with mumps and measles. Numerous other industries have grown up since the list of forty was drawn up in the sanitary law. These are unlicensed and unregulated; goods found in these tenements cannot even be tagged as unsanitary where a contagious disease exists.

BRITISH MINERS AND THE MINIMUM WAGE

JOHN A. RYAN¹
St. Paul Seminary

The full significance of the minimum wage bill now before the British House of Commons seems to have escaped the majority of our newspapers. As the first great step in a new legislative policy, this bill deserves a place beside the famous Lloyd-George Budget of 1909. This, in brief, is the situation: Something like a million coal miners went out on a strike March 31, causing immense injury to many other industries besides the one directly involved. If a settlement were not reached quickly it was felt that millions of the people of Great Britain would be on the brink of starvation.

¹Father Ryan writes as perhaps the foremost advocate of minimum wage legislation in the United States. He stated the problem in his book, *The Living Wage*, proposed a statute in Minnesota, and has supported the movement in Massachusetts.—Ed.

It became clear that no settlement could come save through some form of government compulsion. What form should the compulsion take? Neither of the two obvious and direct forms, answered the government. Not compulsory arbitration, nor seizure and operation of the mines by the state, but the legal establishment of minimum wage boards. The rates of wages fixed by these boards will be legally binding minimum rates if coal mining goes on, but either of the two contending parties may refuse to accept the award of the boards, and discontinue production.

From this action by the British government we are warranted in drawing two important inferences. First, the Liberal ministry believed that this method of fixing wages would seem so fair to both parties that work would be resumed immediately, before a single board could be set up; and it believed that the rates actually fixed by the boards would prove so satisfactory that coal mining would continue uninterrupted for the three years during which the rates will be legally obligatory. Now, this belief and confidence on the part of the government must evidently have rested upon something more practical than an act of blind faith or of pious hope. It was undoubtedly based on the success of minimum wage boards in Australia, and in the home working industries where they have already been established in England. Experience seemed to warrant their extension to the entire coal mining industry.¹

The second inference that we would set down is absolutely certain. It is that this action of the British government marks the final step in the rejection of the non-interference policy which has in some measure characterized the attitude of the English state toward industrial relations for more than a century. Unlimited freedom of wage contracts is the last stronghold of the old policy, and now even this is abandoned. Every friend of humanity and every lover of justice ought to hope that the new policy will prove successful in the English coal min-

¹See the very encouraging article on the English boards in the *American Economic Review*, March, 1912.

ing industry, that it will be extended as rapidly as practicable to other fields, and that the example thereof will be followed by all other industrial nations.

Christianity, morality, and political wisdom unite in assuring us that it is as much the business of the state to protect a man's livelihood against degradation, as to protect his life against the murderer, or his pocket-book against the thief.

As I write these lines, I am reminded that the joint committee of the Massachusetts legislature has made a favorable report on the minimum wage bill in that state. This is an auspicious beginning for America.

MEN AND RELIGION IN THE SOUTH

CHARLES STELZLE

Team No. 1

The fact that Governor Hooper of Tennessee has called a Southern Sociological Conference to be held in Nashville during the first week of May, 1912, to discuss social conditions and remedies peculiar to the South, and the splendid response of the sixteen Southern states, is indicative of the awakened social consciousness of the South. The program as outlined covers in substance the subjects presented during the Men and Religion campaigns held by Team No. 1 in Baltimore, Birmingham, Ala., Charleston, S. C., Jacksonville, Fla., Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Memphis since the holidays.

The six-fold message of the Men and Religion Movement was presented by a team which has been working together since October 1. Evangelism naturally appealed to the South, likewise some of the older forms of Christian service; but boys' work and social service were comparatively new. It is interesting to note, however, that the institutes and platform meetings conducted by the men who presented the latter messages were most largely attended in nearly all of the southern cities. Just as the writer was about to address 150 of Atlanta's most prominent business men, including the mayor and commissioners of the city, a well-known judge quietly

remarked: "If you say that Atlanta is all right, I am going to tell you that you are a liar." He was not given a chance to carry out his threat.

It would be foolish to state that social conditions in the South are ideal. Unfortunately in many sections the municipalities are suffering on account of an inefficient conservatism on the one side and a criminal radicalism on the other. In some of the cities gambling is wide open; the social evil is flaunted in one's face; the saloon laws are flagrantly violated; housing conditions are most deplorable; and the treatment of criminals is almost beyond belief. For example, in one of the county work-houses, which was built originally to accommodate twenty persons, there are now eighty-five. The prisoners wear the same suits continuously for two weeks. Once a week they are compelled to take a bath. On Saturday night an ordinary bath-tub is hauled into a room occupied by twenty-two prisoners and every man bathes in the same water. The prisoners are shackled from the moment they enter the work-house and it was stated that the shackles were never taken off.

The conditions in each of the cities had been previously studied by a local social service or survey committee, so that most of the information which was used in the discussions concerning local conditions was obtained from local authorities. The social service recommendations were usually made under the heads of: the municipality, the county, the state, the social workers, and the churches. In every case practical suggestions were given which were immediately applicable.

The remarkable development of the cities of the South, and the importance of making the right start suggested the recommendation that a Bureau of Municipal Research and Efficiency be appointed in each of the cities. Several of the cities adopted the recommendation that a vice commission be appointed for the study of the social evil. The ownership of property used for immoral purposes was frankly discussed and the recommendation was made that the name

of the owner be placed along side that of the madame running the house.

Industrial and vocational training in the public schools was another general recommendation for the southern cities. The standards of education were found to be extremely unsatisfactory as in very few states in the South is there a compulsory education law. The suggestion that the public schools be used more widely as neighborhood centers was eagerly accepted.

The South should have the benefit of modern studies with regard to the treatment of criminals. In some cases the methods employed were decidedly archaic. There was practically nothing of a constructive or educational nature in the treatment of the criminal class. Legislation regarding sanitary and housing conditions was urged and a frank facing of the facts regarding the Negro. The scientific study of the problem of recreation, with a presentation of a city-wide plan for the recreational life of the people was recommended. Inasmuch as the streets and yards are the playgrounds for the children of the poor the conditions of paving and sanitation obviously need the most careful attention; and the public schools in the working-people's communities should have adequate playgrounds with bathing facilities. The general attitude of the South toward the problem of recreation has been largely a negative one. Attempts have been made to close the saloon, the motion picture show, and the Sunday baseball game. Without argument for or against such legislation, the importance of a constructive policy with regard to the recreational life of the people was pointed out, as well as the distinct opportunity for moral and ethical teaching in recreational life. Objection was made to the commercialization of recreation.

The social workers in each city were urged to adopt a standardized social service program in so far as this was possible, particularly with reference to the larger problems which concern them all. Greater co-operation between the social workers and the church workers of the city was also advocated, the church helping the social workers

through its powerful machinery and its ability to mould public opinion and the social workers helping the church through their scientific study of local social conditions. It was recommended that the church use to the fullest extent the local organizations for social service. The cost of living, the problems of organized labor, and the economic study of the liquor problem with reference to the attitude of the workingman toward the saloon, were other subjects considered and concerning which recommendations were made. To the churches it was generally suggested that they make a thorough survey of their local fields, following up the investigations made during the preparatory period of the Men and Religion campaign, various groups of men in these churches becoming responsible for certain subjects, the point being that it was important to bring these men into personal contact with the conditions surrounding their churches. Definite methods of service were discussed. Growing out of the survey of the local field but coming also as the result of a wider knowledge of the city's social needs the pastors and workers in the churches were urged to make a canvass of the men in the churches with a view of discovering those who should be linked up with definite social service work. The necessity for united action by the men in the churches was made plain. The men who had volunteered as individuals were to be organized so as to bring them together frequently for a discussion of social questions, upon which they might take such action as might seem wise and expedient. These social service groups in the various churches should be organized into one compact group so that it may become possible to exert swift and powerful influence which may effectively bring things to pass.

With reference to the relation of the ministers to organized labor it was suggested that fraternal delegates be exchanged between the ministers associations and the central labor unions, this plan being already in operation in over 100 cities throughout the United States. More frequent discussions among the

ministers of the social problems of the municipalities was recommended as well as the wider use of church buildings for social purposes; also open forums in which churches might freely and frankly talk out with the workingmen those questions in which the workingman is most vitally interested.

In order to make these and other plans effective, it was recommended that the cities employ a social service expert who would direct the churches in their social service tasks. It is necessary that this expert not only take the initiative in social service matters but he must be sympathetic toward the evangelistic work of the church, so that there may be hearty co-operation and united action in all work for the welfare of the people.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE CAMPAIGN

J. L. LANSING
Team No. 2

The social service section of the Men and Religion Forward Movement has been generally popular. Earnest preachers here and there feared it would not be vitally Christian, but when they faced it as it actually appeared, they were amazed that they had not known that it is and must be vitally Christian.

Our general plan has been very simple. In each place we have a social service committee as a part of the local Committee of One Hundred. This committee includes representatives of the Associated Charities, the Children's Aid Society, the Juvenile Court, the district nurses and other social agencies. We are thus put in intimate and sympathetic relations with these bodies, and we seek to interpret their work and needs to the churches, gaining them recruits from the large number of men in the churches who are not in harness.

In every city we have one conference of all the social workers. Frequently a hundred attend—in larger cities, twice that number, and even in smaller places never less than eighty. A representative of each tells briefly of his work. We follow with encouragement and suggestions.

One of the most interesting matters constantly before us has been the coordinating of work in the United or Associated Charities. Where, as in Rochester, N. Y., the plan has been carefully worked out, we tell less developed cities about it and urge them to write to that city for information.

In Boise, Idaho, we found that Judge Dunbar of the juvenile court had been investigating shocking cases of immorality among children. He had brought his facts to the attention of the Committee of One Hundred and they arranged that he should repeat them to a mass meeting of eleven hundred parents. Judge Dunbar's statement made a powerful and tragic impression. He was followed by our suggestions of a new order of home supervision and public care, protection from ignorance of sex hygiene by teaching, and from harm by supervision. A similar condition existed in Walla Walla, Wash. These cities were no worse than many others, but were honest and courageous in facing their condition. Indianapolis and Toledo, on a larger scale, present a similar problem and a worse condition.

The men of the country have shown a profound interest in the conditions, causes and perils of prostitution. The report of the Vice Commission of Minneapolis, the stunning findings of the Chicago Vice Commission, the hearty effort in these cities, and in Des Moines, Kansas City, and Rochester, to get the facts and enforce the laws, have been features of a very widespread awakening. Rochester, since our visit, has eliminated its "red light" district.

Of course, the saloon has everywhere been found to be a prime cause of all kinds of social evils. We have invariably urged the indirect attack upon it by such substitutes as school centers, comfort stations and recreation centers.

It would be impossible to tell here the numerous lines of work suggested. We have forgotten no question and evaded no issue of humanity and public concern. And through it all we have declared that it is in spirit and purpose precisely what the Saviour of the world taught and wrought.



THE HUMANITARIAN VALUE OF CIVIL SERVICE



JANE ADDAMS

In spite of the enormous headway civil service has made in America during the last forty years, the system of examination for entrance and promotion in public office has never really captured the popular imagination. It has always been associated with a cold and correct morality versus open-hearted kindness, and it has never quite rid itself of the obnoxious association with "silk stockings." Perhaps its propagandists have overemphasized its usefulness in keeping the rascals out and thus allowing it to become stranded in the shallow waters of negative virtue, have failed to launch it upon the deep sea of popular affection.

Although it is in connection with humanitarian institutions that civil service has registered its most telling successes, and could most easily demonstrate its value, recent events in Chicago have shown that the safeguards which a decade of the merit system have thrown about the public care of the sick, the insane, the aged poor, and dependent children, may be scattered to the winds in a spirit of Rabelaisian gaiety with scarcely a protest from the community as a whole.

Only its oldest and most partisan friends were heard from during the long months of its spectacular destruction, and they could but be impressed with the fact that as the merit system was being broken down through a dramatic appeal to the sympathy of the people, so a new campaign must be promptly instituted in order to establish it in popular affection, through the very same effective methods. The mere fact that civil service has secured a more efficient administration of public affairs is not, of itself, a sufficient guarantee that it will endure.

A review, therefore, of the methods of triumphal destruction pursued by the president of the Board of County Commissioners, to whom the care of Chicago's humanitarian institutions is com-

mitted, may prove an instructive study. One of his earliest official acts was to walk portentously into the wards of the public hospital and to eat of the food which was being served to the patients. When the eggs proved to be "bad 'uns" he was in a state of righteous indignation and dramatically called upon heaven to witness that never again so long as he held office would the sick poor of the county suffer such indignity, which noble sentiments were promptly spread abroad by the crowd of minor officials and newspaper men who were part of his expedition. That very large public to whom the compassionate and big-hearted man always appeals, at once concluded that the new president understood the poor and was serving them with unselfish devotion. The fact that the newly appointed food inspector was "Fish Murray," a hungry office-holder out of a job who had become famous through his venal lack of discrimination in foods, did not apparently reach the public mind, nor did the fact that a new position was illegally made for him with a salary of three thousand dollars a year. The eggs were bad, something had to be done at once, and the new thorough-going president had done it, was what finally did register itself in the public consciousness.

The president of the county board gave further evidences of his devotion to the poor. He dismissed the medical head of the County Hospital for the Insane, scattered the trained nurses who had been in charge of the patients, and ruthlessly "fired" the corps of civil service employes. Of course, incidentally, many partisans were given positions, but, again, the fact that they were unfitted, that a huge hospital of twenty-seven hundred patients was left with only one trained nurse, did not interest the public, only the fact that a kind-hearted man had appointed new people to make things better.

The president of the county board next

turned his attention to the Juvenile Court, which had been far too long under the influence of reformers. The court offered the best possible field for the operations of a friend of the people, for did it not constantly deal with neglected children, with the widow and the fatherless, whose defense has ever been the chief glory of the cheap politician? Beginning therefore with the industrial homes to which the Juvenile Court sent its wards, he began a campaign which cleverly combined a villification of the chief probation officer, whom he held responsible for the institutions, and a pathetic appeal on behalf of dependent children. In this he had the support of a Hearst daily with its great advantage of supreme indifference to accuracy. With the help of its reporters and his own investigators, the president was able to unearth much appealing material, some of it founded upon facts, for what in the history of the world has ever been more touching than a little child deprived of parental care? Upon this natural human foundation was reared a superstructure of clever suggestion and hypnotic appeal, and for weeks the emotions and sensibilities of the public were literally ploughed up by the most harrowing tales of children beaten, starved and outraged, until the stage was at last made ready for the civil service trial of the chief probation officer, upon whom the odium was placed. This trial was prolonged throughout three months, at least affording an impressive lesson to other public servants against the folly of standing on their rights.

Many things transpired, however, to dim the final triumph, and in the end it seemed as if the actors had not played up to the opportunities offered by the stage setting. Perhaps the play was too long, or the blackness of the villain too unrelieved. At any rate, the leading men in the center of the stage, the civil service commissioners themselves, whose resignations the president held in his pocket in case they should thwart him, grew tired of the part assigned them and quarreled with the stage managers. One of the latter, who should have been carefully concealed in the wings, the very

man who had been promised the place of chief probation officer at a substantial increase of salary, suddenly found himself in full view of the audience without a make-up, and although he hastily retreated, after an incoherent apology, the audience could not forget the contretemps. The spotlight, awkwardly managed, unexpectedly threw into bold relief two dependent girls who, although they had been dramatically abducted by night from an industrial school, ostentatiously wine and dined and carefully coached as to their parts, forgot their lines at the crucial moment, as did other prepared witnesses, even to the insignificant "supes." Before the end of the third month it was clear that the emotional audience had become restless, the ruder ones occasionally guyed the actors and called for the "hook," and even the claque in the gallery became a trifle critical. At any rate, an unexpected impression finally got over the foot-lights that perhaps, after all, people who had been trained to care for children could do it better than the hastily selected appointees of a kind-hearted politician.

Nevertheless, the president of the county board has utilized for his own advantage that instinctive desire to protect the weak and defenceless which all good men feel. The ward politician who buys new shoes that children may attend their father's funeral, or pays the rent of a sick constituent to keep "a roof over the kids," is literally not in it; for such a politician in spite of his magnificence deals with units only, and pays out of his own pocket. The president of the county board dealt with a multitude of forlorn children gathered from a community of two and a half million people, and impressively paid for their care from a public purse of thirteen million dollars. Nero's famous wish that the people had but one huge neck which he might decapitate, was reversed: it was as if all the neglected children of the people had but one defender, who was able to protect them.

The lesson which the friends of civil service might long since have learned from the petty politician, was thus writ large for all to read; that in some wise or

another the beneficent aspects of the merit system must be made clear, stated dramatically, if possible, that the system may become endeared to the public as the safeguard for the oppressed and defenceless, which it really is. It would be clearly impossible to destroy the institutions of the people under the guise of befriending the poor, did the public in the least understand its beneficence. To have opened a huge public hospital to the ablest graduates of the medical schools; to have replaced the ward heelers, who formerly stood guard over the intimidated insane, by trained nurses; to have put the delicate task of caring for dependent children under the supervision of probation officers carefully prepared for such work, are results which might well claim the gratitude of an admiring public on the popular basis, which is after all the soundest one possible, that the aged poor, the sick, the insane, and helpless children, shall be tenderly cared for. Yet, curiously enough, such achievements, which are the result of devotion and enthusiasm on the part of public-spirited citizens, in the end appear colorless, quite as drab and uninteresting as righteousness is proverbially supposed to be, although they require ability and understanding and demand subtleties of sympathy, of recognition, of adaptation.

On the whole the humanitarian institutions of the state offer careers as honorable and absorbing as professorships in a great university or as worthy and solid as officialdom in a great business house.

At present, however, promising young people are barred from the service of the state unless they accidentally become interested in its humanitarian institutions. The fact that civil service examinations are to be held is, of course, made public, but the date is given with an announcement as drily official as possible. Could young people be reached through a campaign, with speeches and flying literature, with transparencies and a brass band if enthusiasm rose so high, stating the opportunity to which such an examination was an opening, the career of which it was the mere starting point, one can imagine securing for the service of the state the flower of youth. An appeal could be made, on one hand, to those equipped with the high curiosities of science, through the criminalistic institutes and psychopathic clinics which offer wide fields of research; on the other hand, to that trained devotion and tenderness for the lowly, without which no institution is justifiable. Gifted youth at the present moment is not systematically allured to the service of the state except through the one old path of political ambition. The finer sentiments and emotions are still left to be made sport of, by self-seeking men, because the so-called reformer is afraid to assert that efficiency is tenderness and that untrained service results in cruelty. The state will continue to be deprived of the service of the best, until the humanitarian values of civil service are made so clear that he who runs may read.

CHILD LABORERS

HORTENSE FLEXNER

"Let them not droop within the house of toil,
The little children! Make them to go free,
Give them their heritage of sun and soil,
Kinship with racing wind and cloud and sea!
They are too frail, too glad, to learn of pain,
Their eyes have not forgot, for all the gray
Of leaden hours, the sky's star-blossomed plain,
Give them again the wealth of idle day!"

So do we speak, wise in our years, yet slow
As they, to lift the age-worn, bitter weight
We toil beneath in heart and body throe,
Ourselves but children with a task too great.
Help us, then, Father, shape the work aright,
Child laborers, we, blind in the dawnless night.



THE HUMAN SIDE OF LARGE OUTPUTS

STEEL AND STEEL WORKERS IN SIX AMERICAN STATES

VI

THE LABOR POLICIES OF UNRESTRICTED CAPITAL

JOHN A. FITCH

MEMBER STAFF (1907-8) PITTSBURGH SURVEY

I have been telling about conditions as I saw them in the mill towns of six different states, but I have not yet told the real story of the steel workers. This is a story that never can be told in full, because it is a story of men—living, red-blooded men, who have ambitions and sorrows and loves and hates and who feel just as bankers feel, and writers, and farmers, and poets, and railroad engineers, just as all human beings feel—because they are human. That is a story that can never be told. It can only be lived.

So I cannot tell all the story, but I can come a great deal nearer to telling it than I have before. And I am going to tell more of it now than I have told in any previous article in this series.

I do not need to depend upon my own observation with regard to some of the conditions in the steel industry. I estimated in 1907-1908 that 20 per cent of the steel workers in the Pittsburgh district were employed seven days a week. Now I have before me a part of the report of the United States Bureau of Labor on Labor Conditions in the Steel Industry. On page xiv of the intro-

ductory chapter of Volume 1, the situation is briefly summarized for the industry:

The fact that stands out most strikingly in any study of the labor conditions in the iron and steel industry in the United States is the unusually long schedule of working hours to which the larger number of the employees in this industry are subject.

During May, 1910, the period covered by this investigation, 50,000, or 29 per cent, of the 173,000 employees of blast furnaces and steel works and rolling mills covered by this report customarily worked 7 days per week, and 20 per cent of them worked 84 hours or more per week, which, in effect, means a 12-hour working day every day in the week, including Sunday. The evil of 7-day work was particularly accentuated by the fact developed in the investigation that the 7-day working week was not confined to the blast furnace department where there is a metallurgical necessity for continuous operation, and in which department 88 per cent of the employees worked 7 days a week; but it was also found that, to a considerable extent, in other departments where no such metallurgical necessity can be claimed, productive work was carried on on Sunday just as on other days of the week. For example, in some establishments the Bessemer converters, the open-hearth furnaces, and the blooming, rail, and structural mills were found operating 7 days a week for commercial reasons only.

I have been within the last eighteen months at Johnstown, Steelton and Bethlehem, Pa.; at Lackawanna, N. Y.; at Youngstown, Ohio; at Gary, Ind.; Chicago, Ill.; Pueblo, Colo.; and Birmingham, Ala.; and at all of those places I found seven-day work. Jones and Laughlin, the Cambria Steel Co., The Pennsylvania, the Bethlehem, the Lackawanna Companies, and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company were all operating their open-hearth steel furnaces 7 days a week. At Youngstown, Ohio, in November, 1910, I saw the Bessemer converters in the plant of the Republic Iron and Steel Company spouting flames at 2 o'clock on a Sunday afternoon.

To no small extent this situation has been improved by the voluntary action of the steel companies. In 1910 the American Iron and Steel Institute, an organization of the leading steel men of the country, appointed a committee to consider whether a plan could be devised whereby even in the processes necessarily continuous, a weekly day of rest could be allowed to each man. The committee made a favorable report, and its plan, with some modifications was adopted during 1911 by the United States Steel Corporation, the Lackawanna Steel Company, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, and probably others.

Yet this does not mean that the plan is now in full swing throughout the steel industry. Its working-out is hampered because it conflicts with uninterrupted plant operation. It will never be a complete success, I think, as long as the enforcement of it is left to the men who are at the same time responsible for output.

Steel making is a continuous industry. By voluntary action American steel makers have endeavored to set the standard enforced by France and a dozen other industrial nations through their statute law—a compulsory one day of rest in seven for the men in the crews. Thousands of men who two years ago worked 7 days a week are now working 6, and the shortened schedule is in complete operation in a number of plants. But not all. There is consequent need in America for laws which will compel

backward employers to adopt this humane regulation and thus keep them from penalizing the progressive employers who have adopted it.

The placing of the 7-day week under the ban is a step forward. But another evil, equally serious, that has not been materially abated or modified by either the Steel Corporation or the independents, is the 12-hour day. On this, the Bureau of Labor says:

Nothing has been done by the manufacturers, nor have any proposals been made, to lessen the proportion of men working 72 hours or more per week. It was found in this investigation that nearly 43 per cent of the 173,000 employes in the iron and steel industry were working at least 72 hours per week, or 12 hours per day for 6 days a week. This proportion remains unchanged, being unaffected by the plan to give the men who were working 84 hours per week one day of rest in seven.

It ought not to be necessary to discuss this question further. It seems strange that there could be any argument over the necessity or the decency of a 12-hour day in a steel mill!¹ But there are some attempts at argument over it.

The steel manufacturers evidently tried the same argument on the agents of the Bureau of Labor that has always been their favorite in talking with me, for the report says:

During the investigation those in charge of the plants have in their discussions with representatives of the bureau frequently emphasized the fact that the men working these very long hours are not kept busy all the time. To a considerable extent this is perfectly true; but the employes in question are on duty and subject to orders during the entire period, and they are not, except in rare

¹An added significance attaches to the conditions of labor here described as characteristic of the iron and steel industry when we consider that the general tendency in other industries for years past has been toward a shorter working day. Years ago the 10-hour day became almost a standard; since that time further reductions have brought the working-day to 9, and in many cases to 8 hours, and this reduction has been accompanied by a part holiday on Saturday. It is therefore in striking contrast to this general tendency in other industries to find in a great basic industry, such as that part of the iron and steel industry covered in this report, that approximately only 14 per cent of the 173,000 employes work less than 60 hours per week and almost 43 per cent work 72 hours or over per week. REPORT ON CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES, Volume I, pp. XV, XVI; Senate Document No. 110, 62nd Congress, 1st Session.

instances, allowed to leave the plant. It should not be overlooked that it is not simply the character or the continuity of the work, but the fact that in the case of the 12-hour a day man, something over one-half of each 24 hours—more than three-fourths of his waking hours—is spent on duty in the mills, which is of significance to the worker and his family.

The 12-hour day in the steel industry will never be settled until we have an 8-hour, 3-shift law for continuous industries. It doesn't make good citizens to keep men cooped up in a steel plant 12 hours a day, even if they don't have to work all the time. There is now such a law, passed by Congress, for railroad telegraph offices that are continuously operated.

The answer that the men do not work all of the time they are in the mills indicates that the social aspects of the situation are ignored; but there is another answer that is even worse than that. Recently an important steel man, in a statement given to the press, said that the men preferred to work 12 hours a day so that they could make more money. It didn't seem to occur to this man that he was making a revelation of the shockingly low range of wages prevailing in the industry.¹

More than 50 per cent—in many cases 60 per cent—of the employes of steel companies are common laborers. They work either 10 or 12 hours a day and are paid by the hour. In Bethlehem and Steelton, Pa., common laborers get 13 and 14 cents an hour. In Birmingham, Ala., 12 and 13 cents. In Johnstown, Pa., and in Lackawanna, N. Y., the rate is 15 cents an hour. It is 17 cents in Pueblo and Chicago, and in the Steel Corporation mills in Pittsburgh it is 17½ cents an hour, the top notch of the common labor rate in the industry.²

What does this mean?

¹Out of the fifteen industries for which the annual earnings of immigrant laborers were secured by the Immigration Commission, in only one were they as low as in iron and steel. This was the manufacture of woolen and worsted, another beneficiary of a high tariff. The other industries were as follows: Slaughtering and meat packing; bituminous coal mining; glass; silk goods; cotton goods; clothing; boots and shoes; furniture; collars, cuffs and shirts; leather tanning, currying and finishing; gloves; oil refining, and sugar refining.

²Of the total of 172,706 employes, 13,868, or

The Associated Charities of three different cities where steel making is a great industry, have, within the last two years, made a study of the cost of living and have arrived at rough conclusions as to the income necessary in their respective localities to provide a minimum subsistence to a workingman's family, including husband, wife and three children. They put the figure at \$560 in Buffalo; \$630 in Chicago, and in Pittsburgh, \$768. Let us take the rates per hour given above and see how it works out.

If a common laborer works 12 hours per day, 365 days in the year, in the Buffalo or Chicago mills, he will earn about \$100 more than he needs for a bare subsistence—a little more than \$100 in Chicago, and a little less in Buffalo. If he takes his Sundays off and works 12 hours a day for 313 days, he will just about make it in both cities; but if the period of employment drops to 300 days, which is better than the steel companies have been doing for some time, the income will not reach the minimum, even if he works 12 hours a day. In neither Buffalo nor Chicago will a 10-hour man reach this minimum, even if he works 365 days in the year.

In Pittsburgh the figure determined upon by the Associated Charities was \$768. A common laborer employed in the Steel Corporation mills will just fall short of that figure if he works 12 hours a day every day in the year.

Under present conditions, common laborers are obliged to live amid unsanitary conditions and congestion of the worst sort. Common laborers in the steel industry are largely single men, or married men whose wives have been left in Europe. The men whose wives are with them in the mill towns generally take in boarders, and these single men are packed away in rooms with as many beds

8.03 per cent earned less than 14 cents per hour; 20,527, or 11.89 per cent earned 14 cents and under 16 cents; and 51,417, or 29.77 per cent earned 16 and under 18 cents. Thus: 85,812, or 49.69 per cent of all the employes received less than 18 cents per hour. Those earning 18 and under 25 cents per hour numbered 46,132 or 26.71 per cent; while 40,762 or 23.61 per cent earned 25 cents and over. A few very highly skilled employes received \$1.25 per hour; and those receiving 50 cents and over per hour numbered 4,403, or 2.55 per cent of all employes. BUREAU OF LABOR REPORT, p. XVI.

as the space will accommodate. The beds, like the men, are often worked double shift; the night workers sleeping in them during the day, and the day workers getting into the same beds at night.

Such conditions are not in accordance with American standards of decency. It is a farce to put a high tariff on steel to "protect American labor" and provide no machinery to insure that the benefit sifts through to the workmen themselves. If the tariff system is to be maintained and defended on these grounds, we must either curtail immigration or provide for minimum wages, by federal and state legislation; possibly we must do both.

Sweeping as is the indictment of fact against the steel industry in these counts, it should be said that the managers and presidents are generally men who are showing concern for the welfare of their employees. Nearly every steel company in America has done something in recent years to further the comfort or well-being of their workmen in one way or another. Two independent companies, Lackawanna and Colorado Fuel and Iron, have sociological departments. The department at Lackawanna is of recent origin and has for its aim social betterment of the town in many ways. The Colorado enterprise has been in operation more than a decade. It provides amusement and instruction for the dwellers in the coal camps and has contributed much toward the development of schools and the improvement of sanitary conditions.

It is seldom that one encounters a hospital so finely equipped and managed as the new one at Gary, Ind., or that of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company at Pueblo. But the necessity of adequate hospital service is more and more making itself felt. The Carnegie Steel Company has, within the last three years, standardized the emergency hospitals at its plants, has arranged for highly equipped wards in the new West Penn Hospital in Pittsburgh, and has reorganized its staff of surgeons. The Tennessee Coal and Iron Company is planning a new hospital near Birmingham.

There are many other similar movements in the steel industry, some of

which there is not space to mention, and others, doubtless, of which I have not even heard. But I can say this with some assurance. In it all, the United States Steel Corporation is leader. In the eighteen months ending with June, 1911, the United States Steel Corporation spent \$1,366,000 in the installation of safety devices in its various plants. For more than two years it has maintained a system of voluntary compensation whereby, regardless of contributory negligence, workmen receive definite compensation in case of accident. It provides a liberal old age pension, to which the employes are not asked to contribute, and it has more recently established a sanitary committee, which is to look into questions of shop-hygiene and sanitation in the same thorough way that safety is engineered.

In the accident relief plan the United States Steel Corporation has provided a definite and fixed compensation, in case of accident, regardless of common law defenses, in advance of any similar legislation by the states. And today Ohio is the only state in which the Steel Corporation plants exist that protects injured workmen by statute as well as they are protected under the relief plan of the corporation.

To bring the protection of all workers in all mills in this hazardous trade up to the standards thus crystallizing into practice in the foremost companies there is need of better laws for safety in factories in every state in the union. There is need of better inspection and enforcement of these laws, and finally, there is need of compensation laws that will put the financial burden of accidents on the industry instead of on the individual.

It would be exceedingly unfair to discuss conditions in the steel industry without mentioning these progressive measures. Because of their operation, there is growing up in the steel companies, and especially in the United States Steel Corporation, a group of men to whom safety, or health, or some other form of human conservation is a matter of more importance than output or dividends.

But these things must be considered in

their proper relations, and it would be even more unfair to stop at this point and leave the rest of the story untold. The steel companies of the United States have come to be immensely powerful. Everyone would admit that, so far as the United States Steel Corporation is concerned; but it is true also, in less degree, of the independents.

It may be no crime to be possessed of great power. But great power carries with it great responsibility as to the use that is made of it. I wish merely to point out here that the steel companies do have great power, and then to cite some instances of the manner in which they exercise it.

I never encountered a more striking illustration of the effect of industrial power than was revealed to me in a conversation with a Y. M. C. A. secretary in one of the steel towns of Pennsylvania. He told me that the Association there had about 150 members. The steel mill employed more than 5,000 men; so I asked him why he did not have a larger membership.

"O," he said, "The Association caters to a better class than the ordinary workmen; we have the clerks from the offices mainly. Then, the working schedule of the mills is such as to make it very hard for the workmen to use the Y. M. C. A. facilities; they would be too tired, you know, to use the baths and the bowling alleys, even if they were members."

"That is on account of the 12-hour day, is it?" I asked.

"Yes," he said, "The 12-hour day and the 7-day week."

"Well, then," I suggested, "the working schedule is a barrier between you and your real work; in order to reach the men at all, your first job, apparently, will be to break down that barrier."

"O, no," said the secretary, "we could not do that. In the first place, the association is the child, you might say, of the steel company. They are the heaviest contributors, and it would break it up for me to go into anything like that; anyway, I would be sure to lose my job. It might possibly be taken up by the State Association, but probably they couldn't touch it either. You see, we

are backed up everywhere by the substantial business men of the various localities; they would not stand for any such movement. Now, take it in this neighborhood. The steel company has done more for the schools here than any other agency. They gave the borough its high school building. Our president is the chairman of the school board. It would hardly do, you know, under the circumstances, for the association of which he is president to oppose the policies of the steel company. At least, he would look at it that way. This thing has come up before. Last winter we wanted to get Charles Stelzle here to talk to the men. Now, you know, this is a non-union mill—the company would not tolerate unionism. Stelzle always talks to workmen about bettering their conditions and usually mentions unionism. Of course, no sane man can deny that there is need here of any agency that will better the conditions of the men, but you see how Stelzle's talk might create unrest, and it would not do. We had to decide against it. So I consider it best to keep pretty quiet and be careful. It may be that the churches could take up the movement that you suggest, yet if they were to request the company to cut out Sunday work, I am sure they would get a very polite, diplomatic request to mind their own business. Things are rotten here all right; but the work of the Y. M. C. A. is not one of social reform. We aim to get good, clean young men, and to help them to stay clean. That is our work. I believe in these reform movements, all right, but they are outside of our line of activity."

The recent report of the Immigration Commission contains some interesting information in this connection. In its report of steel communities it refers to them by letter, and says this of the leading company in "Community A":

Company 1 exerts a strong influence over the affairs of the city, politically, socially and industrially. It owns the largest department store, the largest hotel and cafe, supervises the public library, owns a large and flourishing American residential suburb, which is situated on a mountain that rises directly from the city; owns and operates the railroad which carries all of the passenger and



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freight traffic between the city proper and this suburb; and owns the ground and a majority of the houses in two residential districts for its employes, and considerable land on which houses owned by its employes have been built.

Such a company is in position to wield great influence. It is evident to anyone at all familiar with the district that Community A is Johnstown, Pa.; that Company 1 is the Cambria Steel Company, which is controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Equally interesting is what the Immigration Report has to say in this connection about Community C; and it is equally evident that Community C is Steelton, Pa., where the Pennsylvania Steel Company (also controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad) has its big plant. I take the following from the report:

The location of a large steel plant in Community C gives character to the entire town, influencing and controlling its life, not only in an industrial and business way, but also in its social and political aspects. . . . In normal times, the steel company employs about 8,000 men, most of whom are residents of the town, whose total population probably never exceeded 18,000. It is apparent from these figures that the company has always been in a position to influence to a very large degree the affairs of the town. At the present time, the vice-president of the company is president of the council, and this office has

frequently, if not usually, been filled by someone high in authority at the works. The favorable or unfavorable attitude of the company toward candidates for office seems to be communicated to those with whom it may have weight, and to constitute the most important influence in local politics.

I do not think I ever was in a steel town where I found so much actual fear of the steel company on the part of the citizens of the town, as I found in Steelton, which is about a twenty-minute car ride from Pennsylvania's capital. I called at the home of some people there who had been mentioned to me as interested in social advance. I talked with them about parks, playgrounds, municipal sanitation, and district nursing. All went well until I casually mentioned the steel company. They had told me of certain quarters of the city where there was great congestion, and I asked them if the low wages paid by the steel company had anything to do with it. Instantly, the husband and wife with whom I was talking drew back and seemed to be afraid to say anything more, although they had said nothing, even remotely, relating to the steel company, and they urged me not to quote them in any way, because they said they did not want to offend the company. As I got up to leave, the husband, a business man, fol-



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lowed me to the door and out on to the porch, imploring me not to mention his name, although I had already told him that I would not. "For heaven's sake," he said, "don't mix me up in this. I've got to do business in this town, and I can't afford to offend the company."

Not at all dissimilar was the condition in Bethlehem, Pa., when, during the strike of 1910, the merchants who feared that the plant would shut down or be moved, took the side of the company and against the men who were striking for a day of rest, and adopted resolutions, expressing their "appreciation to Charles M. Schwab for the great things he has already accomplished for this community," and trusting that "he will not be diverted by the unfortunate industrial dissensions from continuing to carry out his great plans."

The power of the steel companies over the towns in which they operate is a civic problem, and it is perhaps the most important aspect of the situation. Political control over a community is in the long run a very inclusive sort of control. But it is on the industrial side that the power of the steel companies is most evident. It was brought out in the hearings before the Stanley Committee, some time ago, that the Steel Corpora-

tion, as early as 1901, in a resolution adopted by its executive committee, went on record as "unalterably opposed to the extension of organized labor" and advised its subsidiary companies not to recognize unionism. Since that time, a consistent fight has been made by the Steel Corporation against all the unions to which any of their employes belonged with the possible exception of the railroad unions. In 1901 they loosened the grip of an already weak union among the steel workers (the Amalgamated Association); in 1909 they completed the work by eliminating that union completely. In 1908 the Pittsburgh Steamship Company, the most important member of the Lake Carriers' Association, and operating the ore boats of the Steel Corporation, refused to deal longer with the Lake Seamen's Union and apparently brought the Lake Carriers' Association into line in the same policy. During the strike on the Great Lakes, which followed, the Lake Carriers' Association officers refused to accept an invitation from the Boards of Arbitration of the five states surrounding the Great Lakes to state their case before them. In the strike of 1909, in which the Steel Corporation finally eliminated the Amalgamated Association, the attempt of the

State Board of Arbitration of Indiana to bring about conciliation was refused. The officers of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, a subsidiary of the Steel Corporation, even refused an audience to those state officials.

The opposition of the steel companies to labor organizations is natural enough. The unions themselves have been to blame for much of the bitterness that has been engendered. No employer can look with pleasure upon a union that acts repeatedly with headstrong arrogance; and that was the way in which the Amalgamated Association acted, quite customarily, years back when it was powerful. The steel companies are able to cite instances of aggression in times of peace and violence during strikes to support their contention that the unions should be thrown out.

During the strike of 1909, which was the last stand of the Amalgamated Association against elimination from the plants of the Steel Corporation, and in which it was finally eliminated, there were some very discreditable things done by union men. At Bridgeport and Martins Ferry, Ohio, tactics were employed by the strikers that I should condemn in the strongest of terms. In the first place strikers interfered with men who remained at work, assaulting them, destroying their dinner pails and committing other depredations. Then the company secured guards for the plant. It was as a red flag to a bull when they brought professional guards into Ohio from Pittsburgh and surrounded the plant the night the guards arrived. As always, there are conflicting reports about who started it, but there was an exchange of bullets, and for several hours that night, the plant was fired upon intermittently, and the fire was returned. The thing, however, that most offended against ordinary standards of civilization was when an attempt was made by company surgeons to bring two wounded guards out of the plant in order to remove them to a hospital. They were fired upon by the strikers and driven back into the plant. This was the day of most violence in the strike. After that the outcroppings of

lawlessness were spasmodic; but still of a sort that was utterly discreditable. And a grave feature in connection with the whole affair is that many of the union leaders appeared to condone this violence. They said to me "But look at what we were up against. See what the Steel Corporation did to us at Vandergrift and Apollo." I am going to tell about Vandergrift and Apollo for the same reason that I am telling about Martins Ferry, because the story is significant; but I do not regard one as an offset to the other. Nor did I later on, when I protested to an official of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company against the Apollo outrage, and he said to me, "Yes, but look at what the union did to us at Martins Ferry."

That, however, is anticipating the story. At Martins Ferry a union man who was on strike waylaid a Negro on his way to work and began to beat him up. When the Negro was on his back on the ground, where he had been thrown, he drew a revolver and shot his assailant, who died next day. The nature of the case is pretty well indicated by the fact that after the Negro had been given a preliminary hearing in a white man's court he was not held for trial. But the union men made a martyr and a hero of the man he shot. They made his funeral the occasion for a labor demonstration, and then they raised funds to build a monument over his grave by selling his picture with his name and the words "Our Martyr," on a button. On the monument, which they unveiled last October with eulogistic speeches by union leaders, are the words "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

Martins Ferry is but an incident in a conflict ages long. And so is any single fact that I may put down in this account. But Martins Ferry is also only an incident in a shorter, sharper, struggle, that between the United States Steel Corporation and labor. It was long before the midnight fusillade of December 3, 1909, that the United States Steel Corporation adopted its anti-union policies. In fact those policies date from

a time long prior to the formation of the corporation.

The Carnegie Steel Company maintains a Secret Service Department of which George K. Preston is head. It is an effective system, swift and certain in action, and is undoubtedly as effective as any of the various similar organizations maintained by the other companies. No one on the outside can tell just how it works, but workmen and union officials know well that it exists. No move can be made by workmen in the direction of collective activity without the officials knowing of it. No meeting can be held to discuss conditions of employment and ways of bettering them, without the Steel Corporation being furnished with a list of names of those who attended. It is this secret service that makes so effective the efforts of the Corporation to prevent the entrance of labor organizations.

Last fall Llewellyn Lewis, a former vice-president of the Amalgamated Association, told me something that gave me some indication of this.

Lewis lives in Martins Ferry, Ohio. Across the river, in Wheeling, W. Va., the district manager for the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company used to have his home. Lewis said that the manager used to "kid" him because he always knew what the union was doing before Lewis did. A few years ago a wage convention was held at New Castle, Pa. Delegates from various locals were sent there to discuss the scale that the union was going to ask for. Lewis remained in Martins Ferry, but he had an understanding with a lieutenant that he was to be called up on the long distance telephone and told the result of the deliberations. Along in the afternoon, Lewis says he was called to the telephone by the tin plate manager, across the river in Wheeling and was told, not only what the wage scale was that had been agreed upon, but what the vote had been by locals. A few minutes afterwards, he was called up by his man in New Castle and was informed as to the result, which proved to be identical with the information that he had already received from the company manager.

It should be noted that the labor pol-

icy which gives motive to such surveillance is more than a non-union policy. It is more than an objection on the part of the company to that sort of activity which tends to hamper business; it is a denial of the right of an employe to any voice regarding the conditions of his employment. It is not so much unionism that is under the ban as it is freedom of action. Men have repeatedly been discharged at Homestead not for making unjust demands but for attempting to promote an organization whose possible demands could not have been known at the time the leaders were discharged. Within two years at Gary men have been discharged in large numbers, not for making unjust demands, not for trying to interfere in the business of the Illinois Steel Company, but because they attempted to form some sort of organization. So far as the company had information, and so far as any expression from the men was concerned, the organization that the men were attempting might have been for social purposes only. But the company took no chances, it discharged the men.

During the Pittsburgh Survey, I ran across cases where petitions gotten up by the men had been suppressed by local officials. In reviewing these instances in a conference at the headquarters of the United States Steel Corporation in New York, the chief officials expressed a willingness to receive such petitions sent directly to New York. An associate of mine thereupon wrote a department superintendent in a Pittsburgh mill suggesting that he draw up a petition asking for one day of rest in seven, and get his men to sign it and send it to the New York office. He was known to be opposed to seven-day labor and eager to see it abolished. This man was an important official drawing a large enough salary to have enabled him to accumulate property. His reply was that he did not want to be discharged and was not ready to resign, and that therefore he thought he would not circulate the petition. Since that time I have in a number of cases suggested in personal conversation with highly skilled and well-paid employes of the Steel Corporation who seemed to be dissatisfied with certain conditions of their employ-

ment, that they write to headquarters in New York. Their replies have invariably been similar to that of the Pittsburgh superintendent. Not one of them believed in the power of the New York office to protect him from his own immediate superiors.

These were cases during the ordinary "peaceful" operation of the industry. During the strike of 1909 in the sheet and tin mills, there was demonstrated at Apollo, Pa., the lengths to which the power of the Steel Corporation makes itself felt in a time of conflict. Apollo is just across the Kiskiminetas river from Vandergrift, where the largest plant of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company is located. This was and is a non-union mill. Organizers of the Amalgamated Association went into the district and registered at a little hotel in Apollo called Park's Hotel. What followed was summed up in a local paper, the *Apollo Sentinel* on Friday, July 30, 1909, as follows:

Recently a number of men representing the Iron-workers Union were run out of Vandergrift and Vandergrift Heights. Failing to find shelter in either of those towns, they came to Apollo and have been endeavoring to organize the men, with headquarters at Apollo. The sentiment is strong against them among the business men of the community, and a large majority of the mill men are opposed to them, although they have a following among a few of the younger men. The organizers have been endeavoring to hold a mass meeting, but have been unable to secure a suitable place.

After failing to secure a building, they made an effort to hold an open air meeting, but have been unsuccessful in securing a lot. Thursday evening a citizens' meeting, including merchants and mill men, was held with the organizers and with Burgess Steele, and they were warned to leave the community.

I spent a few hours in Apollo in September, 1911, and talked with a number of business men, including Burgess Steele. The testimony was universal that the organizers behaved themselves and kept within the law, and yet the business men had held a meeting presided over by the Burgess (Mayor), for the purpose of warning these citizens to leave town. The organizers attempted to secure a building in which to hold meetings but no one would let them have a building. Finally they secured a vacant lot upon which to meet. Before

the time set the owner of the lot came and tried to give back the money that had been paid him for the lot, saying that he could not continue doing business in Apollo if a union meeting were held on his property.

Nevertheless, the meeting was held late in the afternoon. After it was over some strange things happened. Citizens of Apollo told me that a department superintendent in the Vandergrift mill came across the river at the head of a mob of men and ordered the organizers to leave town. T. J. Parks, proprietor of the little hotel where the men were stopping, told me that this man threatened to tear his hotel down if he did not force the organizers to leave. Exactly what happened after that I do not wish to attempt to say because there are conflicting reports, but Burgess Steele's statement is that he came down to the hotel and acted as intermediary between the superintendent and the organizers, and that he, Steele, got the organizers to agree to leave early the next morning. He carried this message back, to the steel mill superintendent he says, and then the latter went away. Steele also said that he went down to the hotel the next morning in company with a representative of the Steel Company to see to it that the men kept their promise. The superintendent in question who was last September still in the employ of the Steel Corporation, denies the whole story. There are, however, numerous affidavits in connection with the matter, making these and similar charges. Since the affair in 1909 Mr. Parks tells me that he has been unable to secure any steel workers as boarders at his hotel. About half a dozen who were boarding there at the time were obliged to leave.

Pennsylvania did not stand alone in the spectacle of the mayor of an American town lending the power of his office to drive out law abiding citizens who were offensive to the Steel Corporation. During the same strike that filled Apollo with excitement, Emmet Flood, an organizer of the American Federation of Labor who was assisting the Amalgamated Association men, was warned by the mayor of Morgantown W. Va. According to a Morgantown paper the mayor sent word to Flood

that "in view of his mission he was not wanted here and that his room was infinitely more desirable than his presence." He was further "warned that the feeling of hostility against union agitators was strong and that he would be safer out of Morgantown."

Nor did the Apollo conflict end with the incident I have related. It is reported by members of the Amalgamated Association that workmen at Vandergrift, Pa., across the river from Apollo, were threatened with discharge if they attended meetings addressed by union organizers. It is claimed that men were discharged because their wives attended such meetings. In the Journal of Proceedings of the Amalgamated Association for the year 1910, there is a statement signed by D. P. Boyer, which is in the form of an affidavit, sworn to by Boyer, who claimed to have worked for the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company for ten years previous. The statement follows:

When the A. F. of L. opened its meetings in Apollo, the men of the mills were forbidden to go to those meetings, but, however, my wife and my sister-in-law went, and because of this me and my brother-in-law were discharged. We were reported by a man that works for the steel company. This man is my neighbor. He and his wife watched the meetings of the federation, and then he would carry the report to the mills. If there are any evidence or figures wanted to back this up, I can furnish them. When I was discharged on September 16, 1909, there was no fault to find, only that I would not promise to keep my family away from the meetings of the Federation of Labor. This I would not do, and so I got my time.

These things indicate the attitude of the United States Steel Corporation toward labor. It is more than a spirit of protest against reckless and irresponsible unionism. It is more than a desire to keep the management of the business in the hands of responsible agents of the corporation. I could offer no reasonable criticism of a determined stand on those two points. But the Steel Corporation goes much farther than that. It fixes the labor contract without reference to the wishes of the other parties to it. Instead of a discussion and a "higgling" over the terms, the bargain is determined on in the offices of the party of the first part alone; and the

parties of the second part, if they are interested may find what it is they have agreed to by looking on a bulletin board. In its determination to manage "its own business" the Steel Corporation effectually denies to the workmen any right to look after their business. And having become immensely powerful through organization, the corporation makes it a crime, punishable by instant discharge, to make any move toward a counter organization of employees; although it is only by such an organization that the unfair advantage of the corporation can be balanced off.

In this respect the Steel Corporation does not differ a whit from the independents. In spite of welfare work, pensions, sociological departments and Sunday Schools, the real spirit of the steel companies of America is one of arrogance and contempt for the rights both of their employees and of the public insofar as the two are bound together. It indicates a desire to provide such working conditions as will keep the bodies of their workmen whole and such as will not subject them to disease. It indicates a desire to provide physical conditions that approach excellence; but it indicates on the other hand, a determination to rule at any cost. It is a policy that begins in a spirit of apparent benevolence and ends in a spirit that is insinister opposition to democracy. It is a policy which, carried to its logical conclusion, means feudalism, and the denial to workmen of rights that must be regarded in America as fundamental.

It will not forever be safe to deny justice to American workmen. It will not forever be safe to deny it to immigrant workmen or to the children of immigrants. Nor does it avail meanwhile to cite instances of violence in labor disputes as a reason for repression. However unjustifiable an individual instance of violence may be, in the long run the inciters to violence are not the unscrupulous labor leaders. The only dangerous agitators are those who attempt to build an industry on a foundation of wages too low to admit of decent standards of family life, of hours too long to admit of proper rest or relaxation, and of silence and acquiescence as the price of a job.

RELIGION IN SOCIAL ACTION

VII

THE FAMILY: FIELD, FUNCTION, AND TRIBUTARY AGENCIES

GRAHAM TAYLOR

Nothing human is so identified with all that is divine as is the family. Like the sacrament itself, it is the visible sign of all the invisible sanctities of religion; the type of its relationships, Godward and manward; the mold in which both the form and spirit of the church were divinely purposed to be cast. Historically the family is the single source to which all the synagogues and temples of Judaism and all the churches of Christendom are to be traced. Wherever, like the sun's rays, their "lines have gone out throughout the earth and their words to the end of the world," they all converge in Abraham's household, and in "the church that was in their house" who first accepted the Christian evangel. The temple on Mount Zion strengthened the stakes and lengthened the cords of the patriarch's tent and of the tabernacle within which the nomad tribes shared with Jehovah, their God, "his rest." The portal through which Christianity found entrance to Europe was the open-hearted households of Lydia and the manly Roman jailer, who "believing in God with all his house," "was baptized, he and all his, straightway."

From so natural and ordinary and human a thing as the family, such a supernatural and extraordinary and divine a thing as religion sprang, and ever springs. It is difficult, if not impossible, to conceive of religion apart from the family. It is less difficult to think of reconstituting the human race, and the relations which make the race human, if it had to begin over again, without the church rather than without the home. Indeed, religion could more readily be reproduced from the family, if the church were lost, than it could be maintained by the church if the family were lost. Prior to, and the norm of, the church, the family is, therefore, the birthplace of religion. The parent is the first priest. The children

and household are the first congregation. The Holy Family is the great seal of Christianity. The mother and the child are its sign manual. The church was cradled in the manger at Bethlehem. The incarnation, for which that birth stands, is the all-inclusive, fundamental doctrine and experience of Christianity, allying it with the Old Testament tenet of the creation by one Creator.

Biologically, the family is the primary cell of the whole social organism. Church and state therefore exist more for the family than the family for either. In its very first function—the reproduction of life, the perpetuation of the race—the family shares the creative prerogative of the life-giver. It fulfills his fiat, "let us make man in our image." Through the family, as through no other human relationship, God continues to create male and female after his likeness to share his dominion. So the first act of religion is, or should be, to safeguard and promote the family in the fulfillment of its primary functions for the individual and social life.

The first of these is birth—the reproduction of the race. It is declared to be such both by nature and revelation. Strong as the sex impulse is, the parental instinct is shown to be deeper. Ethnologists since Westermarck¹ see this in the fact that the pairing of birds and the higher animals survives longer than the sex impulse lasts, and until offspring are born and come to self-support. In all normal beings, parentage roots deeper than passion. The religious emphasis upon reproduction is impressed and re-impressed, from the story of the creation, through the genealogies and heredities of Scriptures, to the prophetic vision of the heavenly city, "full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof."

¹Westermarck, HISTORY OF HUMAN MARRIAGE.

Here upon the very threshold of the family and within its holy of holies we are met by the hard facts with which our modern civilization faces the fulfillment of this primary family function. The cost of living in relation to the reproduction of life, the restriction of the birth-rate and excessive infant mortality over against the divine blessing upon birth, the over-work of women nullifying motherhood, child labor stealing from the race its play-time and its years for growth, bad housing and inhuman city administration making good homes impossible, sex perversions and exploitations substituting sacrilege for the sanctity of marriage and parentage—these are as essentially the problems of religion and the church as of the economic and political sciences, as of legislation and statesmanship. For generation conditions regeneration. The first birth very certainly limits the promise and the effect of the "second birth." Religion can serve its own ends no more surely or highly than to assure every child a better chance to be born aright the first time so that it may be reborn more surely and to higher purpose.

It was a clergyman of the church of England, the Rev. Thomas Robert Malthus, who, in 1798, made the first thorough attempt to relate the birth-rate to the food-supply.¹ His motive was the causes which impede the progress of mankind toward happiness, the chief is the constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it."

Although his statistics by which he sought to establish mathematically the ratio between the increase of the birth-rate and that of the food supply were abandoned by the author himself as untrustworthy, and although some of his arguments have been superseded by the criticisms of other economists,² this fundamental "Malthusian" relation between birth and food is so vital that it persists, not only in the discussions of the economists, but among the most serious practical problems involving marriage and family life.

¹Malthus, *ESSAY ON THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION*.

²Hadley, *ECONOMICS*, pp. 41-51.

April 6, 1912.

The initiative thus given to scientific inquiry into the propagation of the race is now proceeding from a negative to a positive basis and aim. Daunted by what seemed at first to be a fixed limit to the sustenance of life, Malthus over-emphasized the dependence for progress upon the checks on the increase of population—famine, war, disease, vice, and the restraints of intelligence and the moral sense. It remained for Annie Besant, nearly a century later, publicly to justify and advocate personally applied artificial checks upon the increase of the family. The little volume in which she did this bore the title, *The Law of Population, Its Consequences, and Its Bearing upon Human Conduct and Morals*, and was circulated in many cheap editions among all classes of British people, especially the poor of East London, with such unexpectedly evil results that the authoress herself withdrew the booklet from circulation.

From this negative attitude of despair, inquiries at last are turning toward a positive attitude and a constructive purpose. But even yet the very consciousness and recognition of the human right to be born aright is being evolved through the pressure of the burden imposed by the deficient upon the efficient.¹

The new science of eugenics wisely places its first and greatest emphasis upon the necessity and practicability of preventing parentage among the unfit. It claims that the segregation of the feeble-minded and epileptic under proper public care will prevent the reproduction of nine-tenths of the unfit. It further asserts that defects and inefficiency due to social conditions might well-nigh be eliminated by effective protection from race poisons due to vice-diseases, alcohol, and some occupational infections. If "the groundwork of a real science of heredity" is confessed to be as yet "not sufficient to justify any active measures to guide the parenthood of the worthy," the possibilities of positive measures are nevertheless the hope of these pioneers who are pa-

¹NEW TRACTS FOR THE TIMES: Newsholme, *DECLINING BIRTHRATE*; Saleeby, *METHOD OF RACE-REGENERATION*; Ellis, *PROBLEM OF RACE-REGENERATION*; THE SURVEY, March 2, 1912, Symposium, *RIGHT TO BE WELL-BORN*.

tiently investigating the way toward this new human advance.¹

Some noteworthy practical recognitions have already been given this movement of scientists from unexpected quarters. The American stock breeders' faith in the success of their own efforts to improve the breed of animals is sufficient to inspire them to add a department of eugenics to the investigational work of their effective association. The first legislative recognition of a eugenic public policy was given by the British parliamentary measures of 1909, providing for a "maternity benefit" in the industrial insurance act, and the remission of 7s. 6d. for every child from the income tax upon the head of each family.

The first ecclesiastical body to act with practical effect to this end is the Episcopal Cathedral at Chicago. With the approval of Bishop Charles P. Anderson, Dean Walter T. Sumner announces that no persons will be married there who do not present to the clergy a certificate from a reputable physician certifying that they are physically and mentally normal and have neither incurable nor communicable disease. In answering this decision Dean Sumner well says: "Surely one has only to make a survey of conditions as they exist today to be aroused to do something that there shall not be left in the wake of married life sterility, insanity, paralysis, blinded eyes of little babes, the twisted limbs of deformed children, physical rot and mental decay."

The combined efforts of religion, education, and economics are nowhere seen to be so necessary to the safety of the individual, the protection and promotion of the family, and the progress of the race as in the regulation of sex relationships and the control of the birth-rate.² Economic statistics of the cost of living and of the ratio of births to it avail little without the sex education of the individual and the religious motive power behind that. Indeed, economic conditions ad-

verse to family life always increase the temptations of men to gratify sex impulse outside of family relations, multiply illegitimate births, and result in desertions of wives and children and ever more divorces. Educational efforts have only begun to be made through literature and school instruction on sex hygiene. As yet a very small proportion of youth are thus informed and safeguarded. Even such attempts as are made are due principally to philanthropic and religious impulses and agencies. How to introduce this delicate, difficult, and dangerous subject in our schools safely and effectively is a question that is still doubtfully and hesitatingly considered. It can and should be done. But however well it may be attempted in the schools, or through literature, it will be more than offset by adverse conditions in the home life of pupils and can effect little without parental co-operation with teachers. So the school and the printed page, however helpful, are not adequate of themselves. Only the family is closely and constantly enough in contact with the adolescent girl and boy to assure their training for self-control. But as a matter of fact, any direct and effective family effort to this end is sadly exceptional, and such as is attempted is almost always made under the stress of religious duty. If therefore either the home or the school do their duty in this respect, it will be due mainly to the initiative and impulse of religion. But religion must seek other than ecclesiastical agencies to do this most personal and yet vitally public work. Through its Sunday schools and parochial schools, through its pastors and father confessors, the church may do much. But it requires the best efforts of statesmanship, education, industry, and religion to do the much more that needs to be done, in order to train not only every child, but adults as well; to influence parents and home conditions; to repress vice, and protect youth and the family from it; to maintain and develop economic conditions favorable to early marriage, and working conditions at least compatible with and not destructive of family life; and to secure such local and rational administration of government as

¹Saleeby, PARENTHOOD AND RACE CULTURE; Hobhouse, SOCIAL EVOLUTION AND POLITICAL THEORY, pp. 13-79 on "Progress and the Struggle for Existence" and "Value and Limitations of Eugenics."

²The American Federation for Sex Hygiene is the central agency for promoting and correlating all these efforts; Dr. Charles W. Elliot, president, and Charles W. Birtwell, secretary, 29 West 42d street, New York city.

will make every neighborhood, town, city, state, and nation a federation of families.¹

In such fellowships, families thus federated will bring into closest co-operation the voluntary and official agencies of each local community; of infant welfare work, with departments of health; of juvenile courts and their probation officers with juvenile protective associations;² of child-helping and home finding societies with the legal supervision of all dependent and delinquent children by state boards of charities, county courts, public guardians, police departments, and judges of juvenile courts.

To fulfill its function in the nurture of child life and in the development of the adult through the fellowships, rest, and recuperation of home life, the family needs the most intimate and active co-operation of school and neighborhood, local government and church. The child is not fully born until it comes to years of discretion. The law does not regard the minor as a full-fledged individual. It holds the parent responsible for the child and appoints a guardian to take the parents' place when it is vacated, perverted, or abandoned. The child's breach of the law is considered "delinquency" and is no longer classified as "criminal," like that of the adult. Dr. Horace Bushnell³ well describes the child as held in the "parental matrix" of the home during the years of its minority. So vital and inevitable is the "law of the organic unity of the family" which he profoundly interprets and practically applies that he is justified by human experience in claiming the most potent influence over character to be that of the family life, which is unconsciously exerted and involuntarily received, especially during the first seven years of a child's life. Then the child becomes more like what the home life is than like what we tell the growing boy or girl to be. This fact either furthers or hinders the work of both school and

church, teacher and pastor, accordingly as the family either promotes or hinders the efforts of these. On the other hand, the family needs the help of both school and church, teacher and pastor, law and government, in protecting and promoting the development of the child and of the home life which shapes it. The sanctity of marriage and the restriction of divorce, upon which the existence of the home depends, can be assured only as marriage is hallowed by religion and as it is defended by the law from wanton divorce and desertion. Teachers and pastors, legislators and public officials should consider themselves as assistants to parents in the defense and upbuilding of the home and should be selected, recognized, and used by them as such. Public health officers and sanitary inspectors should be considered as more constantly serving every family than the family physician. The school, with its provisions for instruction and play, is the public annex added to every private house. The public park, playground, and recreation center are extensions of every family's backyard or walled-in inner court. The juvenile court and its probation officers, the parental school for truants and the reform school for delinquents are the state-appointed helpers to parents, to aid them in the discipline of their children, or to take the parents' place when they fail.

If the nurture of child life therefore is the prerogative of religion as truly as it is that of the family, then the church as surely as the home has the most vital interest and imperative duty in securing such public funds and officials as will make school and park systems, health and police departments, laws and courts tributary to and not subversive of the normal nurture of the child. Pastor and Sunday school teacher should exercise watch and care over these public provisions for fostering the health, intelligence, recreation, and morals of the children as vigilantly as they do their work within the church.

The kind and degree of influence exerted by the home are conditioned by the house. For the house not only shelters but shapes the family life for better or for worse. Better or worse housing makes all the difference between

¹The Chicago Vice Commission's Report on THE SOCIAL EVIL IN CHICAGO, presents facts and recommendations on the economic, family and parental, educational and recreative, sanitary, legislative, and police aspects of vice, based on the most thorough investigation of conditions that has ever been made by any municipality. As this report is out of print, copies cannot be obtained.

²See reports of the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago (800 South Halsted St.).

³Bushnell, CHRISTIAN NURTURE.

normal, abnormal, or sub-normal lives; between decency and modesty, where space enough is allowed, and indecency and immodesty, where overcrowding crowds out self-respect. Wherever shop work is taken into the house, normal family life is crowded out of it. When wives and mothers work away from home, housekeeping and the children pay the penalty.¹ Transient rental of furnished rooms strips the family of the last vestige of home equipment. Taking boarders into overcrowded family apartments destroys family unity and privacy, interferes with marital and parental confidences, almost always imperils virtue and very often destroys it.

What therefore can be more domestic or religious than to secure the proper housing of families such as will make homes possible and successful? Should the sanctuary of the church be more sacred to its worshippers than their duty to secure right building ordinances and efficient building departments, garden cities, industrial villages, and decent lodging houses for family-less men and women? Should not every church, or local group of churches, be considered by their members as housing reform associations and play-ground promoters, just as legitimately as associations of commerce are regarding this to be their function? Was there ever a more monumental attestation of the religious quality of a public service than characterizes the framing and enactment of the new tenement house law of New York, which let no less than a million people out of dark

and unventilated apartments into the light and air guaranteed them by the "new law tenements"?²

If, as we have seen,³ the family furnishes the terms and types by which are revealed our relations to God and each other, then the preservation and development of the family is our primary religious duty. For how can religion itself be preserved and developed if the earthly type of it is lowered or lost? How can we even pray "Our Father which art in heaven," if earthly fatherhood lacks all human suggestion of the divine? If we become so evil that we know not how to give good gifts unto our children, can we measure up "how much more" our Father which is in heaven gives good things to them that ask him? "My father's house" can mean little more than is homelike in another world than it does in this world. "The whole family in heaven" cannot fail to mean less to one who has suffered from a divided home on earth.

So the family is not more dependent upon religion than religion is upon the family. The hope of the one is identified with that of the other. Therefore all that pertains to family life and promotes it is as religious as religion itself.

²de Forest and Veiller, *THE TENEMENT HOUSE PROBLEM*.

³*THE SURVEY*, March 2, 1912, p. 1833. Religion of Human Relationships.

[THIS IS THE SEVENTH OF PROFESSOR TAYLOR'S SERIES ON RELIGION IN SOCIAL ACTION, WHICH ARE RUNNING IN *THE SURVEY* THROUGHOUT THE MEN AND RELIGION CAMPAIGN. PREVIOUS ARTICLES WERE: I. LIFE AND RELIGION, DECEMBER 2; II. THE HUMAN POINT OF VIEW, DECEMBER 16; III. PERSONALITY A SOCIAL PRODUCT AND FORCE, JANUARY 6; IV. THE CALL AND EQUIPMENT FOR EFFECTIVE SERVICE, JANUARY 20; V. CHANGING CONDITIONS OF A WORKING FAITH, FEBRUARY 3; VI. THE RELIGION OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS, MARCH 2.]

¹Breckenridge and Abbott, *FAMILIES IN FURNISHED ROOMS*. Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy study.

THE "FORWARD MOVEMENT"

FRED. B. SMITH

MEN AND RELIGION CAMPAIGN LEADER

As the closing weeks of the eventful campaign of the Men and Religion Movement approaches, the era of the philosopher will begin with his scientific investigation into the "why" of it.

Taken in its entirety it has surpassed the expectations of its greatest friends. The *ideal* has been exploited and cannot be rubbed out. Years may be necessary before the religious organizations will be prepared to adopt fully the curriculum, but it will be a sad hour for any that stolidly refuse to reconstruct.

The *method* was unique for the movement based its primary effort upon educational functions rather than inspirational or converting ones. From the very beginning the "institutes" were made the central feature and at least 58,000 men have been in attendance at these sessions as students of better methods.

It was also different in that it proposed, by its auxiliary town plan, to make the whole continent feel the awaking of the central cities. Here again marked success has been reported. From the seventy-five convention cities, deputations have gone out to adjacent towns till about 1,500 local campaigns have been held.

There has also been compelling power in the direct insistent attack upon the peculiar man-and-boy-problem—the lack of which has been the point of criticism in a good many such efforts heretofore. With 3,000,000 more women and girls in churches of the country than men and boys, the whole movement voiced this specific masculine call.

Crediting every other element duly, that which has attracted most attention has been the breadth and scope of the message. Religious education has been fully exemplified in the tremendous place given to work for Boys and Bible study. "Missions" as a principle has been set forth with no geographical lines pitting "Home" against "Foreign." The necessity of individual regeneration has never been neglected or omitted, but with equal power the possibilities of community regeneration have been preached as that doctrine was never before declared to any people. The variety of these themes opened at once channels of interest which could not have been possible if any of them had been taken alone.

There has followed even increasingly the growing sense that after all these are not competing ideas which for convenience the advocates had agreed should be presented from one platform for a while, but rather that they are *one*.

Prophecy as to the religious program of the coming years may surely forecast that the gospel which contemplates bringing the individual to a confession of religion will not be based upon a back-handed attack upon the social forces, and likewise the social worker will have less to say of the out-of-date individualists. The home missionary preacher will be less tempted to say there are "heathen enough at home" and therefore we need not take part in tasks in the non-Christian world. In the same measure the apostle of the romance of a world conquest will seem less inclined to belittle the prosaic home tasks as not being big enough to command the attention of strong men. That which the Men and Religion Forward Movement will have perfected, and perhaps that realm in which it will serve, in the greatest way, the coming of the Kingdom is that it has enlarged the curriculum of actual Christian service in which men can engage. Some things are now called Christian work that were hitherto branded as secular. No better summary has been heard throughout the whole year concerning the significance of the movement than one given by a pastor in a southern city when he said that the result of the Men and Religion Forward Movement was that the church now has a definite responsibility for anything that takes place in the town from what is to be found in the tin cans in the alley to the kind of chimes in the tower.



RAYMOND ROBINS

More than twenty cities will have been visited by Mr. Robins and the other members of Men and Religion Team No. 3 when he opens the New York campaign at 4 o'clock the afternoon of Sunday, April 14, in the Hippodrome, which has a seating capacity of 5,600. Two hundred and fifty Protestant churches in New York are co-operating.

SERMONS ON SOCIAL SERVICE

RAYMOND ROBINS

BEING STENOGRAPHIC REPORTS OF PARTS OF THE ADDRESSES DELIVERED
EACH WEEK FOR TWENTY-SIX WEEKS BY MR. ROBINS AS SOCIAL
SERVICE MEMBER OF TEAM NO. 3 OF THE MEN
AND RELIGION FORWARD MOVEMENT

The Men and Religion campaign was based on the belief that Christ came to save not only man but men—society.

Mr. Robins's message of service was strongest in its clear-cut statement of the paramount importance to-day of the industrial problem.

He believes that the church is the natural and the greatest agency for approaching this problem in a spirit of understanding and of working it out democratically after the manner of the Carpenter of Nazareth who came "not to tear down but to fulfil."

SOCIAL SERVICE AND THE GOSPEL: TO 1,500 MEN SUNDAY AFTERNOON IN A THEATRE

Has social service any place in the gospel of Christ? Did he care anything about redeeming society? Did he extend his gospel out beyond the personal appeal? Why, the most social thing in all the world is the gospel of Jesus Christ. It is the most humanly social thing, as well as the most divinely true thing. You remember how he began, don't you? He began with folk. He entrusted the message to the common, ordinary, garden variety of men. Did you ever think about those apostles and disciples and that gathering that followed him? You remember one of them was a lawyer. Think of starting out to save the world with a lawyer! And yet, my brothers, you will never save this world without the lawyers. You will never bring in the kingdom of God, or the community commonwealth, or any other vision that is in your mind, without the lawyers. I know a lawyer who has taken the time out of his great practice, for months at a time, to argue in the Supreme Courts of other states of this country, to limit the hours of working women so that those women might not be forced to surrender their right share to a decent hu-

man life while they earn their bread, and I bear testimony that Louis D. Brandeis is helping to bring in the kingdom of God.

But Jesus went that lawyer one better. He started to save the world with a politician. Matthew was sitting in the receipt of custom, and he would never have held that political job if he had not been able to bring in the delegates. It was a meaner political job than any you have got in Buffalo, for he was taking tribute from his own people to pay to foreign masters. Yet Jesus called him. And then he had two other men, two of the best of them, who wanted to know which seat they were going to have before they went on the Committee of One Hundred. In other words, they wanted to know what was "in it" for them, what seat they were going to get at the pie counter. Got any folk like that in Hartford? One of those men was so cowardly that, in the hour of the Master's greatest need, he denied Him three times. One of them was a liar, a thief, a traitor.

Why, you can get twelve as good men as that in any church in any city, and start out to save the city, without wait-

ing a minute. Go right on and begin your work. You don't have to wait for better men to be born. All we have to do is to work with the men at our side, and to believe a little bit in the generous good-will that underlies all our human life more or less and directs the thought and purpose of mankind.

Did Jesus care about bread? There are a good many folk that quote that line of Scripture of the Word, "Man does not live by bread alone," as if Jesus did not care about bread. Now, man does *not* live by bread *alone*, but he lives *by* bread, and Jesus knew it. You don't get cant and humbug and sham out of Jesus Christ. There never has been a priest, layman, bishop, cardinal, or pope, in 1900 years, who thought he could preach a better sermon than the Master preached. And yet, you may remember that one time, after Jesus had preached to a big crowd of folk, out on a hillside, a long way from town, a long way from the kitchen, the disciples were afraid they would be hungry and make trouble. So they came back to him and said, "Lord, there is a big bunch out here, and the first thing you know we will have trouble. May they depart? Don't keep them here till they get too hungry." Then was the time, if any, in the whole history of the human race, that the people should have been spiritually fed, so that their bellies did not make them hungry. If ever man was to get out of spiritual food something that would answer instead of bread and beef, that was the time. But you get no single line of humbug out of Jesus. Did he say: "They have just heard one of the great sermons of history, let them be filled with spiritual food and not think about anything to eat"? No. He used that divine power that came down out of heaven, to make bread and fish in sufficient quantity to feed the multitude.

Did He care about common, simple, human, social joy in the world? Let us see. Any of you people who worry about miracles, put your worry under the seat. Forget it. I want you to get the spirit here. I am not after the letter that kills. I am after the spirit that gives life. Jesus was one day in Cana of Galilee, an immortal little place be-

cause He was there. There was a wedding feast, a group of poor peasants, I imagine, because the wine gave out. Probably a good many more folk had come than they had expected. Jesus was there and there was a desire to fulfil the joy and promise of the little feast, and He turns water into wine. The Master fulfilled the perfect joy of the wedding feast. You will search in vain to find a single trite phrase, a single moral pointed—not one. He dared to believe that the deed and the doing of it savors of worth, that the fact has a value apart from the fame.

What happened there? He had only three years in which to change the thought of the world—and he did it. Go back, if you will, through those nineteen hundred years and walk through those Galilean hills with Him. You will find infanticide in the capitals of the world; you will find old men murdered when they were through being serviceable to other people; you will find women chattels; and you will find labor in chains. Since that time, behind every movement for human liberty, behind every movement for human service, you will find men working in the spirit of the Galilean Peasant. Some of them deny his name and yet work with the formula that He alone brought into the world. He had only three years to perform that tremendous task. Was He wasting His time that day in Cana of Galilee? Jesus knew that that man and that woman would have the common burdens of married life, would meet the strife and strain. Down along the road there would come a time when the thorns and rocks were many, and the woman might wonder whether it was worth while, and the man might wonder whether those vows really amounted to much; and in that hour they would be held to the old faith because of the perfect joy at Cana in Galilee, when the Lord fulfilled the simple beauty of a marriage feast, and they took high pledge to God, to each other, and to their fellow-men. That high pledge will hold them when the strain comes.

Did Jesus preach a social gospel? Oh, I covet that great power of the imagination that will lift you up and carry you



A SHOP MEETING AT NOON.

Workingmen in large numbers have formed some of the most interested audiences in every city visited.

back nineteen hundred years into the old Temple. I want you to hear—can you hear it?—that old cry, the rising and the falling of it? Have you ever heard a mob? I have. There it is, that shout, that long cadence. And there, before the portal of the old Temple, the mass gathers, and before them they press into the Temple the shrinking form of a woman. There are high men of Jerusalem, leaders of society, masters of the game, and behind them the rabble, hungry for blood as of old. The Master turns, as the record runs, and looks on the temple floor and writes in the sand. I do not know why he looked at the floor; I do not know why he wrote in the sand. But I know a great many of the helpless women of the underworld. I know them in their bitterness, and I know them in their heartbreak. I know them in their vicious relationships to life, and I know them in their hungering moments after the old vision that is gone forever. And I have sometimes thought that the Master felt at that moment the conscious sense of shame, the shame for you and me, shame for all of His sex who, through all the ages, have had a share in

the downward going of every woman that has ever lost her way.

He writes upon the sand. Some strong, proud man, sure of his own personal rectitude, steps forth and says: "The woman is guilty. The evidence is ample. The law of Moses is that such should be stoned to death. What say you?" Ah, my friends! what a trial! what a tribunal! what a cause! what a judge! And over nineteen hundred years of time rings the most tremendous social judgment ever handed down by the greatest judge that ever spoke among men: "Let the man that is without sin among you cast the first stone." And you know how the record runs: "They went out, from the greatest even unto the least, leaving no one remaining." And then: "Woman, doth no man condemn thee?" "No man, Lord." "Neither do I condemn thee. Go thou and sin no more."

Was that judgment for Jerusalem alone, or does it run with vital power and convicting truth to-day in New York and in Chicago? Aye, in any city where an anti-social and an unfair wage is paid to the daughters of the poor and they cannot divorce themselves from vice and

crime because of want and need, as their stumbling steps pass on through the hard day's toil, long hours, and little pay. Answer on your conscience. I want your thoughts, I want your hearts, if I am worthy of them.

Did Jesus care about food and clothes and shelter, the fundamental needs of all life everywhere, on which the temple of the mind is built, on which the glorious power of the spiritual purpose rests finally, back on this plain foundation of the common things? That scene of the judgment day gives you the thought of the Master upon the common things of life. Here we are, a lot of us together, not in the Star Theater, but in the final round-up, if you please, speaking in the language of the plains. We are all there, and the old imagery of the East among pastoral folk is used by the Master. He always spoke simply, in language that all men could understand. They are gathered before Him, and they are divided into the sheep and the goats. The sheep are over here on the right hand. Do you know why they are sheep? "I was sick and ye visited me; I was hungry and ye fed me; I was thirsty and ye gave me to drink; I was in prison and ye came unto me; I was a stranger and ye took me in; I was naked and ye clothed me." And I can imagine over here in the group of sheep an old Italian peasant woman, a Christian of the old land, a woman who has been at more births, at more deaths, at more rejoicings and festivals and weddings, than any other soul in all the Seventeenth Ward of Chicago—old Aunt Lena. And I imagine Aunt Lena sitting there very uncomfortably because she is honest; she did not want to be with the sheep even under false pretenses, and she finally gets the Lord's eye, and she stands up, and tears are streaming down her old wrinkled face as she says: "Master, I would like to be with the sheep, but prophets never came where I lived. I lived down in the Seventeenth Ward. My little rear tenement opened on an alley and only garlick-smelling Italians lived around there. I never had a chance to do anything for you." And then, through nineteen hundred years, those searching words of Jesus: "Inasmuch as

you did it unto the least of these you did it unto me."

Then, brothers, lest nineteen hundred years afterward you and I should take the word for the deed, should take the letter that kills for the spirit that lives, lest we should take the name for the reality and the symbol and the form for the actual achievement, Jesus puts it into the simple negative form.

Over here, among the goats, is the president of the 'steenth National Bank of Chicago, Mr. Bill Smith. Bill is very much worried because he has always been called "the Honorable William Smith," and he is a very important person, and whenever prophets came to town, if he knew they were prophets and if they had enough money, he got an automobile and took them around. They had something in his line he would like to have. Here are the goats. And he knows the Lord has made a terrible mistake when the Lord did not recognize him. He wants to set the Lord right, and he finally gets up, and he says: "Master, I am William Smith, of the 'steenth National Bank of Chicago, and I have entertained eleven prophets in my home, and I have given banquets for them everywhere, and here you have got me with the goats." Awful, isn't it? And through nineteen hundred years, you that have got ears to hear can hear the judgment of Jesus Christ: "Bill Smith, of the 'steenth National Bank, inasmuch as you thought only of the strong and powerful, inasmuch as you cared only for the credit of prophets, inasmuch as ye did it not to these least, ye did it not to me."

Now there you are. Not a word about prayer, not a word about doctrine, not a word about going to church. The whole issue of final life or death rests in the eternal relationships of men, upon the way you deal with your fellow man, and upon the way that you treat the least of us in terms of our simplest human needs.

Do you people believe in democracy? Do you believe in the fundamental growth of the life and hope of the people? Do you believe in the virtue and power packed in the great common life—that group of toil, that disinherited host,



WITHOUT A FLASHLIGHT.

At the opening meeting of the Pittsburgh campaign, Mr. Robins held an audience of 3,500 men so quiet that Frank E. Bingaman, photographer for the *Gazette-Times*, was able to take a time exposure. Mr. Bingaman put his camera on the edge of the stage—the Sunday mass meetings are held almost invariably in theaters—opened the shutter for 60 seconds, and took his picture by the light from the electric bulbs. So far as he knows, a time exposure of so large an indoor audience has never been taken before.

who, through all the ages, have fed and housed and clothed the world and have not ever gotten too much for doing it? Do you believe in that? Jesus was crucified on the cross. His own people, part of the great common life of Jerusalem, clamored for His crucifixion. He was the fulfillment of five hundred years of Messianic prophesy. He had borne witness, a great leader and teacher, and now His own people repudiate Him, and He is dying there on the tree, the life is passing, and this final testimony He gives: "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." Oh, my brothers, are you doubtful of the common life? Have you served it so nobly and so unselfishly that when it repudiates you you have a better record than Jesus had? Can you say that the people who are ignorant and have bad leaders do not want what is right? No, not if you believe in Christianity. The last words of Jesus on the cross, or among those last words, are the great vindication, the sign manual of democracy, of the final purpose toward righteousness, that there is in the great common life all the way through—

misled by leaders, yes, betrayed by those in high responsibility. Yes, time and again, through the everlasting centuries, that has been true, but the great common life seeks righteousness, hungers after the more excellent way.

This is the great hour in our nation's life. There is more strain in our social, political, and industrial order than ever before—a great breaking in the old groups, the very pillars bent with the strain. Can I have you see it for a moment? Can I have you feel that, unless the reality of Christ's gospel is sounded forth, men are to suffer a division that means defeat and failure, a division that will seek to group them into two classes, each looking into the other's eyes with bitter hatred, with old animosities, unwilling to approach each other, unwilling to believe well of even the best of each? Out of that condition comes no progress anywhere. Out of that condition neither the kingdom of God nor the community commonwealth can ever dawn. It is not given to men to make progress through hate. It is not given in the life of the world that there should

be all just men on any side. It has never been so. It doubtless will not be. But now there is power enough left in the life of men, fairminded, of every group, to work out the problems of our national life in terms of the great Galilean who said He "came not to destroy but to fulfil." The overcoming evil with good is the everlasting method of true human progress. May we dare hope for it yet? May just men of every group and place and name yet stand together, seeking to meet the issues of our great national life?

May I say as one who came out from the group of toil, as one who has dared to believe in that group and yet believes in it as the final basis of hope in this republic—may I say that not to any one group is the destiny of the republic committed? Historically that is true. There was a time in the beginning of our national life when there was a leader that we will all admit was worthy among men. We do not idealize him, as some foolish folk do, but George Washington was a real man. He was the richest man in Virginia. He had the most acres. He had the largest resources. He gave it all into the life of America for human liberty, for human justice. That is the story of the morning of the Republic's life. But there is another hour, when a great strain came again, when the final question, might the Republic endure, was before men. Who this time? Why out from the common life, out from those ranks where all the burdens of poverty and toil rest heavily, there came that great commoner, that plain, rugged-visaged son of the soil and of labor, Lincoln; and he stood, my brothers, I believe, as the noblest and highest expression of incarnate democracy, of the common life, glorified by a great social mission, a man who has always seemed to me, after the Galilean Peasant, to hold in his life and to witness forth the noblest spirit that has ever lived among men. And those two lives, one out of privilege, one out of labor, but each a free man, made the great contribution to our national life. May we not yet hope that America will move on in the spirit of the best in all our life? That we

may dare to believe that you cannot save America without the working man and that you cannot save America without the employer, that both have got to share in the reconstructive forces of our modern life?

And finally, the hour is *now*. I know of what I speak. I have known the strain of laboring twelve hours a day for a dollar a day in the mines in the old South. I know what it is to walk from town to town, ready to work and no chance to labor. You can make more enemies of society in six months of unemployment like that than you can make in a hundred years of argument. I know this strain. I know that time when God is far away and Christianity is a name and it seems as if the whole thing was a sham and a lie.

In the spring of 1898, I stood on a cliff looking out over Behring Sea. Icebergs had come down from the Arctic Ocean and piled in on the shore, the sea itself was frozen for three miles out. They have a great cold up there in the far North, doing the same magic that great heat does down in the desert. As we looked across those icebergs in the frozen sea we saw on the low horizon, lifted up there, as it were, by a mirage, the cliffs of Siberia, that old East from which our fathers came, going forth on that pilgrimage to the western frontier, across western Asia, thence to eastern Europe, thence to the western edge of Europe, and thence across the Atlantic to the seaboard, and then pushing west through the Alleghenies, the Mississippi, the wide prairies, the Rocky Mountains, until finally the feet of the pioneers met the waves of the Pacific. Then that great western movement to escape the old religious, political and industrial oppressions stops for awhile. But in 1897 we took up that line of march again and threw it over the great Rockies in the far North until we looked into Behring Sea on the west and the Arctic Ocean on the north.

It is over, it is done, to-night. As you sit here in your seats, population is turning back upon itself. The eager-hearted boy in the village, on the farm, and the eager-hearted girl, full of ambition and



RAYMOND ROBINS'S FIRST PULPIT.

While a gold miner in Alaska, Mr. Robins was converted. He helped organize and build the St. Bernard's Congregational Church at Nome, and the miners unanimously elected him their first minister. The picture shows the pulpit, the rough wooden walls, the camp chairs and the kerosene lamps which made up this first house of worship in Nome.

the old quest that sent our fathers west, is thinking of the great cities of San Francisco, New York, Buffalo, the mill towns of the nation. And they are coming, thousands strong—not only they, but the immigrants, speaking all languages, with all the old habits of thought of all the old nations of the world. As they meet the end of the frontier line where it stops, there the strain is greatest, there the pressure is most intense. There we find hours and wages, the American working standard, breaking down—the men and boys and girls breaking down under the strain of a pitiless and materialistic attitude toward life; the church receding from the place where the strain is greatest; and all the power that breaks human life centering there as though it were master over man.

Brothers, you can meet the test with the whole Gospel that dares to know all life and to call nothing common or unclear that concerns a human soul. That

was the Gospel the Galilean preached. He believed in redeemed men, in a redeemed society, and you cannot keep men redeemed any other way. He meant that that great host perishing in the city districts, lodging houses, in the crowded areas, in the tenement districts, should not perish—and whether they do or not rests upon you. You can go forward with that Gospel of power that will serve all life until every little disinherited child in every city of the land is a call to every man who names the name of Jesus Christ, a call to use the whole power of church and state and industry to guarantee to every little child an opportunity, at least, for a decent physical life, for a reasonable education, and for such surroundings in its youth as will leave it with the right to a free moral choice when it is grown. God help us to be worthy of the hour, worthy of the faith, worthy of the possibilities of life.

DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY, THE PROBLEM OF OUR DAY: TO ALL WHO WORK

The third great problem in western civilization, the problem of industrial relationships, has now come to the front of affairs for settlement. This is not because it is of first consequence, because it is not. But because the other problems of religious liberty and civil liberty are settled substantially, we must now engage in the industrial struggle throughout western civilization. It bulks large in Germany under the empire today; it is of significance in republican France; it is the first problem in the democratic monarchy of England; it is engaging the consideration of the Czar; in the United States, in Canada, all over western civilization, it has invaded platform and press, pulpit and rostrum, wherever men are gathered together. We need not discuss it on the side of production, for the modern organization of society has practically solved that. The problem of distribution is the form that the industrial problem takes of moment to you and to me.

The first great cause of the industrial struggle, in my judgment, is that for the first time in the history of western civilization production is practically entirely for profit. We used to produce for use. Now we practically produce for profit. That makes, of course, the wage situation, the relation of employer and worker; the whole modern industrial problem grows up, as it were, from production for profit rather than production for use. I do not mean to say that production for profit is for that reason undesirable; in fact, I regard the truth of the matter to be the other way; but it is a reason for the problem.

Take another cause that is more apparent. We have reached the close of the frontier in this generation. Today population is turning back upon itself. Not only are our own children coming up from the small villages and the farms into the great cities and mill towns, pressing against standards of hours and wages, the opportunities for employment; but also the foreigners are coming

from the Old World into this country and filling up the cities and mill towns. Now, that frontier line, as long as it existed, was a point of escape from social pressure—industrial, religious, political; a man had a way of escape so that conditions in mill towns and cities could not become too intolerable. There was a continual lightening of the social pressure, and the pressure on hours and wages and working conditions.

Another reason is that within this generation in which we are living there has been a practical transformation from personal ownership of employing capital into corporate ownership of employing capital. In the old days in the mill town the master and man lived in what might be said to be a homogeneous community. The children of the employer and the children of the workers went to the same public school; attended the same church; their wives knew each other; the employer knew his men by their first names; there was a personal relationship; and our human nature is such that no man, no matter what his disposition is, can be quite as indifferent to the reasonable demands of men whom he knows and of men whose wives and children know his wife and children. So there was a constant interplay of the personal and moral relations between the employer and his workmen. Today the tendency is to change personal ownership into a corporate form for employing capital, and to divorce the personal, the moral, relations of your employer from effective relation to the labor conditions. You say you know men who live under the old conditions, who have the same relationship with their men that men used to have fifty years ago. So do I. But that exception simply proves the rule. The individual ownership of employing capital today simply marks a left-over in the general tide of industries; each year there is more and more transformation, and more and



TEAM NO. 3.

The Men and Religion Forward Movement is organized in four teams, each holding a campaign a week. Team No. 3, has been through the whole Middle West, parts of New York and New England, the Pacific Coast and the Southwest. When it finishes its work in April it will have visited twenty cities and traveled about 14,225 miles.

The members of the team, left to right, are:

Front row, Warren L. Runger, of the United Brethren Brotherhood, whose subject is conservation; David Russell, of South Africa, evangelism; Clarence A. Barbour, of the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A., team leader; Raymond Robins, social service.

Second row, A. J. Elliot, student secretary of the International Y. M. C. A., who was with the team in Pittsburgh when this picture was taken; W. A. Brown, secretary of the International Sunday School Association, bible study; John M. Dean, "the boy evangelist" of Kalamazoo and Los Angeles, community extension.

Top row, H. W. Sanderson, of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, with the team in Pittsburgh; John Alexander, of the Boy Scouts of America, boys' work.

more divorce between the relationship in an intimate and personal way of employer and worker. They live in different parts of the city; they have different social standards; they attend different churches; their children go to different schools; there is moving through the social order a division that is of significance.

There is another matter of concern. Within this generation 2,600,000 women have gone into factories, workshops, mills, and stores. Those people who talk about woman's invasion of industry of course are talking very superficially. Women never invaded anything. They are simply following the old industries that have been taken from the home and put in the factory. But social complications of the greatest moment are involved for the mothers and sisters of the working world in the change from home industry to factory industry. In the old days, women worked long hours

for small pay, but they controlled the industrial strain absolutely; they could stop work when they wanted to; they could lighten the strain when their physical condition demanded it. Under the old condition women exercised the domestic control and discipline that has been the special domain of women from the beginning of the world. Now the mother is at work in the factory, and frequently the older sister. So the domestic burdens fall upon the little fathers and mothers of the tenements. And the result is that there have grown up in our community great numbers of homes that have ceased to have the "home quality," where parental care has been largely lost.

Woman has gone to the factory with her old traditional life. She is an individualist. All her past history has made her an individualist. In the main she expects to make and have a home of her own; she has no idea of collective

action or of permanent relationship in industry. She may be an industrial worker through long years, but that is not her expectation. She goes into industry with her traditional attitude toward hours and wages, working long hours for small pay. She is the victim of her virtues in industry; she is more economical, more willing, more surely sober than man. And the result is that for a great deal of labor she is not only as satisfactory as, but more satisfactory than, men. The result is that many women, not themselves heads of families, have displaced in the industrial world heads of families, men who were charged with the responsibility of the home; and the great social fact is that women as a rule work for from one-fourth to nearly one-half less than men at the same labor. Now this has had a great effect upon the industrial strain, a great effect in forcing the industrial problem more and more keenly to the front, and forcing the men who labor to fall back upon one device after another to protect their industrial opportunities and their standard of living.

There is another matter to which I invite your attention. Ours is the only country in western civilization that has developed to any high degree a casual labor class, a great army of homeless men and boys divorced from all social responsibilities, from any real local obligation, casual laborers cast out in the great drift of our social and industrial life.

And in this country have grown up certain degenerate trades. Let me instance one. One of the most ancient and honorable trades in history is that trade of the woodsman, the man who fells the forest, who prepares the timber for the lumber mill. The Galilean Peasant was a carpenter. Those of us that know the conditions of that craft at that period know that the duty of a carpenter involved that he go out on the mountain-side and fell the tree and then with three or four of his companions bring it down to the little village of Nazareth, and there whipsaw it into lumber, and then in his shop work up the planks into whatever he wanted to fashion. This simple, wholesome life produced Abraham Lincoln and some

of the strongest of those men who have helped to make this nation great. What is the story tonight? Why, the woodsman's craft has gone. The lumber industry is a degenerate trade at that point of which I am speaking. The casual laborers of the great city, the human drift, are gathered together in groups and sent up to the logging camps, there to live for three or four months in a more or less anti-social condition, sleeping and eating, all men, in great bunk-house-tents.

There are some seventeen crafts in this country that are degenerate trades in the sense that they have lost their standard; that the men engaged in them cease to be craftsmen and are mere tenders of machines for periods during the year, or take this casual labor for uncertain seasons—men without a home, drifting from one casual labor job to another, the human waste of our great social order; men who come into the cities after three or four months out on work of that sort, money in their pockets, living an anti-social life, passion in their blood, the economic basis of the red-light district. We found in a careful investigation in Chicago that some six million dollars a year comes into our town in the pockets of casual laborers, from a few dollars up to about as high as sixty. They are men who come in as my partner did with me from the logging camp. I said to him: "What are you going to do?"

"Oh," he said, "a little time in Chi (meaning Chicago), "whiskey, women, and a gambler's chance, and then a new job for yours truly."

Those men become the great force in lodging house districts of your cities; they are voted in blocks; they control primary elections; they become part of the political power in the hands of bosses and in the hands of those men who would corrupt the government for private gain. They are a distinct social menace; but they are part of our present industrial order and part of the problem.

But not any one of these things constitutes the chief reason for this problem, in my judgment. The chief reason for the industrial problem in the modern world is that there has emerged in indus-

try the democratic idea. The greatest contribution that western civilization has made is the contribution of the democratic idea.

The democratic idea first emerged in western civilization in the religious realm. It emerged under great strain. It was in the form of a monk with bare hands and feet. Against it were the armies and the navies of the world, the autocratic power of the ancient church, the great blind superstition of thousands, all the forces that were then ruling the world. And yet western civilization has practically admitted the right of religious freedom.

That idea emerged again, and this time it was in the political world. They can mark the time in Anglo-Saxon freedom when it came forth in the realm of that race. It was there in a little back room in London town. There arose a rough-visaged farmer from Ives, Oliver Cromwell. He said: "I will raise a body of men with the fear of God in their hearts and they will not be beaten." And he raised his body of men. They were the laughing-stock of the drawing-rooms of London. Then they met Rupert's cavalry at Marston Moor and Naseby. Rupert's cavalry came down upon the left wing of the Parliamentary army and scattered it like leaves before the blast, and turned. And then there came from that other slope a group of men singing psalms, and there was a sneer on the faces of the masters of Rupert's cavalry. They turned to charge that line, and that body of men met that charge with these words: "God is with us. God is with us"—and

they hurled them back and they went over the plumes and the golden curls of privilege of a thousand years, and the democratic idea had emerged in politics to take eternal dominion both in England and in the world. It has met reverses, but that idea moves forward with ever increasing certainty to final dominion in the western world.

Today that democratic idea has emerged in the industrial world; and the men and women of labor, working in mill and factory and mine and shop, sometimes unconscious of the movement itself,

are impelled to seek to organize, impelled to try to keep the democratic trade agreement in the workshop, or compelled by forces that they do not themselves wholly appreciate to break old long-standing fellowships and go out on a strike. Sometimes they are not able to explain why; moved to the purpose of organization, moved to the purpose of having that result in every democratic situation, as it were; a committee, and have that committee meet with

the employers' committee, and the two sit down at a table and draft an agreement in which both sides have shared, determining the hours and wages and working conditions under which they shall give their lives a day at a time.

Now, there are many other forms in this movement; there is much that is not defensible, much that is wrong. But the fact is that for thirty years in western civilization there has been a steady advance each year in the actual number of men and women who are under the democratic trade agreement.

The employers everywhere are organ-



THE SOCIAL SERVICE EXPERTS

Raymond Robins, Charles Stelzle and J. L. Lansing (left to right) are finishing a campaign which began in October and has called for thirty addresses a week from each.

izing; capital everywhere is organizing; how natural that the working world should also organize. How natural that the men of labor, the women of labor, should seek to have the power of the group in dealing with the problems of their daily life.

Most of us go to church on Sunday and once in the middle of the week. Some of us not at all. Some of us go to church every day for a little while. Not many of us go to the ballot box more than four or five times a year at the most. But every one of us that is a working man goes down to our labor six days in seven, with a possible two weeks' vacation during the year. Shall we find in the historic movement of civilization that this idea, which emerged without any support at all in the other realms and finally won almost universal recognition, should fail in the realm of industry? Shall we expect finally the survival of the feudal work-shop side by side with a free state and a free church?

What is the reasonable expectation from the historic movement? You say: "I know a man who pays as good wages and has as good conditions, in fact, better, than in union shops." So do I. I know a number of those men. "I know a man who cares more for his labor than they care for themselves." I know such men. But the fact is that benevolent feudalism will never finally satisfy the democratic demand. Any condition that I put in the shop I can take away. I may die; I may change my mind; I may organize my shop into a big corporation and then not have any control over it. But if my shop has the trade agreement, and my workers are organized and have the bond of organization among them, then they share in the conditions and can hope to help maintain them. A great mill, a great mine, a great factory—what is one person in such a situation?

I worked in a mine when I was nineteen years old, in the old South, twelve hours a day, for a dollar a day, in an unorganized mine. I found in one of the drifts a place where the shoring was weak. I said to my mine foreman: "I think that is dangerous."

He said: "If you don't want to work you can get out."

I went in and risked my life. When the day's work was done I used to go to my little cabin, eat, get in my bunk, and sleep until the whistle blew in the morning at six-thirty. Then I went to the pit's mouth and down into the shaft and I picked—day after day, most of the time on my knees because the drift was narrow. Along about Friday I, a young, eager-hearted boy, would begin to be so tired, to feel the weariness of that labor so, that I wanted a chance of escape. How was I going to get away from it? It was a little common dirty mining town; just one place where there was even light and music, and that was in the crowded saloon. I had never drunk before I came into this mining camp; been raised on a farm; didn't even know the taste of liquor. I went down into that saloon; I listened to the music. I threw two or three beers under my belt and I thought I was happy, but I was not. The next morning I had a head that told me I hadn't been happy, and still I would go the next week and do the same thing, not because I was bad, but under the condition of things it took possession of me. Now, I found myself going back physically, became heavy and logy. There was no sort of opportunity.

Then a man came into that mine who talked about organized labor. I was interested. I sat at my little table in my bunk house with my bare feet in a tin pan of water, to keep me awake while that man talked. I started in to organize that mine. I couldn't, because a lot of working people were colored folk and as soon as they got their money they went away and spent it. Finally the boss said to me if I was foolish about this matter of unionizing the mine I better get out of there, and I got. I went on a brake beam to Colorado and got a job in a union mine. I worked eight hours a day, got four dollars a day, and worked only six days in the week.

Life changed for me. I had leisure. I had opportunity. I began to study at night. I bought books. Then the whole world changed for me because of the change in my industrial conditions. Now

why? Just because I had a little piece of pasteboard in my pocket that said I was a member of the miner's union.

Now, when I found a bit of bad shoring in that mine, I went to my mine steward and told him, and he went to the superintendent, and the superintendent took us away from the drift until it was fixed. If he didn't, we all laid down our tools. In other words, we had the power of the group to protect the life of each, and it was a tremendous power.

You say that if you give leisure and better wages to some men they will spend it in saloons and in loafing around. Doubtless that is true. And if you give more dividends to some men, their sons will buy automobiles and give them to chorus girls. But I am not going to judge either class by the vicious members of that class. In other words, honor and truth and well-meaning are not special privileges of any group. The average working-man who gets more money has more things he needs in his home and a better chance for his family, and the average business man who gets more interest on his money reinvests his money and employs more labor. That is the thing and the only proper thing to judge each class by—the better and average elements in it.

This movement toward industrial democracy is possibly the most vital movement of the age. It is marked, it is true, at times by violence and by crime and by wrong and by bad leadership. One of the greatest problems of the industrial struggle lies just there, but it is not a

peculiarity of this struggle. If you will go back and read what the ancient fathers of the church said against the men who led the revolt for religious liberty, you will find they charged them with every crime in the calendar. You will find those men whom you delight to honor denounced as guilty of murder, of arson, of treason, and of blasphemy of God.

Go back again and read what those men who were defenders of the Stuarts said in regard to Cromwell and the Covenanters; find that those men who led

the cause of democratic freedom in the world were charged with all the crimes. Every great movement in the history of men has come, as it were, eating and drinking, has come out of the common life, more moved by the power of the idea itself than by the conventions of men. It has always been marked by more or less violence and strain. I do not regard violence as any the less violent because of that. Every particle of violence, every particle of force, every particle of wrong is at the cost of the movement every-

where and at all times; but I only want you to get the historic sense, I want you to see that these conditions are not new in the history of human progress.

What are the conditions involved in industrial democracy that concern the rest of the community? First, the education of the working world into the forms of democracy. Just as the free church has carried the democratic method into religion, just so organization of the workers carries the democratic method in its teaching. It may be policy in this par-



Y. MINAKUCHI.

For its speakers on missions, Team No. 3 called over Minakuchi, a brilliant young Japanese orator, and David Russell, a Scotchman, who has spent many years as a missionary to the natives of South Africa.

ticular organization or the other, but the fact is that the democratic education of the working world is more needed in industry than any other line. The strongest influence that moves men steadily against the sweatshop is the organization of workers of the craft. The enforcement of sanitary laws, enforcement of proper machinery safe-guards—practically the whole category of social and labor legislation is enforced through the organization of the workers and the protecting arm of the state. Why is that so? Because it is in common with the great democratic fact that it is much better to give individuals the power to protect themselves than to try to protect them yourself. That is the reason why you want your boy to grow up to be a man, to know how to take care of himself; because you know that in the conscious power of the individual to protect himself there is more protection than can ever be given by the kindest father or the best-disposed mother. The freedom and right of the individual to protect his own conditions is a fundamental necessity in the movement of democracy.

May I give evidence of the moral quality in the democratic control over industry? In a certain town on the Atlantic seaboard were two hat factories about a block apart. One was a non-union factory, the other was organized. In the unorganized factory about three years ago, on the trimming floor, the foreman insulted one of the working girls. This little girl protested vigorously, and there was a scene and she was dismissed for insubordination. The man did it to protect himself. She was a little foreign girl. She went to the lodging house where she lived, and the woman that ran that house wrote a letter to the owner of the factory, who lived in the nearby town, and sent it by registered mail. I hold the return registry receipt in my vault in Chicago. It purports to have been signed by the owner. The little girl never heard anything from the letter. She was out of work for three weeks before she got a job in a shirtwaist factory. Now how will she feel the next time that she is approached by some one in authority over her? Will she be so ready to protect her honor at the danger of three

weeks of idleness? Answer for yourselves.

In the union factory, about six months after this, a similar incident occurred. This child, instead of being violent, went back to her machine and was sitting there working when the little shop steward came along and saw her crying, and the child told her what the trouble was. This little girl walked down to where this person was, this man, and said to him:

"Now, Bill, you cut that out. That don't go here at all. We will take your orders all right, but that don't go."

And he said: "What have you got to do about it? Nobody said anything to you."

She said: "I have got a lot to do about it. Now that you are so heady about this, you better go up there and apologize to Mary."

He said he would see her in a warmer place first. At that the little woman walked down the aisle of that shop and clapped her hands and a hundred and seventy-two girls laid down their tools, formed in line, and went down on the street. This little girl appeared and told them what the facts were, and she said:

"I want you to agree that you won't do a bit of work until Bill apologizes to Mary."

And they passed a vote. About that time the superintendent of that factory got in the game and he called the foreman and the shop steward and the little girl into his office. Let it be said—and it could be said of many and many a man in this country—that the foreman was discharged on the spot.

But that is not the thing I am interested in. There were two great universities and splendid churches in that town. Yet from neither university nor church was there any influence that reached out far enough to protect those little foreign girls against these conditions. But the United Hatters of North America, an organization of their craft, was there with power not only to protect their hours and wages, not only to see that they did not suffer sweatshop conditions, but with power to protect the virtue of that little girl, to insure to her the protection of the whole group in the shop—mighty as a moral force as well as an industrial force.

And I do not know any other organization in society that is strong enough to do certain things for working women but the organization of working women.

I want to read you the words of a man that in my judgment point the line of development of the future in this great problem:

Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the more consideration.

Those words were written in his first message to his first Congress by Abraham Lincoln.

Why did he write them? What were the conditions under which they were written? He had just been elected president. He was not in need of votes for at least three and a half long years. There never was a responsible ruler in the history of the world that was more in need of support, of capital, than was Lincoln at that very moment. He saw in the offing the shadow, the cloud, of that great civil struggle. He knew he would need millions of money to fight those battles for the Union; and yet Lincoln, true, invincible, simple as the stars, wrote those words because they are the everlasting truth. And because Lincoln wrote those words, I believe that Lincoln will grow in the coming years, that he will tower above all the men that came forth out of this nation's life—the man who not only solved the great problem of his generation, but laid down the principles on which the problem of later generations is also to be solved.

Was Lincoln attacking the just rights of property? I do not believe it. My money may be invested so that little children are being disinherited; so that women are losing their womanhood or sacrificing their maternity to the industrial demands of the speed of machinery; where men are working twelve hours a day and seven days in the week and giving up their rights of citizenship and their rights of fatherhood to the inveterate demands of industry—and I will not be implicated a particle. My family is not concerned,

my body is not concerned, my brain and heart and liberty are not concerned. The only thing that follows my investment is a certain property right that brings me dividends. In other words, the rights of capital are the rights of property. All right.

What about labor? Did you ever see labor when you didn't have the living human soul, the man or woman with head and hands and heart, on the job, living out a day of his life at a time? Aye, the fatherhood,

brotherhood, citizenship, the whole divine human life of man is involved whenever you talk about labor. You cannot divorce it from humanity, and for that reason the rights of labor are the rights of man, and the rights of man are superior to the rights of property.

Property has its just rights, and unless you protect the rights of property, you finally won't protect any rights. But whenever the rights of investors, myself included, come into conflict with the just rights of living men and women, then property rights have got to give way.



DAVID RUSSELL

Called "The Moody of South Africa," Dr. Russell has brought to the Men and Religion movement an evangelistic message as forceful as the great sweep of waters over the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi near his home.

THE SOCIAL PURPOSE IN THE CHURCH'S MESSAGE: TO MINISTERS

I suppose there is no man who stands in your presence who is more genuinely converted, if you please, or more personally the beneficiary of the individual gospel than I am. I am here this morning because of the evangelistic appeal and the individual call to the human heart. I trust that the hour will never come when I disregard the means by which I am the manner of man I am today.

I go back once in a while to my old home in the South. It is little changed from what it was twenty-five years ago. There are still the great pine barrens, still the simple individual life—little homes scattered half a mile apart, a few cows, a few pigs, a little garden patch. All the strain of life is the old individual strain. The whole question there is of personal character, the inner heart of the man, the individual question of truthfulness and falsity, of covetousness or generosity, of purity or impurity, of honesty or dishonesty, the question of all of the old simple things in life—it is all back on the old basis just as it was about a thousand years ago.

The question of the social gospel would not be of great concern to those people in that scene. But let us change the scene.

On the west side of Chicago where I live there are 65,000 people within less than a square mile. There are 18,000 children growing up in tenements where the very physical conditions of their daily life, the amount of air they breathe, the amount of sunlight which comes into the rooms in which they sleep—whether there be any sunlight at all—is a matter first of legislation, of community law, and second of enforcement through the City Hall. It is a purely social proposition. We have taken away the individual control and have put in social control, and then have not always enforced the social control. While we acknowledge the necessity for it, we fail in enforcing the law, and therefore we disinherit thousands of the least of these, our brethren, in the forms of little children, who grow up gray-blooded, narrow-chested, and in-

competent, just because of the physical conditions under which they must live. By the same token, the question of food, which is a matter of personal control down in any one of those homes in the old South, is a matter of social control in the tenement district. If you have not pure food laws, or do not enforce those laws, your children will drink milk with formaline in it, your babies will be disinherited by the food they eat, which is due to our failure to enforce social control. And again by the same token, the question of whether the child shall have the opportunity to eat enough food, of any kind, is a question in many instances of the wage paid to the breadwinner in the home; after that it is a question of thrift and character in the person in the home. In other words, our gospel is social and individual. It is individual and it is social by reason of the circumstances and conditions of our modern life. Whether the child gets any education, has any right share in the heritage of a great free people, is a question of whether we enforce our laws, whether we really make our factory legislation efficient, whether we allow that child to go into the factory, or whether we allow that child to get its fair chance at its heritage in the public schools.

In the same way, the morals of the community where I live are not controlled by the individual father and mother. The very physical relations, the very way in which they live and sleep and satisfy the normal human needs, breaks down in many instances some of the finer modesties, if you please, that you and I love in our own children. Those children may not have them on account of the very physical conditions under which they live. We know that the moral life of boys and girls is made in those growing years in leisure time. But where do the boy and girl of the crowded, congested district spend their leisure time? They spend it on the streets and they must. You cannot keep those children in a three-room tenement. It is fundamental for their physical life that they



A LIGHT TO LIGHTEN BROADWAY.

An electric sign high above Madison Square is one of the methods for letting New York know of the Men and Religion Forward Movement. It has been criticised, of course, but it is part of a carefully worked-out plan to reach the city's big non-churchgoing population, many of whom would not hear of it in any other way.

This is part of the preliminary work for the New York (Manhattan and Bronx) campaign, April 14-18, which will be followed by the Christian Conservation Congress, April 19-24, to wind up the year's campaign with a national gathering of delegates from all of the 76 cities in which there have been campaigns.

get out into the open, and "out in the open" is the street, and the morals of the street are more under the control of the City Hall than of father and mother or minister. As a matter of fact, the morals of the street are held up by the police, and the control, or lack of it, depends on the character of the police, the relation of the dance hall, the habit of the street, and

that habit is a matter of social control. I have seen peasant parents who love their children as devotedly as you and I find themselves helpless in exercising that moral control over their children that they used to be able to exercise in a simple village. In many of our industrial cities where the father works all day, and the mother works away from home, it has

practically gone, and the social control is the only control that exists at all.

We simply see new facts and we make application of the new forces. We live in a complex social age and we must meet that complex social age by a united social purpose that has the power of God behind it; that sees in an anti-social wage a menace to morality and that sees in a decent wage the basis of a tolerable home life; that sees in dishonest and crooked politics and police departments a menace to the very moral life of growing children and sees in an honest police administration a moral and spiritual purpose of the community working for them in conditions that make tolerable the life and hope and opportunity of little children.

So this is not a vagary, this is not an illusion, this is not because we repudiate the past. It is because we recognize the present, it is because we use the past experience in building into the new present the purpose of our Lord.

May I say in passing that the most social thing in all the world is that prayer that you and I have known better than any other prayer in all the world, the Lord's Prayer? I once asked a group of some seventeen different nationalities sitting in a room to say the one passage of Scripture in their own tongue that they loved the best. In those seventeen different tongues there came forth: "Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name." It is the great universal word of the Christian life. Do you remember that prayer—"Our Father?" It is not my father, nor yours but "*Our* Father, give us this day our daily bread." Think of it for a moment: "Our Father Who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done" in Seattle "as in Heaven". Do you mean that? Do we really mean it? Of course Seattle is on earth. When we pray, "Thy will be done, Thy kingdom come, on earth as it is in Heaven," do we really mean it? Do we really mean that the whole of our human life, political, industrial, and social, shall be led to God? If we do, then we have the most tremendous social gospel believed among men and the oldest and deepest authority from Jesus Christ himself.

After that first petition, that recognition of Our Father which is forever first, and after the plea for the coming of the kingdom, which is the great social program of Jesus, what is next? It is so simple and so true: "Give us this day our daily bread". I have not had to worry about my daily bread for some time past. I have worried about it, I have been hungry many, many times, in strange cities, but for now these twelve years I have had ample. But I pray that prayer and I try to think that I mean it—I want to mean it. I am perfectly sure that if I sit at my table this morning, well filled with wholesome and sufficient food, and look into the eyes of my family and pray "Give us this day our daily bread", and see them satisfied and do not do what I can in all the relations of my life, politically and industrially and in my religious functions, to see to it that every child in this republic has its daily bread—then I believe that I crucify my Lord afresh. And I believe that is true of anyone of us who can stand and see our own children well fed and not feel the obligation; for it was "Give *us* this day *our* daily bread"—not give *you* or *me* or *mine*, but *us*.

The old prayer runs on, each great line of it social, as it were: "Lead us not into temptation." What does that mean? It means not only my boy and girl, but your boy and girl, aye, and it means all boys and all girls. How easily their little feet are led into temptation in the many complex conditions of our modern city life! How many pitfalls have we left for those little feet! You can take it in its larger relationship. You and I sometimes elect men to office and then forget that we are citizens, forget that we ought to stand by these men who are just human. We leave them the prey of special interests; we leave them alone until they have betrayed their trust. I want to know whether that is not leading men into temptation? If you leave your city council under the dominion of certain interests alone and they never hear from you year in and year out, and you don't know and you don't take enough interest in public affairs, in the social interests of your community, to know—don't you



RELIGIOUS ADVERTISING: PITTSBURGH.

A Men and Religion poster drawn to show the number of Protestants (white space on the map), Roman Catholics (shaded), and those "without religious profession" (black) including twelve million children. It was printed with a quotation from Joshua: "There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed."

know that you are leading them into temptation, because those who want to betray the city's life, those who want to profit by the misuse of public power, those who want to get for themselves privileges that apply to all, will be saying to public officials day after day: "The people don't care, they don't know, they are indifferent; do this thing and we will stand by you; the people forget, but our crowd always remains, we always go to the primaries, are always on deck, we always control nominations." Many a man who has started in public life believing he was going to serve the community has found himself, after a few years, a cheap gangster with a betrayed human life. It was not wholly because that man was more wicked than others. The Master said: "Do you think that those people upon whom the Tower of Siloam fell were sinners above all in Jerusalem?" How true is it that through all this complex life of ours there is this call for the larger function of the gospel of Jesus, the gospel of the kingdom, which was the gospel of a redeemed humanity, the gospel of redeemed men in a redeemed society.

I do not claim any special wisdom, but

I have been actively on the firing line for eleven years and I want to say to you that the whole question in my thought today is this: Shall the kingdom of God come inside the church or outside the church? The kingdom of God is going to come. From that great moment down there in the old East when the Master on the tree spoke that final word, "It is finished," there has been a force in the world that has been making for the coming of the kingdom of God. With all the disappointments, with all the betrayals, with all the failures and all the losses, personal and social, inside of the church and outside; none the less that great faith has not lived in vain, and the kingdom is coming. I sometimes wonder where it will come. I do hope and pray and I do yet believe that it will come inside the church. There is where it belongs to come; and of course it will come inside the invisible church of God, of those that love Him and wait for His appearing. That is where it must come. But I am talking of the formal organized church. I believe that institution is part of God's great purpose in the world. I think sometimes it is too restricted to contain His great message. But I do not

believe it is because of the character of the church itself. I think it is only because of local situations.

I maintain that this great advance of social justice, this great quickening that is in the heart of the world today, should find its full expression inside the church. I have watched my brother social workers working in the spirit of the Lord, whose name they did not know. I have worked with them day by day and found them doing good work and sometimes speaking sneeringly of the church which was the very source of the enthusiasm that they had manifested among men. And I have watched the churches, sometimes indifferent to the social workers and to the splendid service they were rendering because it did not have a certain brand upon it or because it did not speak a certain word. Oh, I hunger for the social worker to have the power of a recognized religious sanction in his life, and I hunger for the church to have the great power of a social purpose in its message. I never get in the presence of ministers of the gospel without a sense of solemnity that I am privileged to be there. I have gone out from a day's work this last ten years hungering for that fellowship that the church alone could give, hungering for the strength inside the church that social work alone could give, and I have sometimes returned sad at heart. I think I know something in a little way of those great words of Wesley's:

I was invited by the canon of a certain cathedral to speak down there, and I went, and there was a great congregation there present, and the canon introduced me guardedly. The Lord was with me. I will not be invited again.

I take it that possibly the highest value of this Men and Religion Forward Movement is that it is going to mark the time when that may not be said any more, when those men who have an ear to the whole social message will be working out in their daily lives that glorious ministry of the incarnate*God upon earth 1900 years ago.

May I bear this testimony to its need: This is the great hour in our nation's life. The strain now in this nation is more

than at any time throughout the story of the Republic's life. It is greater now than it was in '61; it is a deeper and more menacing strain. May I say to you that old institutions, that the question of the very church itself, is in wide debate among many hundreds of the great group of toil. They are not worse than the rest of us; they are misguided and misled, but they have high enthusiasms, they have great hopes, they have the purpose of the kingdom in their eyes, although they do not know the name by which that kingdom can come, nor its method. I envy for the church of God that zeal that goes out in all kinds of weather, that perseveres in all kinds of taunting circumstances, that dares to proclaim its faith in the great co-operative commonwealth. I have no sympathy with its dogmas; they are to me alien to the purpose that we preach. I believe they will break down that purpose. No man stands in your presence with a clearer knowledge of the purity of their purpose, who at the same time is more absolute in his repudiation of their proposals so far as its scientific basis is concerned. But the enthusiasm of those men who are stirred by common human needs into a great indictment of the social order of things, many times too broad and inclusive, but none the less a fearless indictment of what some of us passed by all too carelessly considering the cost of the cure—their enthusiasm is praiseworthy.

I was called some years ago, nearly five, to supply for a minister in one of the cities in New York state. There had been there that old trouble, the betrayal of the daughters of the poor. There was a great institution that was paying to girls who came from the country districts wages which could not be defended. The girls could not live honestly on that wage. It was a betrayal of human life. That company was paying great dividends. This minister was stirred by one or two instances which came to his knowledge. I traced one New York country girl from her home in the fields of western New York to this city, to a job in this enterprise, to her little room with its four bare walls, through the day's work for several months, and then finally through the hunger for some little joy, the love of color

and music and form, to get away from the deadly monotony of the days—now a dance hall, a little recreation apparently only desired. There was no other kind of recreation for such a girl. Finally a wine supper, then a house of assignation, then finally the red-light district of New York, and then a little white stone out on Blackwell's Island. That is all.

There I found this man, standing before a well-dressed, comfortable congregation, preaching, in the silken robe that is the habit of his church, the simple gospel sermon. Afterwards I talked in a basement room, upon some of these deeper things in which I felt the church was involved. Some of those brethren were rather angry that I should charge upon them in their upright and separate life, as it were, their obligations for this defeated and lost life. But I charged it home, and I felt I was doing God's duty and service there under the power of the Galilean's own testimony of the harlot who wiped his feet with her tears and her hair.

I spent that evening with the minister and he said to me:

"I am going to have to give up this church. They won't stand for what is necessary to conserve human life."

I said:

"Brother, I don't believe it. There may be three or four men who won't do it, but the majority of your church will stand with you. I hope you will stay and try to work out patiently and faithfully this problem."

He said:

"I don't believe I can do it."

I told him a story that may be old to you. I said: "There is a principle in dynamics that a gun must be a hundred times heavier than the shot it fires. This social message is a pretty big shot, and if a real light person shoots it, it will kick him out of the pulpit. But if he is a hundred times heavier than the shot, if he does not get one-sided, if he does not

think that the social message is the only message, if he realizes that the message of God is bigger than that, if he realizes that that is only part of the message, if he keeps bible study, evangelism, and the other portions of that teaching of the Lord also strong; in other words, if he is a hundred times heavier than the shot, he can shoot it and stay at his work."

Do you get the thought? This great purpose after righteousness, this great purpose after the kingdom for which Christ died, is bigger than any man or set of men. It is bigger than any narrow view even of that message and that kingdom itself. You

know that old word about how those people took the kingdom of Heaven by violence?

Sometimes it has to come that way. Oh, I pray you, my brothers, that it may be in your power, in your judgment, and in your leading and ministry, that you may bring this whole gospel of Jesus into vital power inside the old church walls, and let it reach out in healing power to all the life around about, until the



RELIGIOUS ADVERTISING: ST. LOUIS.

Not the Black Hand, but a drawing to show the five-fold message of the movement. Various devices to show that the five parts form a single gospel message have been used in different cities. Hartford, for instance, had the five-pointed Star of David.

churches of God believe that great testimony that the Galilean sought to leave upon men.

As to the means for doing it: I should like to see in every one of the local churches in this city a social service committee composed of those men in your churches who know the most about and have the largest interest in social reconstruction. I should like to see that committee make for every local church a carefully worked-out survey of the community for, say, eight blocks around that church. Then I should like there to be a member from each one of those social service committees who would be a member of the inter-church and local church committee of the various churches of this city; and I should like that committee to co-operate with all other agencies doing social work.

I should like to see an inquiry made, to determine for this town what is a proper minimum-wage standard and I should like all the churches to make an effort to create public opinion upon that question. I should like to see an investigation made of Sunday labor here. I should like to know how many men have to work on Sunday in Buffalo; I should like to know how many men are working that need not work in the sense that it is not a social necessity. In other words, I should like to know how many men cannot function in the religious life of the community because of the conditions of their industrial work.

Then I should like to have an investigation that would indicate the social price of the saloon. I should like to find out in this town how many families are taken care of by the Charity Organization Society, where you could honestly trace the break-down in those homes to the liquor traffic. I should like to know how many of the total arrests are the result of intoxication. I should like to know what proportion of the cost of criminal procedure, is directly and honestly, not foolishly, traceable to the liquor traffic. I should like to know the number of delinquent, defective and dependent children in broken homes whose lives failed through the waste of the liquor traffic. Then I should like to have a program that would put public comfort stations

in your city, so that men would not have to go into saloons. I should like to have social centers in each one of your public schools, so that that great plant could be used for recreation and enjoyment by the people, and the social function of the saloon be diminished by just that much.

I should like to see, if possible, a place for every homeless man and boy to go—a municipal lodging house where he could get a meal, a chance to sleep, and employment, so that the present situation would not continue to support the saloon. I have been a miner. I have gone to a strange town with two or three weeks' growth of beard and poor clothes. Did I go to a minister to look for a job? Of course I did not. He would have been perfectly willing to see me and help me, but he would not have known anything about me and he could not have helped me. I went to the saloon, where I would find other people, where there was a sort of exchange of ideas covering the line in which I was interested and the information which I needed. I have lived in cities on 15 cents—cheaper through the use of the saloon than through any other means that had been provided through the social conditions of that city, for I got three beers and three free lunches, and I lived off that 15 cents and had fellowship with other men I could not have got as cheaply otherwise; and I could not have taken care of myself as well under any other circumstances. It is a vicious social administration that puts a man to that strain and does not provide the common human things that are necessary.

I would work out my social plan step by step, taking up the matter that is possible in the situation and then, by reason of its need, the next thing, resting on the co-operation of the men who want to do the right thing without regard to the petty divisions sometimes besetting us, not allowing superheated ignorance to carry us along. We need facts. Then we can make use of publicity, of the great power of the modern world, the public press.

There is an immense lot we can do that we do not know. I believe that this group of men in this room are ignorant of a great deal of their power. I say this in no sense as a reproach, because

it is true of every group anywhere in the world. Let me take a certain situation as an illustration.

In a great city that is supposed to be very materialistic is a great department-store building, representing an immense investment, and in some aspects, one of the finest in the world. Yet in that building was a bargain department, two floors below the surface, with a low ceiling having, in rush hours, the worst air imaginable. I thought the air was bad because I smelled it. Samples of air were taken to a laboratory and analyzed, and a report made which showed it carried more germs than air from the crowded tenements and sweatshops. I said to the proprietor: "Now, what will you do about it? Can you get ventilation put into that department?" It could be done, but at considerable cost, because it was not done when the building was constructed. He said: "We can't do it. Other stores are as bad." I said: "Well, I am perfectly frank with you. I am going to see that that is done and I will tell you how. The first thing, I am going to try to get some public action through the press, with my facts as a basis."

And he laughed. "All right," I said, "You laugh because you are the head of the downtown advertising association, and you regard that as absolutely controlling the daily press. To a degree what you say is so, although it is not always true, and there are papers which break through it.

Maybe I can't do that, but I am going to work this thing up and get some true cases and get doctors' certificates covering the girls who have come out of this condition, and I am going to work upon this thing. I will put this before the Citizen's Club, and there will be three or four hundred people there, and it will get out and we will publish it and distribute it to every trade union in the city, and through every church I can, and through all the channels of public information

I can; and it will carry the implication that your store is so unsanitary that to buy bargains there you take the chance of sickness and illness, and I believe I can make you come across."

He did not think I could; I took my next step just as I had promised him—took the facts up with three owners of three papers. These three looked the facts over and made us prove every step of the way.

Then they said, when it was made good: "We will authorize you to say that there will appear simultaneously in our three papers an editorial

statement of the condition of the air, with special relation to this place."

I went back and I said: "This is going to appear in three papers simultaneously; what have you got to say? Will you put in the ventilation?"

He said: "I have considered the matter, and we are going to put in the ventilation."

There were no head lines, no excitement, no sensation, there was nobody specially damned, nobody taken out and

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Men and Religion

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The churches are not perfect, but their faces are turned that way.

If you are better than they, why not help lift them up?

If you are not better, perhaps they can help you.

Let us get together for man's good and God's glory.

If you want to know more about the Men and Religion Forward Movement, ask the editor or the nearest clergyman.

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RELIGIOUS ADVERTISING: NEW YORK.
The Men and Religion teams have received liberal publicity in every city. In New York, where it is difficult to catch the attention of five million people reading scores of daily papers, paid advertising and electric signs were used. The advertisement shown here was used on the sporting pages of the leading dailies.

pilloried as though he was a greater sinner than others, and yet the thing necessary to be done was done. And, I tell you, through the power of the men in this room, and through the intelligent

leadership in this room, using the resources you have, you will be able to change many conditions that make difficult the lives of the least of these our brethren in your city.

THE WAR ON POVERTY AND DISEASE: TO MEN AT AN EVENING MEETING

For the first century of the life of our gospel in the world the great question was the question of individual salvation. There was a dying civilization. Men were perishing all over the world from the corruption and vice and crime and warring spirit of men. Was there anything that could save man out of it? Jesus and the disciples gave a victorious affirmative to that question, and for nineteen hundred years there has never ceased to be the witness to the power of God to salvation through Jesus Christ in individual human hearts, and evangelism has been with us and will be with us until the end of the world.

But the great question of this time, the question that is quickening the hearts of men all over the world, is this question: Is there a power in our God, a power through our Christ, that will save a community, that will save society, that will save the whole group life and make tolerable the conditions for every child born among us? And the hunger of the world is to realize that kingdom of God for which Christ died. It is the answer to that question that is before the Christian church today throughout the world.

Is there any power in our gospel that will reach out to that woman working for an anti-social wage, living in a small room with four bare walls, and that will pledge to her the strength and purpose of a whole community to see that she has a fair chance in the world? Is there any power in our gospel that will go down to those flaming furnaces where sixty thousand men are working twelve hours a day, and seven days in the week, and twenty-four hours on the double shift, and give to them a chance to be human beings as well as steel workers in the world? Is there any power in our gospel

that will reach to the disinherited quarters, the city wildernesses of the great cities, in the mill towns, and say to the little disinherited child there: "You shall have a chance to a decent human life. We guarantee to you that you shall live in a room where there is decent air and sunlight. That you shall get decent food. That you shall have an education that will make you worthy as the child of a great free people, as a future citizen in a great free commonwealth. That you shall have the right because we enforce the law and protect you from the degrading conditions round about your tenement. That you shall have the right to choose good rather than evil when you come to manhood or womanhood?"

Social service believes that the gospel of Jesus Christ will answer every one of these questions in a victorious affirmative, that will save human life in every condition and everywhere.

I believe that we are to war on poverty, that we are to war on disease, that the new war in the world and the new moral substitute for war is to have the splendid courage and purpose of men addressing themselves to the social problems in the spirit of Jesus Christ, coming not to destroy but to fulfil, and yet fearlessly and faithfully determining that we shall have a decent human life in the midst of every city and every hamlet in the land, and that that new expression of God in earth not only a redeemed man but a redeemed community, a Christian community—shall be born through the effort of men using the full message of Jesus Christ, working through intelligent social service, directed by the conscience and power of the men in the church today, serving "the least of these" for whom Christ died.

TO SAVE THE CITY WE MUST SAVE THE CHILD: TO BUSINESS MEN

I like to speak of the city and the city's life from a pulpit. I do not know any theme, after the individual soul, that has a greater place in the Bible than the city. Abraham went out from Ur of the Chaldees, and he "looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God." We have been looking for that city and striving to build it through all the years, and there is none such city yet in all the world. Then you remember the crowning city, "whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth." There is certainly an ideal for an industrial city that has not been approached among men. You may remember how interested the Master was in the "city," and what sadness it caused him—"And when He came near He beheld the city of Jerusalem and wept over it." And, last of all, that great word that comes to me again and again in the day's work: "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waiteth but in vain."

How is the Lord going to "keep" a city? He keeps it through living men. There is no other way. If men who name His name and claim to serve in His kingdom do not help to "keep" the city, it cannot be kept.

It is a safe assumption that we are not going to break up the city shortly. In your time and mine, at least, the city is going to be a continuing and ever-increasing factor of our general civilization. The thing to do is not to try to break up the city and to discourse upon a utopian idea of "three acres and liberty," but to address ourselves to the city's problem as such, and try to make the city a tolerable place for human life, to make it square with the vision and purposes of our civilization. Now if this be so, the building of a city is one of the largest and most important tasks in modern civilization. We should undertake it with the best knowledge and all the resources, that are obtainable.

How do we really start out to build a city? As a matter of fact, we do not very consciously start out to build it at

all. The city grows very much like Topsy did—in almost any direction, without any real program or plan at all. There is a group of men here this evening, I imagine, who have investments in railroads. I take it that not one of you would put 50 cents in a railroad scheme unless there had been a survey of the right of way, unless there had been presented to you in facts and figures the fills and the cuts, the bridges, the tunnels, the whole physical program, and you had, in relation to the population and the cost of building, an idea of whether or not it was a wise enterprise. Yet we start out to build a city without knowing anything about it, and we keep on working on our city-building without having had a survey, hardly, of the physical lines in the sense of city building. We lay our streets, of course, and now and again construct a boulevard, but to have the plans worked out ahead is rare. I am glad to see that this is beginning to change; that a number of cities have physical plans dealing with the parks, boulevards, bridges, beautifying the rivers, embankments, etc., and a certain combining of civic centers, and civic buildings being grouped artistically.

But where will you find a city which plans for the city's life for the future, the human part of it, and that has really a chart of the human element, of the waste spots; a chart that can tell just where the infant mortality is greatest, and why; that can tell you just where all the tuberculosis cases occur, and why; that can tell you where the social breakdowns occur, and why; that deals with the problem of human waste in an intelligent and comprehensive and satisfactory fashion?

Now, that is an undertaking worthy of the constructive intellect, of the best minds, worthy as an enterprise for every man in this room. Every man who has any leisure at all might well devote himself to that program. Any of you men who have large business concerns justify your constant attention, giving up your life a day at a time to these enterprises

on the basis that you are doing it for your children, leaving behind you something to be helpful to them. Very frequently I think you are mistaken about it, when that "something" is simply dollars or an estate; but, be that as it may, you justify your arduous labors because of the children. Our time is only a little longer or a little shorter, at best.

Now if this be true, we have found in the person of the child the center around which our work is to revolve. Let us consider this matter of the Greater Buffalo or any city—and realize that the Greater Buffalo can come only out of a greater number of sound, wholesome, creditable, God-fearing children. The great buildings and great bank balances and great palaces and hanging gardens and Appian Ways are all an old story in civilization. They will not preserve the city. They never have and they never will. But a sound, wholesome human life, from bottom to top, will give you the Greater Buffalo, the city whose lifelight is set on a hill and which does not need to be ashamed.

I should like to find for our purpose tonight, the child in Buffalo that is hungriest; I should like to find the child that is the poorest clad, whose little body most feels the cold; the child that lives in some basement tenement where it has been damp even when they tried to make it warm; I should like to find a child that has a social disease, that is, a child with incipient tuberculosis due to the physical conditions under which the child has lived during its growing years; I should like to find the child with the heaviest past heritage, as it were—and I am not thinking of crime, but of some Bohemian or Russian Jewish or other little child, coming from some peasant family, good, red-blooded, wholesome folk, doubtless, yet not knowing the language, and poor. That child not only has to learn our language but to learn a whole new order of civilization. Yet we should probably find that this child who needed the school most was getting the least of it, that it was forced by disease or poverty into the industrial world and made to work. If our children, all English-speaking children, did not go to school and did not pass

even through the eighth grade, they would know the language and habit of thought and be fairly able to meet the general demands in this country of ours. But this little American-born child of foreign parents carries a tremendous load. This child gets its touch and habit of American life from the street and public school. The moment it leaves the school or the street and goes into the tenement home or little cottage, it is in peasant Bohemia or Russia or Italy or some other foreign land. As soon as that door is closed the old language is spoken and the books and pictures speak of that old land and the old habits of thought. The mother and father think in terms of the old order. So the child has a double burden.

Of the boys who enter your schools you lose 50 per cent before they pass the eighth grade. That means that that child has an altogether difficult time and a deficient educational heritage, speaking in the lowest terms. On examining the figures closer you will find that a very much larger proportion of American boys pass the eighth grade than boys of foreign parentage; in other words, that children from our foreign population leave school much earlier than our native population, which is a serious loss, considering future citizenship. I say that no gain, economic or industrial, whether it be industrial on the one hand or parental on the other, can be anything but a social loss, that deprives that child of any necessary educational heritage to prepare it for a decent citizenship in a free land. You cannot get the results necessary out of the electorate, if the electorate is not able to function intelligently with the common problems of our collective life—and this is a heavy social loss because we deal with so many things on the basis of the vote.

Now that we have got this child right in front of us, as the Master set a child in the midst of them that wonderful morning in Capernaum, what is the first thing that child wants? It should have food. First there is the question of quality, because if it is formalin milk the child gets instead of pure milk it will not fare very well. If it is partially de-

cayed vegetables brought down from the better markets to sell to the poor because they cannot discriminate as well as the rest of us; if it is old meat that has been in cold storage; if it is from lumpy-jawed cattle that we permit to be brought down under cover of night; what does it mean? It means that the supply of decent food obtainable by that child is not such as you can justify, socially. It means that you have to control the condition and the quality of food by pure-food legislation, and by the enforcement of those laws and of your sanitary and health ordinances.

Because these people are poor, that little child's supply of food will have to be bought from the nearby milk-station, the nearby grocery, the nearby meat-shop. And if that supply is not good, no matter how good a supply there may be somewhere else in the city, that little child will not get the supply of food it ought to have. That is a pure matter of social legislation—which is only one aspect of it.

Now what about the quantity of food in the home? It will do that child

no good to look at food through a plate-glass window. It has got to have it in its little stomach. What about that? As a fundamental proposition, the quantity of food for such a little child as that in the city of Buffalo is a matter of your wage-scale and continuity of employment. That is the basis. First, whether the wages will permit it, and second, whether there is employment at those wages. In other words, the industrial aspect of the city's life will absolutely determine, in the first instance, whether the child ever had a chance to get that food,

even if the food is there. Now, there are some of my friends who wish to leave the problem here, and say that if we take care of those propositions all will be taken care of. My experience is the other way, and I will have to speak within my experience. In other words, I have known communities where the social problem, so far as quality of food was concerned, was met and where the wage paid was a living wage, sufficient to provide the necessary quantity of food for the child. But even there I have known the child not to have food. Why? Because the father spent the money on drink or gambled it away, or wasted it in one way or another; in other words, the question of personal morality, of individual purpose in the human heart, is also one of the issues involved in whether this child gets food or not, in sufficient quantity and of proper quality.

Now, we have only gone to one proposition, the most primary need of a child's life, food; and yet we have invaded the political realm, the industrial order,

and the religious or moral sense of individual life. Now, how complex, and yet, at the same time, how simple and true is that analysis. Let us proceed.

What is the next need of the growing child of ten or eleven years of age? Clothing, of course, or it will suffer from the cold that will bring disease and death. Pause a moment on clothing. Do you think there is no social implication in clothing? I have known children in clothing that carried with it a distinct social curse—sweatshop clothing, made under conditions of long hours, small

THE SOCIAL EVIL THE CHURCH

ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS
TO CHURCH & MISSIONARY
WORK BY THE PROTESTANT
CHURCHES OF CHICAGO

\$4,000,000

ANNUAL PROFITS
OF THOSE INTERESTED
IN THE SOCIAL EVIL
IN CHICAGO

\$16,000,000

-- SAYS --

THE VICE COMMISSION OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO

**"RELIGION AND EDUCATION ALONE CAN CORRECT
THE GREATEST CURSE WHICH TODAY RESTS UPON
MANKIND."**

RELIGIOUS ADVERTISING: CHICAGO.

A poster based on the report of the Chicago Vice Commission used by McCormick Theological Seminary in awakening the men of the churches to a realization of their responsibility for wrecked lives.

pay, and bad sanitary conditions, that simply betray the physical bases of life. But I have known it more direct than that. We had in our town smallpox, traced by our Board of Health to certain sweatshop conditions where certain diseased people worked over clothing. But we will pass from that to the matter of housing.

Now, this little child has got to have shelter and have it quickly. In weather like this it will have to have a certain amount a good part of the whole twenty-four hours or it will die. What is the basis of shelter for this little child in the city of Buffalo? Let us consider it. As to the quality: If the shelter is insufficient in cubic feet of air space, if it is a stable tenement, if poisonous gases accumulate, if there is bad plumbing, if no sunlight enters, that child will grow up narrow-chested, gray-blooded, in spite of all the prayers in Christendom. I believe as much in prayer, as any man, but I believe in prayer in relation to work. I believe that God Almighty gave us brains and heart in our lives to direct us into service. I like to pray as if all work were useless, and to work as if all prayer were needless. I believe that is the way that the Master intended us to deal with our social life.

So the quality of housing is of prime moment to this little child. Now, what is the basis of the quality of housing open to the poorest people of your city? It is a matter of tenement-house legislation and the enforcement of that legislation, and purely and simply a matter of social control.

But when you have settled the matter of the quality of housing, you have only begun. You have got to extend the inquiry over into, how can the working man get into the house and stay there? How can he escape eviction, how can he pay the rent? It is purely an industrial proposition, a question of industrial organization, both in wages and regularity of employment. All right. But even then we have not settled it, because you have the same personal moral quality to consider again. So that in each one of these simple things we have religion and politics and in-

dustry and the whole community tied up in terms of social control.

Let us go a step further. What about the education of this little child? You cannot have a decent child life, a decent citizenship in the future, except as this child and its group are brought in relation to educational opportunities. We recognize that as social, do we not? We have provided a public school system and a compulsory attendance law, so that if the child does not attend during certain years it is guilty of an offense against the commonwealth. If that is so, then we are charged to make that school all it ought to be, because we have assumed the responsibility, taken it off the mother and father, and have said we accept that as part of our social obligation.

I wonder if you have any problem in the city of Buffalo such as I found in my ward in Chicago in the matter of the adequacy of the public school system to the task it was supposed to assume? In a careful and accurate investigation we found out the expectation of the child and the expectation of the parents. In one school 72 per cent of the boys did not expect, and their parents did not expect, that they should be clerks or professional men. They certainly could not be gentlemen of leisure unless they were vagabonds. They were going into trades, and most of them had picked out what they were going to do. Yet that school at no point gave them any facility for efficiency in the task they contemplated undertaking. Now there is an immense social waste.

Here we are, an industrial people, living in a steadily advancing industrial age, that takes more and more of the whole community within its purview, as it were; and we are almost all of us related to industry at some point, and the great mass of us are related to the trades at some point. Yet the school system we provide is utterly inadequate, and in most instances no preparation is provided at all for this 72 per cent. What happens? This is one of the things that happens. A boy starts in industry, and the product he can make is so small that his relation to the social wealth is greatly diminished as compared with what he might do had he

been educated in his trade. Not only so, but the boy's resources, expectation, and hope are so limited because of the wages he receives under those conditions that many times he becomes discouraged, quits industry entirely, starts out on one tack or another, and finally winds up a vagabond and casual laborer on the earth. I know what I am speaking about. I was four years in charge of the Municipal Lodging House in Chicago. I have talked and dealt with over 50,000 homeless men and boys, representing the social and industrial human drift of our national life. Out of them I know a number who started through inefficiency and discouragement on the downward way.

I found by the same sort of a census of the girls going to a certain school, that 34 per cent did not expect to play the piano or to be clerks or young ladies of leisure, but to make waists and boxes and other products of craft labor, of one sort or another, as soon as they left school. Yet, there was no provision made for them any more than for the boys.

Now this is a distinct social waste; and the constructive intellect of our country, the educators and business men and the working people, ought to cooperate on a program that would work out that problem, and begin to work it out speedily. Whatever responsibility and cost is involved in it will be found to be an immense social saving in the end. The social cost of not doing it is many times greater than could be the actual cost of doing it.

Now, we may feed and clothe and house this little child before us and give it an education, but, if we do not let it play, if it has no chance for recreation during the growing years, it will be imbecile, incompetent, and powerless. In fact, the child will fail and die, will not live to manhood or womanhood, unless it has play. Recreation is a real word. You can, of course extend recreation to where it means dissipation. But recreation means to build, and dissipation means to throw away. Recreation is a primary need of human life, and unless you provide play for that child you fail in your social relationship. That child will almost always be found in the most crowded quarters of your city, where the

streets are dirty and least desirable as playgrounds, where there is a great deal of traffic. And that child will many times be found later in the juvenile court, not because it is a wicked child at all, not because it was primarily any worse than mine or yours, but because this reasonable desire for play has led the child off into gangs and into the group life that has become predatory; and that old spirit of adventure which took you and me into the neighboring apple orchard, against the will of the community, and yet did not make us criminal, makes of this child in the city's streets a petty criminal and leads it easily into real crime.

So that, in the matter of your recreation, you have a tremendous social issue. What are your dance-hall situations in this town? What is the fact in regard to reasonable pleasure at hand for growing boys and girls? Is the pleasure so perilous that in many instances there is a vicious element in it? What are the facts? What do you really know about your recreation possibilities for poorer children in your cities? I speak of that because there is where the heavy strain always falls. We have allowed the proper social recreation functions to become commercialized and to be divorced from the old neighbor-ships and the old social control. May I suggest that if you have social centres in your public schools, if you use that great plant from four o'clock on during the evening—mothers' clubs in the afternoon, and in the evening meetings for men and women and boys and girls, and then mixed meetings, under supervision, where mothers and fathers of the community, with the children of the community, could mix together—you would have the basis of a social recreation that would be much sounder in community life. If you do that, you will have one of the strongest forces to keep the children of the community from those associations and those pleasures that almost always lead into ways that are questionable and sometimes into vice and crime. And may I suggest that there is a power here you have a right to develop; that there is hardly a single community that will not develop certain power and beauty and capacity in music,

speech, or something that will serve and function the whole life in that community.

We have only dealt with the most primary things surrounding this little child, and yet we have got our whole social order outlined before us.

It is not a small thing, this life of the city, the hope of the future. Do you know why I took this little child, the poorest, most outcast child, you might say, in the city's life? Because, if your social leverage and resources are long and large enough to get under and lift that child, you have the whole social problem solved, you can lift the whole social community. May we not believe that there are open to you and me resources in the application of our intelligence, aye, and of our spiritual power, in the solution of these community problems, many of which we have assumed already through our forms of law?

The test of a civilization is the test of its human waste. The successes that have appeared in every civilization, the stars, the great, the powerful, do not need your attention. It is the common, average, garden-variety of life, that cannot resist too heavy burdens, that needs our thought. Do you remember how the Master worked among the poor and the diseased, the outcast, the defeated, and the criminal? He was sneered at by the wise and the good as "the friend of publicans and sinners," yet modern sociology agrees with Him. Every civilization has been defeated within. Failure in civilization means failure in the crop of men. No people have ever been overcome from without until they began to die within.

Christian social service knows just three great principles, that are best expressed in my thought by three words. First, Co-operation. The manhood of this splendid church could do something, but in community problems it would be overwhelmed; you need to co-operate. I do not mean organic unity, I mean learning to work together, in co-operation.

The second is Investigation. We are hunting in this present world for facts, and the stronger and more resourceful the man the more insistent he is in his

demand for facts. He is right. He wants to know. And he has a right to know, and you have a right to know, what actually happens in your social order.

The third is Publicity. That is an immense concern. It is one of the first powers of the modern world. A lot of good social work has failed because it has been buried in organizations and nobody knew anything about it, and because a few able men knew about it and would not take the trouble of publishing it for the public education. I am here to say that by the law of democracy you deserve to fail, no matter how perfect your program is or how disinterested your service, or how sincere you may be in human service, unless you pay the price of public education. The community needs to know the main facts, and the why, and the method, and the way out. If it does not know it can be betrayed against your purpose and against its own good.

You may remember that in a time when publicity went by word of mouth the Galilean Peasant laid the foundations of the finest system of publicity the world has ever known, by getting more simple, ordinary men to formulate and state His gospel in more places and languages than any soul that ever lived. He gave a final witness of the necessity of publicity; He even undertook that almost impossible task of reaching every individual man with His message by word of mouth. I want to say that democracy moves in precisely the same way, only that Christian social service in this present age has the tremendous democratic force of the press about it that you can use if you will.

The program of Christian social service is the program for all life everywhere. There is nothing common nor unclean that concerns any one of the least of these. You may not have the most population in Buffalo—that may not come to you in the course of the years; you may not have the greatest bank balance—that may not come to you; but you have got almost a free field in making your city the great adventure in human life, in realizing among men the city of God.

THE LAWRENCE STRIKE FROM VARIOUS ANGLES¹

IT IS TIME TO KNOW

WALTER E. WEYL

The strike at Lawrence bade us to "stop, look and listen." It was no ordinary strike, and it did not convey an ordinary message. It was a flaming appeal to the conscience and intelligence of the American people.

I return from Lawrence with many ideas, clear and confused. I bring back questions which I can not answer. I have asked these questions of other men and they have no answer.

In the first place why did the strike begin with violence? Why was the moving spirit of the leaders one of revolution, instead of the cautious, bargaining spirit of the ordinary trade union? What caused the desperation of some of these strikers, and the haunting fear of some of these mill-owners? Did the mill-owners understand the minds and souls of the men and women who stand at their looms?

It is significant of the Lawrence strike that the men behind it had no faith in the justice of our citizenry. They had no faith in public opinion. "If your little Johnnie or your little Jennie," declaimed one of the leaders, "comes to you and asks for shoes or bread, will you be content to say 'I have no money for shoes or bread but public opinion is with us'?" The strike leaders seemed to believe

"Better an ounce of working class revolt than oceans of public sympathy." Why was this?

For the sovereign state of Massachusetts the strike leaders had as little respect. I witnessed in Lawrence a certain conference between the strike-leaders and a volunteer investigating committee of the state legislature. The committee was thrown upon the defensive. "What can your state do?" asked the strike-leaders. "If you find one party wrong, can your state force it to do right? Can you legislators be impartial as arbitrators, when you have not lived the bitter life of the workers? Would you arbitrate a question of life and death, and are the worst wages paid in these mills anything short of death? Do you investigate because conditions are bad, or because the workers broke loose and struck? Why did you not come *before the strike*?"

It is easy to answer that these strike leaders are incendiaries, anarchists, revolutionists. But that is no answer. Why do the mass of peaceful workmen and workwomen follow such leaders? What conditions have we allowed to grow up in Massachusetts and in other states to render such an allegiance possible or conceivable? Why do Haywood and Ettor lead, and where are the wise and patriotic citizens of Massachusetts?

When you attend the strike meetings at Lawrence you gain some insight into the reason for this leadership. I was at one meeting of the strikers, at which fifteen thousand men and women were gathered on the muddy Lawrence Common, and speeches were made in Syrian, Italian, German, and perhaps a dozen other languages. I saw in this plain of upturned white faces that mask of infinite patient resignation, which is so tragic a mark of the peasant face in eastern and southern Europe. I saw also a new obscure en-

¹Besides weekly news comment, articles on Lawrence have appeared in THE SURVEY as follows:

A Strike for Four Loaves of Bread, a news story, by Lewis E. Palmer: February 3. 25 cents.

The Significance of the Situation at Lawrence, a description of the condition of the New England woolen mill operative, by W. J. Lauck, formerly in charge of industrial investigations of the United States Immigration Commission: Feb. 17. 10 cts.

Right of Free Speech in Lawrence, by Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the National Committee on Child Labor: March 9. 10 cents.

The Clod Stirs, an interpretation of a rising of races, by Robert A. Woods, headworker South End House, Boston: March 16. 10 cents.

The Lawrence Strike Hearings at Washington, by Constance D. Leupp: March 23. 10 cents.

Wages in Cotton Mills at Home and Abroad, by Earle Clark, statistician Russell Sage Foundation: March 23. 10 cents.

The Lawrence Strike, a protest by Wilbur C. Rowell, the judge before whom the cases of strikers' children were first brought: March 23. 10 cents.

thusiasm, a new halting self-confidence breaking through the mists of apathy. The souls behind these white faces were beginning to stir. The minds behind these white faces were beginning to think. They were beginning to think collectively. They were asking, "Why?"

Had these men asked, "Whom shall we follow, if not these revolutionary leaders?" we should have been hard put to it to answer. We might have replied "There is the peaceful union of textile workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor." But the United Textile Workers have been crushed by the manufacturers of Lawrence; they have been beaten and almost destroyed in the crash of industrial battle. We might have advised them to apply to the state governor. But the governor has no power. We might have advised an appeal to public opinion. But public opinion has been deaf and blind these many years to the conditions at Lawrence—and elsewhere. Public opinion is powerful when it is well informed. It is impotent when it is ignorant.

A few months ago we knew nothing about the conditions at Lawrence. We did not know the wages of the mill-hands? We do not know yet. We did not know their conditions, their aspirations. We do not know yet.

Wander through the alleys and byways of Lawrence and you will understand why the peaceful mill-workers were content with a leadership, more profoundly revolutionary than any in the history of American labor. The mill-hands are for the most part foreigners. One race has supplanted another at the mills, only to make place for a third. We do not know how many nationalities are represented there. We do not know how many languages are spoken, or what these mill workers say and think in their languages. We do not know.

The environment of these immigrants, lured to Lawrence from Italy and Portugal, from Poland and Russia, from Turkey and Greece is very different from what we Americans consider an American environment. Most of these workers are better off than they were in their native lands; many are worse off, but all of them are very remote from an environment

conducive to the best American citizenship.

What is the bond, the nexus, between American public opinion and the men and women who huddle in the creaking, dilapidated shanties in the worst streets of Lawrence. These future American citizens suffer no wrong in the well-lighted, well kept mills, except that their wages are low. They are told that this is the law of supply and demand. Their landlords are not cruel, except that they, like the grocers and the butchers, are always raising prices. The mill-workers are told that this too is the law of supply and demand. They are not bothered by the city or the state governments, except for an occasional kick or curse, but they receive little from either, and know little of either. They only know that the policeman carries a club. Our American public opinion passes over the heads of these people, and does not stop to see their conditions, let alone to understand them. We do not know. We do not seem to care to know.

The strike leaders were not far from wrong when they asked the legislators "*Why did you not come before the strike?*" If the Lawrence strike teaches one lesson more clearly than another it is that the people of the United States *must know*.

We must understand for Lawrence and for all the industrial communities of America the real facts about labor. We must know wages, hours, conditions, everything which is necessary to form the basis of an intelligent judgment. We shall have no time to discuss fire protection when the house is already ablaze. We must know in advance.

Lawrence is not alone, nor is Massachusetts. We are equally ignorant of equally evil conditions elsewhere. Are we to postpone our investigations until the steel mills are attacked and the railroads tied up? Are we to bury our head in the sand and plead ignorance afterwards? Are we to be held guiltless of all complicity because we did not know?

When the next great labor conflict arrives, the "innocent public" will complain that it has again to suffer from a contest which it has not evoked. As heretofore the public at the eleventh hour

will seek to investigate, to know, to understand. But it is then always too late, for in an industrial battle neither contestant can see clearly or speak truly. The innocent public will again be bewildered, and will again pay the penalty.

But is the public innocent of a conflict, if it allows the conditions to arise which produce the conflict? And is the nation without responsibility if it does not even seek to know?

The Lawrence strike teaches us that "the time has come for a new approach to the problems underlying industrial conflicts and for the elimination of such of their causes as are preventable. The federal government should summon a commission of the wisest, most public spirited and best informed citizens to re-examine," in the words of President Taft, "our laws bearing upon the relation of

employer and employe, and 'to inquire into the general conditions of labor in our principal industries; into the existing relations between employers and employes in those industries; into the various methods which have been tried for maintaining mutually satisfactory relations between employes and employers, and for avoiding or adjusting trade disputes; and into the scope, methods, and resources of federal and state bureaus of labor and the methods by which they might more adequately meet the responsibilities which, through the work of the commission above recommended, would be more clearly brought to light and defined.'"

For half a century we have blundered through a succession of fatuous errors because we did not know. It is time to know.

THE BREADTH AND DEPTH OF THE LAWRENCE OUTCOME

ROBERT A. WOODS

HEADWORKER SOUTH END HOUSE, BOSTON

The widespread results of the Lawrence strike are seen in the increase in wages which has come to some 250,000 employes in the textile factories of New England. The average weekly wage of the unskilled workers (predominantly women) at all the plants of the American Woolen Company in various places is now brought up to about \$8; and the average wage at all the smaller concerns will approximate that amount. The levelling up in economic condition thus brought about has an important meaning to the whole state of civilization in this section of the country. But the amount of this gain must depend on how quickly and broadly influences are set at work to make the higher wage standard represent a higher standard of living and of life.

This movement all along the line is the result largely of provision on the part of the mill owners lest the troubles of Lawrence be transferred to some—or, without too great a stretch of imagination—to all of the other mills. In

many cases the increase is probably not made on the basis of present earnings. There is here the most tangible recognition of a crude power of collective formation among previously unorganizable habels of laborers, which can quickly extend itself from town to town and from state to state. The very breadth of the front of the wage increase, assuring a temporary period of industrial peace, confirms the grasp and the reach of this new power for the future. Here is a situation which alone could seriously and for years occupy the whole attention of a National Bureau of Industrial Relations.

The whole body of consumers,—that is, the public,—is in this case a direct and obvious party, because the very unanimity with which wages have been increased makes it all the easier for the mills to make the advanced prices for their products which are now being announced.

As suggesting the danger of the situation, let it be remembered that to-day in old New England some 250,000 peo-

ple, largely newcomers, with their families, look with gratitude from the heart to William D. Haywood, who though classed among Socialists is really an avowed and unrestrained Anarchist, to whom nothing in the common law of civilized nations, nothing in legislative enactment or judicial decision, nothing in any part of that moral law which is the result of untold ages of human experience, not one single joint in the recently and toilsomely reared structure of labor organization—is worthy of an instant's consideration as against his purpose. His associates in the Industrial Workers of the World are pledged to the same creed; and it is the essence of this creed to despise words. It is far from sufficient to say—what is true enough—that these men were not essential to the Lawrence strike, that the situation would

have developed in much the same way without imported leadership. The fact that these leaders should have held the center of the stage of action for the whole of New England for weeks, and are carrying away such prestige for themselves and their cause with them, represents an amount of harm which only years of aggressive educational effort can overcome. And it is an unconscionable thing that, while the program of the Western Federation of Miners when first brought forward in the Rocky Mountains was denounced continuously by every eastern organ of opinion, we see the chief exponent of that program carry the attack into the very heart of New England, with only a fitful and almost cowering protest against him from its citizenship.

THE CO-OPERATIVE FRANCO-BELGE OF LAWRENCE

JAMES FORD
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Mere incidental reference has so far been accorded to one of the most profoundly important discoveries of the Lawrence strike, the Co-operative Franco-Belge—a true *Maison du Peuple*, prosperous and unselfish, a social democracy in miniature.

The co-operative movement of Belgium is but half as old as that of England and differs in many ways from the familiar Rochdale model. It begins with bakeries instead of groceries, and it is avowedly socialistic in aim. The Belgian cooperative movement has spread to all the cities of that land and in each has established a bakery which has been the nucleus for a social and labor center, with cafés, libraries, theater, bank, and store—headquarters of co-operators, trade unionists, and Socialists—promoter of popular education, recreation, and politics.

In America it is customary to assume complacently the inferiority of the immigrant; that the uncouth alien should import a social institution in any way superior to our own is to the average citizen unconsidered or inconceivable. The Co-operative Franco-Belge of Lawrence

would seem to demonstrate the fallacy of this popular idea. It has created new and important resources for the labor struggle and has provided constructive social education of a sort scarcely to be found elsewhere.

The Co-operative Franco-Belge was founded in Lawrence about six years ago. Membership, which was open to all families sympathetic with its purposes, is contingent upon subscription to one \$10 share. The shares, however, bear no interest, for to the Socialist mind all wealth is due to labor, and capital is unproductive. Each member's share is thus termed his *part sociale*; it may be subscribed by installments. The association now has a membership of three hundred families and conducts a yearly \$100,000 business in both groceries and bread. It sells at slightly under market price and for cash. Credit is only given upon the responsibility of the clerks and directors, who must refund the entire cost of goods unpaid for. Of the net profits of the business, 10 per cent are devoted to the reserve fund, 10 per cent more are apportioned for Socialist or co-operative

propaganda; the remainder is returned to all purchasers, whether members or not, according to the amount of their purchases. One-fourth of the dividends due to the family of a non-member are reserved until he owns a full share in the society. Last year 7 per cent dividends were distributed. One local customer who conducts a boarding house is stated to have received \$42 back as dividends on his purchases.

The association affords evidences of a co-operative idealism that is peculiarly unalloyed. Its manager receives a salary of \$15 a week, which is no more than the clerks and bakers receive. The hours of labor for the bakers are restricted to eight per day; work over-time, if performed at all, must be done by other men. Members who through misfortune are unable to pay cash for goods at the store may be loaned money from the reserve fund of the association. The association reports no losses through this system, which would seem a dangerous practice unless carried on with utmost caution.

The most important evidence of the spirit and power of the association has been the part it has played in the Lawrence strike. It had previously contributed over \$1,000 from its propaganda fund to strikers in Halluin, Belgium. When the Lawrence strike was proclaimed this society was among the first of local bodies to contribute largely to the strike fund. Furthermore it has given bread at cost price—7 cents for a 10-cent loaf—to all strikers. More important still, it was able to furnish rooms, rent-free, for headquarters of the strike and for the distribution of the *soupe populaire*, and a hall for the use of strikers of all nationalities. This contribution has been particularly valuable as in times of strike a combination of landlords of capitalist sympathies may render it difficult or impossible for strikers to secure a hall in which to hold mass meetings.

The social history of Lawrence shows many previous instances of co-operation. The famous Arlington Co-operative Association, founded in the early eighties, was at one time reported to be the largest co-operative store in America. It was



FACADE OF HALL.

The grocery of the Co-operative Franco-Belge of Lawrence occupies lower floor at the left; the strike headquarters are in front room upstairs; the bread line is served in the lower right hand room.

founded by English immigrants on the Rochdale plan, but its unscrupulous manager destroyed the association after twenty years in office through usurpation of power and through appropriation of its funds. The Lawrence Equitable Co-operative Society also failed through the greed of certain of its members. The Lithuanian Co-operative Association of Lawrence today lives only through the dominant personality of its manager. It has sacrificed its potentialities as a force for social advancement to the credit system. It carries \$4,000 of outstanding debts of its members, half of which are uncollectable, instead of inculcating habits of thrift through payment of dividends, or accumulating common profits for common improvement.

The German Co-operative Association of Lawrence is a model of successful economic co-operation. In its twenty-five-odd years of business it has distributed thousands of dollars of dividends to its members and lost no money through credit or expensive delivery systems. It still pays 12 per cent dividends on purchases.

The salient difference between these associations—good and bad—and the Co-operative Franco-Belge lies in that they have all pursued the aim of money-making, whereas the latter society has first considered its social responsibility and has made the desire for dividends subsidiary. Its present methods reduce the danger of destruction through cupidity of members to the minimum. The causes of the materialism of the Roch-

dale stores of Lawrence were the payment of interest on capital, restriction of full dividends to members, the payment of large salaries to managers, the credit system, the small allotment of profits to education and propaganda. All of these causes of materialism are eliminated in the Franco-Belge and in their place we find the tradition of the *Maison du Peuple*,—labor center, responsible for the protection and progress of the people.

A strike in Lawrence was necessary. The management of the strike may be questioned. Mistakes of threats and violence are inevitable in any case within a large population so alien and mentally impoverished as are the unskilled wage-earners of Lawrence. But the Co-operative Franco-Belge has backed ably what was the most promising source of relief

from intolerable industrial conditions.

It has shown America an institution for social improvement that is thoroughly democratic, powerful, and practicable. As an agent of evolutionary collectivism this type of co-operation if widely practised has great social value. It can teach the problems of common ownership of industry, the apportionment and reward of labor, the difficulties of adjusting interests of varied classes. It can promote constructive recreation of which the unbroken family is the unit. It can, as in Belgium, promote the art of the people—discover and develop talent. Most important, it can train leaders who will remain workingmen in their sympathies, yet will be able, as representatives of the people, to conduct all industries that should be collectively regulated or owned.

THE CHILDREN'S EXODUS FROM LAWRENCE

C. C. CARSTENS

GENERAL SECRETARY MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN

Nothing connected with the Lawrence strike has been more novel and at foundation more tragic than the sending of the community's children into distant cities and towns. Since that bitter cold February 10 when the first group of one hundred and nineteen children, ranging in age from four to fourteen, were sent to New York, about thirty have also been sent to Barre, Vt., forty to Philadelphia, an additional ninety-two to New York, and perhaps forty to Manchester, N. H.

This "placing out" of children by their own parents was in large measure undertaken only after deliberation and after careful and, on the whole, satisfactory plans had been made for the children's reception by communities of other cities.

As is usual, however, in such times of stress, the pressure of apparent necessity was augmented by a measure of coercion and threat. In certain instances children were sent away because parents had been urged to do so and they feared that the relief needed would not be adequate or would be withheld altogether, if the children were not sent. In other instances the parents thought lightly of sending them away for a few weeks, as

if on a vacation, without realizing where and into what uncertain care the children were going. Some children who always "ruled the ranch" anyway, went away of their own accord and in a few cases children were taken contrary to the parents' or guardians' wishes.

The solidarity which the textile workers of Lawrence, though including at least nineteen nationalities, have evinced, is certainly a new phenomenon in American strikes. It is no wonder, therefore, that the readiness on the part of sympathizers in other cities to care for strikers' children expressing an extension of this solidarity led to an enthusiastic falling in with plans when cool judgment would have kept children under their own roof tree.

The fact that certain children had been sent away without their parents' consent and that the journey had proved a hardship to certain others of the first party, led the newly appointed chief of police to protest against sending any more, and a group of fifteen children were prevented from leaving the city. This was done under a statute that is used perhaps every day by the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Chil-

dren which declares a child neglected who, by reason of the neglect of its parents, "is growing up without education, without salutary control, without proper physical care or under circumstances exposing him to lead an idle and dissolute life," and under this statute the court may commit such a child to the care of the State Board of Charity who would usually place the child in a new family home.

Judge Rowell, sitting as special justice in the absence of Judge Mahoney, held court on the day the children were prevented from going, and stated that "the willingness of parents to send their children away without proper provision for their care might under some circumstances be sufficient evidence of the kind of neglect described in the statute," and ordered the children to be committed to the care of the probation officer for juveniles until the following juvenile court day.

They were temporarily sheltered in the City Home but most of them were returned into the parents' custody the same day upon assurance being given that the children would appear at the hearing. While perhaps a strict, technical interpretation would register the parents as paupers, as previously stated in *THE SURVEY*,¹ this did not in fact actually occur and these children were temporarily sheltered as other children and adults are during the year without getting a pauper record.

On juvenile day Judge Mahoney after a partial hearing continued the cases pending an investigation of each individual case by a committee consisting of the city solicitor, the two attorneys appearing for the parents, the probation officer for juveniles and the local agent of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. As a result of these inquiries, such of the parents as were willing and able to resume charge of their children were allowed to do so, and all the cases except two were dismissed.

By the terms of the statute the state of Massachusetts deemed itself an interested party in the disposition of its children, even though the parents had

given their full consent to have them taken away. We must all agree that the removal of the children, even with the parents' consent, to a place where they might be brought up as thieves or prostitutes, would certainly be an offense quite within the statute, but whether such irregularities as had occurred in getting parents' consent and in actually sending children away, as were known to the police and the court, were of such a nature as to justify the officers in apprehending danger for these children, in view of the good faith of the children's committees of the various cities and the almost invariably good care that had been furnished, is a question open to honest differences of opinion and one that has led to serious criticism throughout the nation.

On the whole those removed from the scene of action have perhaps been inclined to censure the police for what seemed like interference with a desire of the parents to send children from a place of want to one of plenty. It must, however, be kept in mind that the strike funds of the Industrial Workers of the World had at all times been ample to provide for families on strike, and church, general and neighborhood charity have been ready and able to meet all additional needs. It was rather because the sending of children away from Lawrence seemed an un-American and an unnecessary "war measure" which hurt the community's pride that vigorous steps were taken to prevent the children's going. There is no doubt that the police authorities concerned are entitled to the credit of having acted with sincere good intentions and upon grounds not wholly unreasonable.

Some difficulties are already being encountered by parents in having the children returned, and it is not impossible that some among the entire number sent away will never get back home. As a result of the action of the officers, conditions surrounding the later sending were much improved, and no more children were taken away in the irresponsible manner which characterized the first exodus, and until the authorities were satisfied that the children were going with the parents' consent.

¹See *THE SURVEY*, March 2, 1912, p. 1822.

THE LABOR WAR AT LAWRENCE

MARY K. O'SULLIVAN

[Mrs. O'Sullivan is the first of the old line labor leaders in America to challenge the organizations which have built up the trade union movement of the United States, to adjust their policies and spirit to the industrial changes which have been going forward in the last twenty years and to voice the needs of the whole of the labor force rather than merely the ranks of the skilled workers. Mrs. O'Sullivan organized the Women's Bookbinders' Union, No. 1 in Chicago and Boston in 1884, became in 1892 the first woman organizer of the American Federation of Labor and was the first woman to preside at its annual conventions. With William English Walling, Mrs. O'Sullivan organized the Women's Trade Union League of America in 1903. She at present carries a card of the News Writers' Union of Boston.]

Throughout the Lawrence strike, Mrs. O'Sullivan was in touch with the Strikers' Committee, with the representatives of the state, and with the employers, and performed important services at different junctures. It is, therefore, as a life-long friend of an old organization falling on new days, and of a keen observer watching the work of a new organization, that she writes this, her first interpretation of the meaning of the Lawrence strike to organized labor.]

"We were drowning men ready to grasp at a straw when the Industrial Workers of the World appeared to save us," said more than one striker in Lawrence.

First of all, it must be understood that the Lawrence strike was not caused either by the Industrial Workers of the World or by the reduction of the working week from fifty-six to fifty-four hours with the ensuing loss of pay. The reduction was only the last straw in a situation that the workers could not endure longer. The many injustices of the section boss with his personal discrimination against men and women who refuse to submit to his standards helped to bring on a rebellion. The rise in cost of living during the last two years, including increased rents, had reduced the mill hands to an extremity where the loss of a few cents weekly in their wages became a calamity in hundreds of homes. At the turn of the year, then, the strike began spontaneously without any recognized leadership.

Up to the present time, the Textile Workers of the American Federation of Labor have failed to organize the unskilled and underpaid workers. Blocked by the mill interests, they have been defeated in their larger efforts for the skilled workers, and they have neglected the interests of the unskilled. They have ignored their capacity for strength and failed to win them to their cause or to better their condition.

In the past the foreigners have been the element through which strikes in the

textile industry have been lost. This is the first time in the history of our labor struggles that the foreigners have stood to the man to better their conditions as underpaid workers. The Textile Workers had only one permanent organization at Lawrence at the beginning of the strike (the Mule Spinners' Union), while the Industrial Workers of the World had not any direct organization within the industry. Many of the unskilled workers, however, had independent unions not affiliated with any national organization. John Golden, the official head of the Textile Workers of America, instead of remaining in Lawrence and fighting for the interests of the workers, went to Boston and was reported to have denounced the strike as being led by a band of revolutionists, thus leaving them to be organized by any persons who might choose to use or to help them. This was the first time in the history of the American Federation movement that a leader failed the people in his industry.

Members of the Industrial Workers of the World sent for Joe Ettor and in four days he organized a fighting unit such as never existed in New England before. At the head of it was a strikers' committee representing eighteen nationalities and composed of fifty-six members, each with an alternate trained to act in case of the disablement of his principal. This committee was organized, not to represent the Industrial Workers of the World, but to win the strike; and when it first met not a half

dozen of its members were inside the ranks of that organization. Even at the close of the strike only a minority of the committee belonged to the Industrial Workers of the World. In this connection it is worth noting that the riots, to which such exception has been taken, occurred before Ettor's organization was effected, when the strikers gathered about the mills as an organized mob and mill bosses turned streams of water upon them in zero weather. After the "blood-stained Anarchists" arrived on the scene, a policy of non-resistance to the aggressions of the police and the militia prevailed. It is worth remembering, also, that thousands of striking operatives never attended a meeting of any sort. They sat in their homes, trusting their leaders, and determined to stay out until these leaders gave the word to go back to the mills.

The strike developed leadership among the workers of the most surprising caliber and personality,—women such as Mrs. Wessenback, the highest paid worker and expert mender in the mill, who stood out for the despised foreigner; the underpaid skilled workers such as Riley and Adamson of the committee, who with others developed into remarkable leaders in the struggle; Yates, a textile worker up till the time of the strike who had been a mill hand since he was ten years of age, and who showed unexampled executive ability. He will be heard from from now on. These men represent to me as an old trade unionist, the old religion and the spirit of the trade union movement when men worked for the cause regardless of consideration.

In the long run, from the organizer's standpoint this new insurgent movement may be the best possible thing that could happen to the labor unions of America. On the one hand the success of this struggle is a warning to employers who are on the job that they can no longer afford to beat down and block conservative organizations that stand for contracts and trade agreements which give the management a guarantee and surety in making estimates in business. On the other

hand, the trade union with a vision will also profit by this note of warning.

There were many seeming injustices done the strikers, such as the arrest of Mrs. Wessenback and her two sisters. The evidence brought out in their trial for alleged intimidation fell flat; it was clearly a pretense to make an example of well-known workers who had thrown their lot in with the strike. Yet these girls were arrested in the middle of the night, made to dress and taken from their lodgings to the lock-up. More consideration than that was shown the murderer of Avis Linnell at Boston. One of these girls was so young that she had to go to the juvenile court to be tried. Her, they fined \$5; her sisters, \$20 each. A Syrian father who was buying milk for his child in the morning, was told to go back in the house by a militiaman and because he did not obey or understand, whichever the case might be, the militiaman as he passed him by struck him across the face and broke his cheek bone. The killing of the young Syrian boy who was told to move, by running a bayonet through him, murdering him, all these injustices, created in the hearts of the people a distrust for those seeming to oppose them.

Nothing was so conducive to organization by the Industrial Workers of the World as the methods used by the three branches of the American Federation of Labor. These were the Lawrence Central Labor Union, the Boston Women's Trade Union League, and the Textile Workers of America. Catholics, Jews, Protestants, and unbelievers—men and women of many races and languages,—were working together as human beings with a common cause. The American Federation of Labor alone refused to cooperate. As a consequence, the strikers came to look upon the federation as a force almost as dangerous to their success as the force of the employers themselves, and I violate no confidence in saying that the operatives represented in the strike committee have more respect for the mill owners than for the leaders of this antagonistic element within their own ranks. A striker who went to the federation for relief was looked

upon as recreant to his cause and before the strike ended the American Federation of Labor organizations, by openly refusing to give help to anyone who refused to return to work, came to be looked upon as a trap designed in the interests of the mills to catch any workers who could be induced to desert their cause.

This opposition gathered all the recruits possible from the ranks of the strikers; they offered the mill owners a scale of demands in the hope that the employers would make the necessary concessions and that enough workers would then return to the mills to break the strike and leave the opposition in command of the field. The mill owners refused to deal with an organization whose recruits were so few in numbers and therefore could not settle the strike. The crusade against the exportation of children, which resulted in the deplorable incident at the railway station where women were clubbed by the police, was one of the direct results of their agitation. The heckling continued until the end of the strike when the courts were called into use to handicap the strike by demanding an accounting of the funds. This injunction was sought by the Rev. Herbert S. Johnson, Robert A. Woods, a social worker, Judge Leverony of the Juvenile Court, and Mr. Pendergast, an attorney.

In 1894 I helped to raise \$75,000 for the Fall River strikers, and John Golden was in charge of the fund. The courts were not then asked for an accounting and to expose their war chest to the inspection of their enemies. Why this discrimination?

It will be hard to find any fair minded person who went to Lawrence during the strike and examined the conditions there who is not fully in accord with the object of the strikers. Everyone who knows the situation admits that their cause is just. Yet there is in Boston a group of social workers who have not gone to Lawrence, who are believed to have been guided by the

president of the Textile Workers of America, and who have fought the strikers from the beginning. Among them are some who have asserted that it would be better for the strike to be lost than to obtain a settlement through the general strike committee. These social workers know or should know that under the old regime, children, thousands of them, suffered from under-feeding, and that other children as old as nine years have never seen the inside of a schoolhouse because they have no clothes.

The acts championed by these obstructionists must, of course, be attributed either to the American Federation of Labor as an organization or to the leader of its New England forces as an individual. The influence of Mr. Golden with the power and prestige of the American Federation of Labor in the background, has proved astounding. Yet, judging by the relief funds that have continued to pour in to the general strike committee from unions in the American Federation, the organization as a whole could not have approved his acts. The newspapers appear to have relied upon him and upon the Lawrence police for information. It is this fact that accounts for the wide difference of opinion between those persons, social workers and public spirited citizens, who have gone to Lawrence and studied conditions at first hand and those others who have been guided by Mr. Golden and the newspapers.

I want to add an expression of personal opinion, based on twenty-six years' active experience in the labor movement. The sub-committee of Lawrence strikers which conducted the negotiations that ended in a victory for all the textile workers of New England, is the most unselfish strike committee I have ever known. With two exceptions its members are skilled workers in the Lawrence mills. It was at the suggestion of these skilled workers that the lowest paid, unskilled workers of Lawrence received the largest advance in wages and the highest skilled workers received the smallest.

STATEMENTS BY PEOPLE WHO TOOK PART

THE SITUATION AS SEEN BY A MANUFACTURER

The most audacious and preposterous lies have been given out by the outside anarchists of the Industrial Workers of the World order of socialists about the Lawrence strike, so-called. It was not a strike properly; there had been no general demand for advanced wages and no leaving of work because any advance had been refused; it had little to do with the reduction of hours except as an occasion. Notice had been given of the change, and in Lowell the 54-hour schedule had been in operation for more than a month without disturbance. Besides, mills had been on short time owing to bad trade so that the practical effect of shortened hours had been shown.

The trouble began with an outside armed mob *breaking into* the mills where the operatives were at work, cutting belts and warps, striking the people at work, driving them out, stopping engines, smashing windows and firing pistol shots. The object was to enforce a general stoppage to secure the granting of exorbitant demands. The mills kept open (with one exception), as the people wished to work and gradually filled up to 50 per cent and 70 per cent except in the mills of the American Woolen Company. Meantime a great amount of violence and intimidation continued away from the militia or police patrol, and at night. This kept many away from the mills.

It was felt that the conditions of trade did not warrant an advance in wages at that time. Buyers were unwilling to give orders for forward delivery owing to general distrust and to the menace of a sharp reduction of tariff rates in cotton and especially the woolen schedule. Ettor, Haywood, and others, the leaders in the disturbance, were from outside the state, in no way connected with the mills, and bitterly denounced by the regular textile unions.

It was felt also that any concession then would be yielding to the Industrial Workers of the World anarchists, and that it would be very injurious permanently to the textile industries of the commonwealth and to all its industries and those of New England—Massachusetts being also hampered by its 54-hour law against 58 in New Hampshire and other New England states and even more in some southern states. This view as to concession was held by most of the textile mills in Lawrence, but finally one mill gave way and its advance in wages was of necessity followed

by others in the same line of work, and later by the cotton mills of New England; though it was very hard on cotton manufacturing which had had a year of bad trade and heavy losses.

The wages in the worsted mills in Lawrence were higher than anywhere else in the country, according to the report of the Tariff Board, and the board's accountants had free access to the mills' own accounts. The wages are about double those in Europe and have drawn thousands of operatives to this country.

Gross misstatements as to the wages in the mills have been made. It was said that the average wage in the worsted mills was \$6, whereas it was over \$9. One of the operatives of one of the American Woolen Company's mills stated to the congressional committee that his wages were less than nine dollars per week whereas the payroll book showed that he had been receiving over eleven dollars for a year and for 52 hours a week when the full time was 56 hours.

The contract labor law has a very bad effect. Except for it, skilled operatives could have been hired to come over with their families, but now one must rely on the chance immigrant—ignorant, unskilled, of many undesirable nationalities, ready, for the sake of saving money, to live in very undesirable conditions. This is not necessary, and others with the same wages do not live so. It is to be considered also that several members of a family work in the mills, and of course the combined wages are often a very considerable sum. One French-Canadian family had seven operatives in a mill in New Hampshire, it is said, out of a family of sixteen children.

A MILL OVERSEER'S VIEW

I am an overseer in the _____ mills, having held that position for the past twenty-five to twenty-six years. I am not speaking from the mill side, only as a paid overseer, but as a public duty.

For the past seven weeks I have had opportunity to spend very little time at home. I have been out in any and every direction, slums, club rooms, etc., watching events. I am employing some forty foreigners whom I have defended and protected; notably, several years ago against a Russian Jew who was exploiting them and robbed them of about \$2,000. These men all call me father. I have never had occasion to drive them; they work faithfully. I never curse or bully, and if a man does not suit me I caution him once, then let him go.

Now for facts. These men were satisfied and wanted to go on working. I promised to ask for more pay for them along with twenty-five or thirty others I will call Anglo-Saxonized or English-speaking. I told them to send in a petition which they did, and the 1 cent per hour asked for was granted, the English-speaking men working right along with the exception of about three of them. The Russians were paid one-half cent less than the English-speaking because I could not utilize them as well. They could do only certain parts of the work. However, they proved their worth, and without my asking, just on the report I gave, their pay was raised 1½ cents per hour, putting them on a par with the rest.

Yet they do not come in. Why? The Industrial Workers of the World has power over the poor ignorant fellows and they are threatened with throat-cutting, window smashing and breaking of arms, scalding water and vitriol throwing.

I pooh-poohed it at first. The way they do is this: The addresses of the men working are given to a committee. They are visited after nine o'clock at night by strangers, generally Poles. "Working today?" "Yah" (the man speaking has a sharp knife and is whittling a stick). "Work tomorrow?" "I d'no." "If you work tomorrow I cut your throat." "No, no, I no work." "Shake." And they shake hands.

This has been done many times. I have visited them in their tenements. A week ago yesterday I had seven working and five quit. One of the two lives apart from the congested part of the Russian settlement. He came to my office. "Come with me," he said. "I no afraid of you, come. I get you men." So I went. Three men were there besides two of my men. I saw that they were strangers and that one was whittling a piece of wood. I went to him and said: "Give me that knife." I took hold of it and he gave it up. I put it on the table and said, "Now, what do you want. Let me know what you expect to gain." Two more strangers came up and began a rather sad story of abuse and I believed it.

So I said "Well, leave that boss and come and work for me. I give more pay. Don't curse, don't drive, but want a good day's work. I will give you all a job. Come on, what do you say?"

Then he answered, "Na, na, not till strike out."

I accomplished nothing.

Yesterday I went to tell some of them about the raid, when a crowd came in from a back room and spoke excitedly. Only two or three of my men were there. I waited for the interpreter to speak, and he said:

"They say you have had the detective in your office and tried to get your men guns to shoot the strikers with."

And I said, "Yes, that's right; I did because my men have been threatened with

throat-cutting and you have broken their windows and I have the names of many of the men who have done the threatening."

The danger point is here. These men are not clever enough to do the planning which is the work of anarchy, and I am afraid it came in with Haywood whose statements are very erratic. He knows nothing of conditions here. All he knows is defiance of law and order. I approve of higher wages by all means. They mean a better "home market" in every sense of the word. All concerns are not alike and I am afraid there will be countenancing of anarchy if we are not careful. Much has been erroneously exaggerated. The Slavs and the Latin races are money savers. They come here with greed to save, live in dives until they have accumulated a pot. Their method allows \$1.25 a week for sleeping, four to eight in a room, with washing, cooking and bread. Any of our Russians can show from \$200 to \$1,200.

The Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Saxonized live under our conditions and are self-reliant.

A MILITIA MAN'S EXPERIENCES

The two weeks which I spent in Lawrence as a member of the militia convinced me that a wrong use was made of the soldiers in this strike. While the militia was admirably managed the fault lay in the attempt to make policemen out of soldiers.

There was too much of the feeling that we were fighting on the side of the mill owners. Our orders were to guard the mill and the mill property and to keep strikers who were known to us or were wearing badges from approaching within two streets of the mills. No one of us felt that he was like a policeman in the employ of the city to do justice to all its citizens. We were quartered at a mill and were fighting on the side of the mill men to protect them from the violence of the enemy. We had excellent accommodations at the mill and were constantly receiving favors from the mill men.

We went to Lawrence during what was expected to be the critical week of the strike. During the week the newspapers reported riots and prospective riots. We saw nearly everything which happened and there was nothing of a serious nature. Newspaper reports were absolutely false. One occurrence which was featured as a "riot" in extras was the largest demonstration which occurred and was entirely peaceful. The north side of Essex Street was crowded with strikers who walked along in groups. The police decided that there were too many and turned the head of the procession up a side street. A few resisted this and were arrested.

The orders to allow no parades or gatherings were rather indefinite and were interpreted to forbid two men from standing together on a street corner, an excellent provision against an enemy in war but one hardly

fair to American citizens in Lawrence, Mass.

The attempt to use us as policemen resulted in the injustice of making the section on the mill side of Essex Street a patrolled camp. At night every one who went to Canal Street was challenged and no one was allowed to pass unless he lived there. Had the strikers been better acquainted with their rights as American citizens they would undoubtedly have struggled with us when we calmly overrode their rights on the theory that the strike was similar to a war. In one case at noon two men were standing on a corner across the street from the mill doing nothing and wearing no badges. The watchman at the entrance of the mill signalled to me to make these men move on. When I talked with him he said the men were pickets and were frightening the people who were going in. I reported this to the officer of the guard who told me to make the men move on.

Through a natural error another man who looked very much like one of the two excluded was stopped at the head of our street. By the time we had discovered that he was a different man he was considerably enraged. This was partly our own fault, but more the fault of attempting to apply militia principles when policemen would have been sufficient to preserve the peace.

A soldier naturally takes sides. A policeman ought not to. No policeman ought to receive favors constantly from one side. No officer thought it a part of his duty to inquire whether the tiny children who were employed to help run the mills during the strike were fourteen years old or not.

I doubt whether any officer of the militia was particularly interested in protecting the strikers. Nothing was said to us about their rights, and no suggestion was handed down that we should treat both sides fairly.

I had always supposed that militia were used in strikes to quell riots and not to patrol the mill district and keep strikers away from it. This form of injustice in the republican commonwealth of Massachusetts resulted from the attempt to replace the Lawrence police force with militia. It was not the fault of the militia which fought the strikers in a proper military fashion.

We have a district police in name, but in fact it is an attempt at an Inspection Bureau, a Licensing Bureau, and a Detective Bureau. The extraneous departments should be removed from the control of this board and it should be made in reality a police force capable of taking care of such emergencies as the failure of the Lawrence police force. The militia ought not again to be placed at the service of the mill owners.

FOR JUSTICE SAKE

[This address delivered by Prof. Vida D. Scudder at a Lawrence meeting may be regarded as one of the historic documents of the Lawrence strike.]

Garbled accounts were published in the Boston newspapers, and the Boston Evening Transcript called for Miss Scudder's resignation from the faculty of Wellesley. It is reprinted here from the Boston Common which published it with a note that the Transcript, following its strictures, refused to print it.]

We, who do not live in Lawrence, must speak and feel with great caution in the midst of the trouble and excitement that now prevail here, yet I think certain great principles stand out clearly enough to justify this meeting.

Many hundred years ago a young Hebrew working man—later executed as a demagogue—said a strange thing: "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you." Yesterday the words kept ringing in my ears.

The strikers at Lawrence have certainly been harshly spoken of, if not reviled. We hear that they are at the mercy of bad demagogues; that they prefer to live herded like cattle, thereby lowering the life standard and the wages of native born Americans; that they have at the same time large hoardings in the banks, which they send out of the country; that they show a tendency to turbulence and violence, so that militia and police are needed to restrain them.

Have they been persecuted, also? No one, looking at the situation from outside as I do, can be sure; and I have perhaps no right to any personal opinion in the midst of the conflicting testimony which I have heard. But *if* it be true that their leader has been illegally refused bail; *if* women seeking the intimate right of parents to send their children away on visits have been roughly handled; *if* young girls who have offended only in speech have been dragged from their beds at midnight to the police court; *if* self-respecting people have been detained in the workhouse unnecessarily—

Then persecution of a fairly plain type has not been unknown at Lawrence.

Now, if this be the case, the people who should prevent any continuation or recurrence of it are the conservative and well-to-do citizens of the town. There is always a large body of the general disinterested public in a town at any such crisis; it is easy for them

to remain passive; but they have a rôle and a duty—the rôle, the duty of seeing that there is no invasion or over-riding of the law, especially on the part of the constituted authorities. If they do not perform this duty, their responsibility is very grave; if they condone *any* violation or forcing of the law, under no matter how great a stress, they are exposing us all to peril. A sweet woman in Lawrence said to me today, defending the possible disregard of the law on the part of the police: "They were preventing the exploitation of children, and it was more important for them to observe the moral law than a mere legality." That is a dangerous position. A similar one on the other side would call out instant reprobation. *Strict observance of law is our one safety* in a time like this. In the hope of strengthening the sense of law, of asserting the necessity of firm, straight, even-handed justice, this meeting has been called.

Justice! It is a good word for Lawrence and for us all to ponder. How much has it prevailed here? Back of these unfortunate sporadic acts, for which the responsibility will probably never be fixed—acts which have broken out like an eruption in a diseased body—lies the whole situation in the textile industries. And the country is becoming aware that this situation is not one which Americans like to contemplate. How wise is Victor Berger, when he reminds Congress that Schedule K was passed on the plea of protecting American labor with a high tariff—and then bids them listen to the life stories of the Lawrence workers! Estimates given by our most trustworthy and untrammelled journals, by *THE SURVEY*, *The Outlook*, *The Boston Common*, show that decent manhood and womanhood are impossible on the earnings of an appreciable proportion of the mill people here. That is what lies back of this strike.

What is the way out? That is not for me to tell. One obvious way is that for which able and wise men and women, quite outside the ranks of labor, are fighting this season: The establishment by law of a minimum wage for the state of Massachusetts. The workers—the Industrial Workers of the World and the American Federation of Labor—are not the only people in Massachusetts bitterly distressed over the wage conditions that at some points obtain here. If such a bill should pass it would be the first step in a reform which would render impossible just what has caused this strike. What we of the general public would like to see would be a board of government experts who should determine just what wages the woolen trades could carry consistently with reasonable profits to their stockholders and to the manufacturers.

And I speak for the New England of our fathers when I say that if such wages are (even for the least skilled of the workers) below the standard necessary to maintain men and women in decency and health, then the

woolen industry has not a present right to exist in Massachusetts. For the first point in any industry is that it shall be competent to support its workers in honor. So my master, Ruskin, said long ago. So we are gradually learning.

I speak for thousands beside myself when I say that I would rather never again wear a thread of woolen than know that my garments had been woven at the cost of such misery as I have seen and known, past the shadow of a doubt, to have existed in this town.

We have strayed from the quotation with which I began: "Blessed," it said, "are those persecuted." Blessed? It is a strange saying.

But wait! The quotation is not ended yet. "*Blessed*," it runs, "are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake." Another and perhaps better translation runs: "*For justice's sake*."

Is it for justice's sake that the strikers of Lawrence suffer?

I do not know. I am here as a stranger who feels the necessity of bearing witness to great principles; not as one who has known from within the complex situation in your city.

But this I can say: I went home yesterday giving thanks that at least certain ends of justice are being served here. For in the meeting of the strike committee which I attended yesterday morning I saw two such great ends achieved; ends for which we social workers and reformers spend our lives, too often in vain. The first was the end of Fraternity. Men of different tongues and alien traditions were bound into one dogged unity of purpose; and vibrations of brotherhood ran through that great assembly, so strong, so full of life and love, that I believe they augur a future when, in America, those of differing races shall, indeed, be of one heart, one mind, one soul. And the other end is that of Vision: For on every man and woman there had flashed the vision of a just society, based on fair reward to labor and on fraternal peace.

At many points I might differ and did differ from the policy endorsed at that meeting. I am no member of the Industrial Workers of the World. Yet I give thanks that those two great and noble ends are being achieved through this union of the workers: *Fraternity* and *Hope*.

And the sufferings that the strike has brought, from whatever source, from whichever side or cause, may they, too, inherit the blessing? Yes! If they help to arouse the American nation till it shall tolerate them no longer. Then, indeed, shall every pang, whether of hunger or of outraged feeling, play its part in that struggle for Justice in which life itself is well spent.

Only, my friends, let us see to it that all our suffering be indeed for justice, for righteousness' sake. Riot, even under severest provocation, does not make for justice. See to it, you citizens, that you keep an impartial mind, quick to compassion, free from preju-

dice, divorced from all apathy and irresponsibility, for a great trust is yours. See to it, you women of Lawrence, that in this stress and anguish you devote yourselves through the wisest channels—as you are nobly doing, I am sure—to the sacred task of relieving distress. See to it, you employers—if any of you are here—that you know your primary and fundamental duty to safeguard the welfare, physical and mental, of those in your employ to be a higher privilege by far than to roll up dividends. And see to it, you strikers—you who struggle on with the thought of the vast army of all tongues and nations in whose name and for whose sake you are banded together—see to it that you

hold your task too sacred to be defended by low, dishonorable or violent means.

You are in a democracy. The political power is in your hands. A little more patience, a little more solidarity, a little longer self-control; and, through means that shall hold the sympathy of all right-minded and disinterested people in the whole country, you may achieve your holy aim of economic freedom.

The struggle is long, but already on the horizon there dawns the light of the coming day, where man to man shall be brothers the world over. Let us all unite—workers, citizens, thinkers—in working for that day of deliverance for which every true American heart must long!

LAWRENCE AND THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Statement in brief of the Lawrence Textile Workers' Strike Committee, issued on March 24, the date on which it went out of existence. Its place was taken by a permanent body, Local 20, National Industrial Textile Workers' Union of the I. W. W. The statement as it appears here is somewhat condensed as part of the material is covered in other articles in this issue of THE SURVEY.

The Industrial Workers of the World declares that no benefit can be conferred upon the working class by any other class. The working class must itself take the things that are beneficial to it, the foremost of these things being progressively shorter hours of labor and progressively increasing wages to the end of securing an ever-increasing share of the value of the product of labor, greater security of employment, and increasing control of the machines that the workers operate.

The Industrial Workers of the World has no leaders, and cannot exist in dependence on leaders. Until the workers themselves in the mass are sufficiently educated to demand and progressively secure these immediate advantages for themselves and to understand the necessity for control by ownership of the means of production and distribution as the only solution of the class struggle, their miserable condition is incapable of betterment. When the workers, or any number of them, do understand these principles, control of the organization is essentially democratic, each individual having an equal voice and vote with any other.

It was in accordance with these principles that the battle of Lawrence was fought by the I. W. W. Within a few weeks the strike of January 12 was recognized throughout the country as a class struggle in which the workers of the entire country rallied to the support of their fellow-workers in Lawrence, while the employers supported the cotton and woolen kings, and the organized forces of the state—the police, soldiers and legislatures—were united in an attempt to

crush the most formidable revolt of workers in American history.

For many years before the strike resentment at the treatment meted out to the workers by the employers had been rife and had grown increasingly bitter, and several abortive revolts had been suppressed. The ease with which they were suppressed was directly due to the methods pursued by the American Federation of Labor. They organized the more or less skilled workers in some of the textile processes, each group with a separate contract and acting for itself so that each group could be dealt with separately by the employer and was, in effect, so helpless that at the time of the strike just over all that the American Federation of Labor had to show for twenty-five years of organizing in the city of Lawrence was a tiny union of Mule Spinners, numbering, according to its own officials 160 members.

After nearly ten weeks fighting, in which every means at the disposal of the employers was resorted to to break the strike, has gained the victory and, with ranks intact as on the first day, has returned to work in the mills.

The Lawrence workers take with them the most powerful working class organization in America. At this moment practically every worker in the mills of Lawrence is a member of the I. W. W. The victory that has been won is regarded not merely by labor leaders, but by the rank and file merely as a preliminary skirmish in a series of battles on an ever-increasing scale for fewer hours of labor, higher wages and

greater control of the machines. Through New England the spirit of revolt has spread. The workers in city after city have struck for higher wages and better working conditions. Groups from the New England cities wait on the Lawrence organization for advice and help in organizing. The power of the Industrial Workers of the World increases hourly. Its mission will be accomplished, the battles will cease, the class struggle will end

only when the working class has overthrown the capitalist class and has secured undisputed possession of the earth and all that is in and on it.

To this final overthrow of the present capitalist system the I. W. W. works unceasingly. Every member of the organization is pledged to a revolutionary policy that admits of no compromise and knows nothing of contracts with the employers, of arbitration, or of peace.

THE SHADOW OF ANARCHY

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Reprinted from the Boston Evening Transcript of Saturday, Feb. 10, 1912

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS

Six years ago I saw in France what was to me a new kind of strike. It differed from ordinary dispute both in purpose and in method, until the threat of defeat stripped it of all its fine theories, leaving only the familiar, desperate attempts to save any possible remnants of power and influence. I wondered when this type of strike would reach us in the United States. That sooner or later it would come was certain. Let the trade unions in a few industrial centres become convinced that their power of collective bargaining is being crippled and the thing has begun. It had no surprises last year to find on the streets of Pittsburgh a crowd listening to this new philosophy, which the French call "syndicalism" and we call "I. W. W." (Industrial Workers of the World). The economic powers in that great centre have carried organization wellnigh to its limits. They have extended the benefits of this organization to the picked and favored minority of their workmen. But the vast majority of the lower paid men have been deliberately deprived of organization. It required a "Pittsburgh survey" to show what it means to have capital, with all the perfected mechanism of organization, upon one side, and upon the other labor, stripped of these same privileges.

Capital demands organization to correct certain abuses of competition—and demands it justly. But labor in a place like Pittsburgh, with its intruding immigrants needs it at least as much and precisely for the same reason that capital requires it. These crude masses are slow to learn this lesson, but as they learn it they turn in default of unionism to those who offer other remedies. A speaker cried on the streets, "In two years we will have you all for our kind of Socialism." "Our kind" was the Industrial Workers of the World that has apparently shown itself in a New England town. It is the purpose of this sketch to show what this new kind is.

In July and August, I found night after night in cities like Spokane, Seattle and Tacoma gatherings often of three and four hundred applauding speakers who were making venomous attacks on the trade unions and their leaders. The appeal was to the entire mass of wage-earners, irrespective of trades

and occupations, to unite in one all-inclusive union over against the thing called capitalism. This sounds like a Socialist emphasis and many claim it as such, even among the Socialists. Its tendency, however, is steadily toward anarchy and it is extremely likely within a few years seriously to plague the Socialist party as now organized, as it will surely plague the public. For sixty years, Socialism has had no deadlier or more troublesome enemy in its camp than the Anarchist. Karl Marx had plenty of hatreds, but none of such intensity as against the Anarchist. His greatest practical work, "The International," was torn by dissensions due—not to philosophical Anarchists, but to those who insisted upon taking a hand in the propaganda.

We have already had plenty of these turmoils in this country, but they have now entered on a new phase. A western Socialist mayor told me that he looked for more real trouble from the Industrial Workers of the World than from capitalism itself. "We shall have no peace," he said, "until we clean them, root and branch, out of the party. They are more vicious in their methods than all the bourgeois put together."

An absence of nearly eight months from the state makes me quite unfit to speak of the Lawrence strike. So far, however, as one may judge of Mr. Ettor's statements as reported in the press, the spirit of French syndicalism is very much alive, if not in control in that city. It is only the beginning of agitations of which, with the growth of the Socialist vote, we shall see more and more. Almost suddenly we have elected nearly fifty Socialist mayors and nearly one thousand officials. If we visited some of these cities in the middle and further West, unless in Los Angeles just before the McNamara confession, nowhere was there any hint of hysteria or alarm. There is perhaps one exception. That a community as prosperous as Los Angeles should give almost 52,000 Socialist votes in spite of that devastating confession did excite grave misgiving as to its significance. It is rather triumphantly the city of "good government." Seven years ago the Southern Pacific Railroad picked out the governor, the senators, such judges as it wanted,

as well as local officials, mayors, sheriffs, etc., that seemed worth its while. There was not a scrap of "representative government." Los Angeles has now freed itself from this slavery and has, at least, the beginnings of a democratic society. Economically and politically, it presents one of the most advanced policies in the United States. It has plans as daring as they are definite for municipal ownership on a great scale. Initiative, referendum and recall are accepted political commonplaces. Why then this huge protest of 52,000 Socialist votes? To answer this question for Los Angeles is to answer it for the country at large. There are other reasons, but none more enlightening than the history of trade unions in that city. Nowhere has the attempt to crush the unions been so noisy, so open and so aggressive as under the leadership of General Otis. To succeed in this meant economic advantage against their most dreaded rival, San Francisco. But the crippling of the unions did not end here. The more they were weakened as separate crafts, the more solidly they were driven together into a class-conscious mass, certain, when the moment came, to act together politically. The most scathing criticism which I heard against General Otis and those who worked with him, was not from the printers or from any other workingmen, but from business men and leaders in the Good Government cause. It was the fruit of the Otis spirit which set the teeth of these gentlemen on edge. From W. J. Burns, I heard the results of his first investigations, that the McNamaras were guilty. I never had a moment's doubt or that they and their kind should take their punishment. It would seem to me, however, a stark misfortune if the American people were merely to gloat over this result.

What one wishes to know further, is why some millions of our fellow citizens so instantly and so instinctively joined hands to defend these men. What was the power that hushed at once very bitter differences in the labor world? Why should Mr. Gompers with his long and bitter hatred of Socialists go to Los Angeles and speak passionately for Job Harriman, the Socialist candidate for mayor? The labor leader whom I have long thought to be one of the most intelligent and honest men in the movement said to me in the beginning, "But we have got to do it. We must stand together." He felt this necessity precisely as the Los Angeles workmen felt impelled to join forces against "successful activities like good government." Victories like those of General Otis wherever we find them are an instant asset for Socialistic propaganda. They are just as directly an asset for the I. W. W. with its drift toward Anarchism.

The origin of syndicalism, both in France and in this country, is fairly clear. Some sixteen years ago it appeared in France as a protest against those Socialists who had become disciplined enough to recognize the necessity of orderly and parliamentary

methods of reform. To most impatient extremists these legal processes were tediously ineffective. It had already appeared that a Socialist mayor could bring things to pass socialistically only by slow and wearisome processes.

The syndicalists were in a hurry and demanded "action," from which came the familiar phrase "direct actionists." They are now a powerful group in France, having among them at least two professors and some brilliant men like George Sorel. Another exhausts much ingenuity in trying to use William James's "Pragmatism" as the philosophic expression of syndicalism. This is grotesque but worth nothing as an attempt to give the color of authoritative sanction to the movement.

What then is the method of these men-in-a-hurry? Hardly a dozen years ago, Briand, the last prime minister, was commonly called the father of this method, which was "the general strike," a strike not of separate unions or even of narrowly affiliated unions, but a strike made possible by bringing into an inclusive union all the "industrial workers of the world," the I. W. W. At the present moment in our own country it is rapidly developing a considerable literature with at least five regular periodicals.

In 1905 it held in Chicago its first convention. Its week's proceedings fill a stiff volume, in which the "labor fakers," under Mr. Gompers's leadership get rank abuse. It is assumed that the trade union movement, as now organized, has failed. Trade agreements are of the devil, because they "recognize" the employing classes, instead of warring outright against them. This warfare is to be carried on through "the general strike." Those who claim to be the philosophers of the movement urge solemnly that no violence should be permitted. "Violence," says one of them, "is reactionary and out of date. It is moreover useless, as we have only to quit work and the whole capitalist machinery is at a standstill." To the obvious objection that labor in this hazardous game would be first to suffer, the syndicalist has his answer. "If a portion only struck, they would suffer, but if all quit work together, the helplessness of capitalism will be disclosed at once."

I asked a speaker in San Francisco who had used this phrase, if he meant to tell us that the general mass of the workers was now prepared at any moment to step in and manage the business world—finance, transportation, factories, and all the rest?

He answered "Yes, we are doing the real work now, only we get one-seventh of what we produce. We propose to have seven-sevenths."

This assumption that labor is now equipped to take over the management of our industrial system reveals the essential insanity of the I. W. W. as it now expresses itself in the United States. "Paralysis" is the fitting word for it, but the disease would include the laborers first of all. They do not even trust to the

more disciplined part of labor, but include the entire unweeded mass—tramp and all.

W. D. Haywood of Cripple Creek fame is very busy with this propaganda. He has much to say of "the man in the gutter." After stormy attacks on the snobberies of the trade union he insists upon the immediate inclusion of tramp and gutter bird. "He is as good as the eight dollar a day man." It is useless to discuss opinions like this. We have moreover a good deal of evidence about the general strike. For nearly ten years there have been in Spain, Russia, Holland, Sweden and recently in France and England, partial illustrations of this policy. I have long believed that the general strike, if used with restraint, might have great uses politically—as in the Belgian fight for more equal suffrage. It may have such uses in the future. It may conceivably have economic uses, if its forces can be controlled. Thus far, however, every attempt known to us gives little hope that such control is possible. The more the general strike succeeds, the more poignant becomes the fact that the interests of Mr. Haywood's "man in the gutter" are not the interests of the "eight dollar a day man." They conflict more sharply than well paid labor conflicts with the employer. Tragically or humorously this has again and again appeared in attempts at the general strike. In England last summer, during the railroad troubles several hundred strikers left for a seashore resort. It is customary on such occasions to buy a return ticket, then you may spend the last penny and be sure of the ride home. In this instance the strike became more "general" still, extending to the trains on which the picnickers had relied to bring them home. Some were thirty miles away, and to their immense disgust, men, women and children had to trudge home on foot. Except by the workers, this was put down among the gayeties of the uprising. The "general strike" (never more than very partial strikes) in Sweden had begun already to turn into innumerable tragedies in the poorer homes before the end came.

I have seen no word of it in the press, but the great strike on the Harriman lines had in it the spirit of the I. W. W. There was first the demand for "recognition"; not recognition of engineers, switchmen or brakemen, but for the entire body in spite of difficulties with contracts and separate trade agreements. Probably more than thirty thousand men have been dropped. It has cost the road enormous sums of money, but the families of several thousand workmen have suffered incomparably more.

An official who had been fighting the strike for months told me that his heaviest task was in meeting the pleading wives of the strikers.

I am not using this illustration as an argument against strikes, but only to throw light on the kind of conflict which the I. W. W., as now managed, will introduce into our labor perplexities, and has apparently introduced into Massachusetts.

There is, however, this reality in the I. W. W., that it recognizes the obvious tendency to closer organic affiliation among craft unions.

There is, further, something to be seriously reckoned with in its policy of "folding the hands." "Don't lift your hands against anybody or anything," said a speaker in Fresno, Cal., "just fold 'em."

In the railroad strike which put the government at its wits' ends in France, it was syndicalism in its higher aspects when a committee voted against all violence, but to do two things—(1) strictly obey the railroad schedules, and (2) shift the directing cards on the cars.

Literally to obey every railroad regulation would put a riot of confusion (as it, in this instance, did) into the system. To shift the cards meant that freight of all sorts destined to one town turned up far away at another. Hundreds of tons of fruits and vegetables perished en route. One of the strikes included the bakers. They vote against all violence, but to put castor oil into the bread. Is this like Mr. Ettor's suggestion about emery dust in the machines? In two Western towns the police stop I. W. W. men from speaking on the street, putting two of them in the lockup. The crusaders instantly call in several hundred of their knights ready to be housed and fed at the town's expense. Troops of them break the law in a single night. The mayor of this town is said to have exclaimed, "But if anybody has got to board and lodge this army, it won't be this town; let 'em go quick and speak as much as they like in the next town." We are likely enough to have in the near future many picturesque illustrations of this "sabotage." But as now directed in this country, it is sure to turn against itself the whole body of Socialists who are enlisting under parliamentary methods of reform whether in state or city. Not one of our fifty Socialist mayors will find it possible to play the semi-Anarchist role and at the same time bear the burdens of a constructive city administration.

It will be hotly disputed, but I believe the real origin of the I. W. W. in this country was the miners' struggle in Colorado seven years ago. Scarcely had the Haywood-Moyer incident closed before steps were taken to organize this movement. The very men prominent in that embittered strike were at the front.

I saw at the time in Colorado a letter from one of these men ordering a very formidable job lot of rifles and cartridges. Even if the rank lawlessness on the employees' side be offered in extenuation, it is a spirit that no constructive policy can tolerate. With more or less disguise, it is the spirit of the Anarchist and as such will develop its own inveterate hostility toward society as it now exists and also toward every form of Socialism which commits itself to changes secured through recognized political agencies.

[In an early issue of THE SURVEY Mr. Brooks will discuss further the subject of this article.—Ed.]

April 6, 1912.

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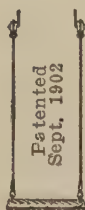


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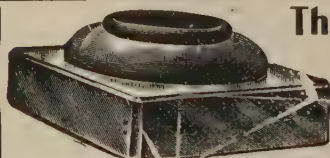
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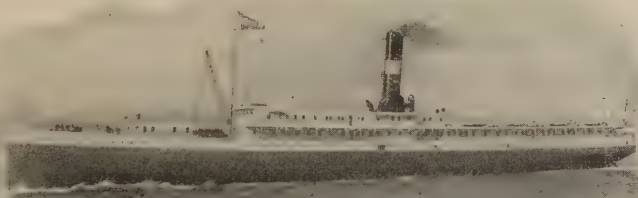
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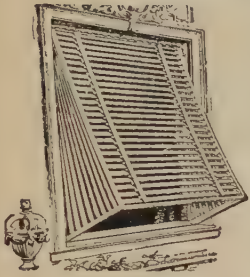
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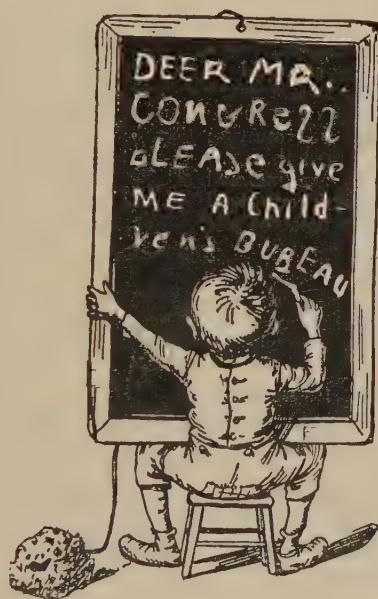
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Volume XXVIII, No. 2

Week of April 13, 1912

THE SURVEY

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THE PITH OF IT

Two bills, for which many social workers have long striven, passed Congress last week—the Esch-Hughes measure prohibiting the use of poisonous phosphorus in match-making and the bill creating a federal children's bureau. The latter received an appropriation of \$29,400. President Taft is expected to sign both measures. Pp. 85, 86.

In this issue THE SURVEY presents its view of the anomalous situation in New York's prison management which allows the official charged with developing the prison industries to be interested also in private manufacturing enterprises of a similar kind. P. 94.

Contrary to expectation and the early returns, the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation in Great Britain announced that the final result of the referendum vote of the miners was 244,011 against resuming work to 201,013 in favor of ending the strike. Though confronted with this majority of 43,000, the Executive Committee, after a long discussion, decided in effect that the strike should be called off. The committee held that, as a two-thirds majority is required to declare a strike, a like majority is necessary to continue one, and the vote was, over 50,000 short of this proportion. The full meeting of the Miners' Federation confirmed this ruling. Although some operatives are inclined to protest at this decision it has been well received, according to reports, in most of the counties.

The convicting of all persons in New York who charge usurious rates of interest on loans has been made possible by a recent court decision. This is a vital blow at loan sharks. P. 88.

Officers in charge of public institutions must now report to the New York Department of Health all patients suffering from venereal diseases. P. 89.

1912 is but four and a half months old, yet there have been notable legislative gains for working women since the new year. P. 95.

Recent judicial decisions prohibit Sunday trials in the magistrates' courts in New York city. As a result persons arrested on Sunday for offenses ever so trivial must remain incarcerated until Monday unless they can secure bail. P. 89.

A bill declared to menace New York's pure milk supply was jammed through the legislature in the closing hours of the session. Within three days Governor Dix had received so many telegraphed, telephoned, and mailed protests that he vetoed it in one of the shortest messages on record. P. 90.

THE SURVEY

EDWARD T. DEVINE, EDITOR
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The Socialists' ticket loses in the Milwaukee municipal election. P. 109.

August 19, 1911, Issue Wanted

Unexpected demand has exhausted the files of THE SURVEY for August 19th, 1911. Subscribers who do not save their copies for binding are urged to return this issue for the benefit of libraries. Send it to THE SURVEY, 105 E. 22nd St. New York.

THE COMMON WELFARE

CHILDREN'S BUREAU BILL

The Children's Bureau bill passed the House of Representatives April 2, by a vote of 178 to 17. It passed the Senate January 31 by a vote of 54 to 19, after three days' debate. The bill now needs only the President's signature to become a law. It passed the Senate with two amendments offered by its opponents. One was by Senator Culberson of Texas to the effect that "no official, or agent, or representative of said bureau shall, over the objection of the head of the family, enter any house used exclusively as a family residence." This is perfectly harmless, as no such right could be conferred by the act creating the bureau. That there are officially "classes" among the American people, according to an act of Congress, we are indebted to Senator Gallinger, who got the amendment, "among all classes of our people," inserted after the definition of the function of the bureau.

The bureau is to investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life. An appropriation of \$29,400 is provided to carry on the work the first year.

For the past four years, A. J. McKelway, secretary for the southern states of the National Child Labor Committee, has been stationed at Washington to direct the campaign of publicity, explain the purpose of the measure to congressmen, and meet such opposition as might develop. The present result is due in large part to his patient and efficient management of the campaign.

Practically all the opposition to the bill outside of Congress has come from a few of the societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, which were circularized by John D. Lindsay, president of the New York Society. One of the officials of the American Humane Association suggested to Dr. McKelway that the support of the association could be secured if an amendment were adopt-

ed exempting such children's societies from "supervision." Circular letters went to the members of state delegations from Missouri, Massachusetts, and Louisiana children's societies, the plan evidently having been to have each society influence the members of Congress from that state. In addition a circular was sent by Mr. Lindsay to all the members of Congress, and a circular and pamphlet to the members of the New York delegation. The Boston Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Pennsylvania Children's Society, the Cleveland Humane Society, and doubtless others made vigorous protest against the action of the New York Society and the American Humane Association, respectively.

The proposal to make the bureau a division of the Bureau of Education received some consideration because of the position taken by the new chief of that bureau, Commissioner P. P. Claxton, in letters to the Secretary of the Interior, published in the *Congressional Record*. Commissioner Claxton, in enumerating the various phases of the subject of child welfare now dealt with by the Bureau of Education, overlooks, according to the sponsors of the Children's Bureau, the character of the work contemplated by it. It is true that the children's bureau will have to depend largely upon school teachers and officials for the gathering of information. But the Children's Bureau will depend more largely still upon the army of social workers, whose influence has been the efficient cause of its creation; who are already aware of its approaching organization; who will at once become its correspondents, and who are intimately concerned in their every day work with the problems about which information and its dissemination are so ardently desired.

The idea of a Federal Children's Bureau originated five years ago with Lillian D. Wald of the Nurses' Settlement, New York. Mrs. Florence Kelley made the first outline of the matters to be

investigated by such a bureau. This corresponds very closely to the catalogue now mentioned in the act creating it. As both were members of the National Child Labor Committee, they persuaded the committee to undertake the work of organizing public sentiment and securing congressional action. The committee has expended a considerable sum of money, time and energy in the task, although child labor is only one subject for the work of the bureau, and other organizations for the protection of children are equally concerned. Samuel M. Lindsay has suggested that the bureau should be organized with: 1, a division of investigation; 2, a division of publicity; 3, a division of advice and information; 4, a division of legislation, and 5, a division of foreign experiments. The bills to establish the bureau were introduced in the sixtieth Congress, and received favorable reports from the committee of each House. In the sixty-first Congress, they were introduced and again favorably reported and the bill passed the Senate without objection, but was not allowed to come to a vote in the House. In the present Congress, the bills were introduced by Senator Borah of Idaho and Representative Peters of Massachusetts. President Roosevelt in January, 1909, sent a special message to Congress in which the creation of the bureau was urged. In this Congress, Mr. Underwood, the majority leader, used his influence for the passage of the bill, Speaker Clark insisted that the clerk should call his name that he might vote for it, Governor Woodrow Wilson, Senator La Follette and Mr. Debs are heartily in favor of it, and with the signature of President Taft, there will not seem to be any issue among presidential candidates concerning it.

THE DEPARTMENT-STORE AND ITS FIRE RISKS

It took the Iroquois disaster to rouse the public to the theatre fire hazard; the Triangle disaster to confront it with the jeopardy to working girls in factory loft buildings. Must we wait for a great de-

partment store disaster, to educate public opinion as to the fire risks of the average retail establishment? Such a fire would scotch both social groups in the community who suffered in these other disasters; for shoppers and clerks are alike threatened by prevailing conditions according to inquiries prosecuted by the New York City Consumers' League.

The league's investigators found that while illegal conditions have frequently been remedied by action on the part of the Bureau of Building, there are many hazards which go on from month to month in New York, menacing human life and property. The buildings of the newer stores are for the most part of the type known as fireproof, but with the enormous undivided floor space on each level, and with the counters covered with the flimsiest and most inflammable of materials, the interior of such buildings are perfectly adapted for a successful "flash" fire—that is, a fire where the flames are entirely within the building, but where the fire leaps from one point to another in this open space with incredible rapidity, burning often only the top surface, but creating such heat that human beings perish from suffocation if not from flames.

In spite of this exceptional hazard of flash fires, most stores provide quite inadequate means of escape for workers and shoppers. The revolving doors, which are used at most street exits, would the league holds be sure to hinder egress and cause frightful loss of life in a panic. Exit to the street is also made difficult and dangerous because of the very narrow aisles common in many stores. Center aisle bargain counters, standing as they do in the direct path of egress, would block the progress of the escaping crowd and it is not too much to conjecture bodies heaping up over such stumbling blocks.

In very few New York stores is there any plan or system for guiding the panic-stricken shoppers and saleswomen to the exit nearest the given point in the center of the store where they may happen to be at the moment of alarm. Consequently, if fire should break out in a big department store, there would be a rush

for the well-known main entrances and a choking of the aisles leading to these, while side and rear exits would be almost ignored.

In big Chicago stores, precautions have been taken against this danger, and throughout the store in every aisle at intervals of only a few feet there are red-lighted indices pointing directly toward the exit nearest to that spot.

In the newer and better mercantile buildings in New York there are enclosed fireproof stairways in some portion of the building, but in some of these newer stores and in most of the older type of stores reliance for escape in case of fire and panic is placed upon iron fire escapes reached through windows. The investigators of the Consumers' League have found many instances where none of the salespeople on an upper floor knew how to reach these escapes, and in more than one case they found the windows leading to them blocked by counters, wardrobes, storage cases and other obstructions. Stores located in old buildings which have been converted from dwellings tend to be full of even more dangerous conditions, for one floor is often on different levels, requiring one or two steps at intervals. The arrangement is irregular; stairways are located in unexpected places, and stores like these, bewildering enough under normal conditions, would become perfect mazes to terrified visitors in search of a hasty "way out."

Basements constitute a special danger. Exit facilities are for the most part poor and almost never is there any way by which a basement could be emptied directly on to the street. Persons caught in a basement or sub-basement in a fire would have to make their way up to the main floor of the store, and there fight their way out against the down-coming stream from the upper floors. Such a situation would almost certainly result in great loss of life.

The Consumers' League has been able to effect some changes and to have some of the worst fire dangers in New York department stores reduced by making complaints on special points in particular stores to the Bureau of Buildings and

the Fire Department. For the most part, however, to quote Mrs. Frederick Nathan, president of the league. "There is no lessening of this horrible danger because the law is not explicit in prohibition of these hazards and because the merchants are too engrossed in sales and too short-sighted voluntarily to make their stores safe from this danger of death by fire and panic."

PIGS, ONIONS, AND SCHOOL CHILDREN

A special train, loaded with prize agricultural products grown by school children in a state-wide garden contest engineered by L. R. Alderman, state superintendent of schools in Oregon, will invade the East this fall. Oregon has applied scientific management to school gardening to demonstrate what children can do to develop the economic resources of the state, and check a backward and unpromising tendency toward overspecialization in agriculture in this growing commonwealth while learning lessons of lasting value which will help make them better and more successful citizens.

Backed by the State Bankers' Association, the leading breeders, the state fair board, the Oregon Agricultural College through its extension division, and the Oregon Development League, Prof. Alderman, the originator of the idea, expects to enlist 75,000 out of a total of 125,000 school children in a general agricultural and industrial competition. Already in every county the contests are starting. Among the products on the premium list for the children's competition are pop corn, field corn, sweet corn, watermelons, musk-melons, pumpkins, squashes, cabbage, potatoes, celery, onions, the principal grains, pigs and poultry. Special work in carpentry, sewing, and cooking have been added as features of the contest. The children will also be allowed to compete in the production of asters and sweet peas.

This state-wide campaign grew out of a pop corn collection taken up in a school located in the heart of a rich farming county six years ago. It led the young county school superintendent, who is now the state superintendent, to try an ex-

periment which has resulted in 5,000 children growing their own corn, melons and vegetables. "Few boys in Yamhill county today have to send to stores to buy pop corn or are tempted to enter their neighbors' melon patches at night," says Calvin C. Thomason, field manager for the industrial contests, "for almost all of them grow their own and have much left to market after supplying their own homes."

Oregon, in spite of her vast area of food producing soil, imports between \$18,000,000 and \$20,000,000 worth of hog products and over 40 carloads of eggs and poultry. Yet Portland is now the chief wheat exporting port of the world. To correct this condition and devise some way to bring about a system of education calculated to make more of the children producers instead of consumers, the state bankers' association appointed a committee of investigation which conferred with the state's leading educators. At this conference Prof. Alderman told of the work which he had started in Yamhill county. The plan was adopted and a small sum appropriated to place organizers in the field. Speaking of the work of organizing the state contest Mr. Thomason says:

The first step . . . was to send out a series of letters to the breeders of the state asking for donations of the best bred animals to be offered as first prizes. In response to these letters public-spirited breeders gave thorough-bred calves, pure bred sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, and chickens. The State Fair Board set aside \$1,000 to be given as second, third, and fourth prizes. The Oregon Agricultural College has printed 50,000 bulletins of instruction and information in regard to growing the products on the list and making the other exhibits. Preliminary contests will be held at local or county children's fairs early in the fall and the best exhibits will be brought to the State Fair. The children are divided into two classes, twelve years being the dividing line. It is estimated that 75,000 school children will engage in this contest.

PHOSSY-JAW BILL A LAW AT LAST

On April 3, the United States Senate passed the phosphorus match bill of the American Association for Labor Legislation by a practically unanimous *viva voce* vote. The House passed it March 28, by a vote of 163 to 31.

Investigations of "phossy jaw," the occupational disease of match factory workers, led to the introduction of the bill in June, 1910, immediately after the publication of the report on phosphorus poisoning by John B. Andrews, secretary of the association. Public sentiment demanded the prohibition of the death-dealing match. Through this legislation one of the most loathsome of all industrial diseases will be abolished.

Other countries took similar action years ago and nine countries have even signed an international treaty prohibiting the use of phosphorus for which there are many harmless substitutes. Because the poison is a little cheaper only one match manufacturer was willing to stop using it until a national uniform law could be passed. Now all will be obliged to stop using the poison at the same time and no one will suffer. Thousands of workers will be spared unnecessary exposure to this peculiar poison.

The law prohibits the importation and exportation of poisonous phosphorus matches and places a prohibitive internal revenue tax on their manufacture within the United States. Drastic penalties are provided for violations of the law, which will be administered through the efficient federal internal revenue service of the Department of the Treasury.

Constitutional objection was raised against the bill by strict constructionists, who deplored this use of the federal taxing power. But even Senator Bailey, of Texas, its most vigorous opponent, admitted in the closing minutes of debate that the courts would not inquire into the purpose of Congress in levying the tax and that "The rule is too well established now to be successfully assailed, and I know perfectly well that if Congress passes this act, the courts will sustain it."

10-HOUR LAW AGAIN BEFORE ILLINOIS SUPREME COURT

For over two years it has been illegal in Illinois factories, laundries, and mechanical establishments to employ women for more than ten hours in the twenty-four hours of any one day.

A LAST VICTIM.

A tragic sequel to the story of A Match Worker, as told by John B. Andrews in THE SURVEY of Dec. 2, 1911, is the announcement of death from "phossy jaw" of John Werner, which occurred on March 9 as he was boarding the steamer Oceanic in New York to return to his relatives in Germany.

Werner contracted "phossy jaw" while employed by the Reliable Match Company of Ashland, Ohio. When denied damages under the employers' liability law, he went to live in a shed by the railroad track and sought subscriptions to enable him to join his wife and child in the old country. The published account of his pitiable condition brought additional aid, but on account of the loathsomeness of "phossy jaw" he was denied passage by one steamship company. Weakened by his occupational disease, he dropped dead just after boarding the Oceanic.



JOHN WERNER.

The law of 1909 on this subject was extended during the session of 1911 to include the women at work in all public institutions, those engaged in public utility business and those employed in common carrying, or express, transportation, telegraph, or telephone service. It included also women working in all places of amusement, mercantile establishments, restaurants, and hotels.

The amendment has met with practically no opposition from employers engaged in any of these trades, except hotel-owners. A hotel proprietor of Charleston, Ill., on being fined through the state inspector's office for illegally employing three women workers in his establishment, a kitchen worker, a housekeeper, and a stenographer, for more than ten hours in one day, has appealed the decision against him to the state Supreme Court. His suit, which is backed by the Hotel Owners' Association of Illinois, is based on the grounds that the work of women in hotels is not arduous and that the law is class discrimination since it does not apply to boarding houses. The case will be regarded as a test of the state's right to protect the labor of women workers in trades other than those in factories, laundries, and mechanical establishments.

The department store managers in

Chicago express themselves as wholly in favor of the law. And this is based on an experience including the Christmas shopping season. They said that as all the stores were on the same basis, so far as the law was concerned, it was fair for all.

The city of Chicago was found guilty of violating the provisions of the law applying to employes of public institutions. Professional nurses employed in the city hospitals come within the scope of this provision according to a recent decision of Judge William M. Gemmill of the Municipal Court. The city claimed that the law was intended to apply only to women engaged in arduous or menial labor, and that nursing is a profession and not a trade or business. The judge, however, declared:

The broad purpose of the ten hour law was to remove from women employed in any capacity the burden and stress of long and wearisome hours of toil, the deleterious effect of which is recognized everywhere. It would be hard to conceive of more onerous, wearisome, and nerve racking toil than that of a nurse who is in constant attendance upon the sick and dying. It would seem rather that not only the health and well being of the nurse but also the necessity for the best care of her patient would make it of the utmost importance that the law limiting the hours of employment to ten hours each day should be applied to her.

This position is supported by the fact that in institutions of such remarkably high efficiency in nursing service as the Chicago Presbyterian Hospital, the Michigan State Hospital, the Peoria State Hospital, and the Johns Hopkins' Hospital, the service is maintained by the employment of shifts and an eight-hour schedule.

The contentions of the hotel keepers in the test case will be analyzed more in detail in a later issue of THE SURVEY. The case was brilliantly argued by Edgar H. Bancroft before the Supreme Court.

OHIO LAW BEFORE U. S. SUPREME COURT

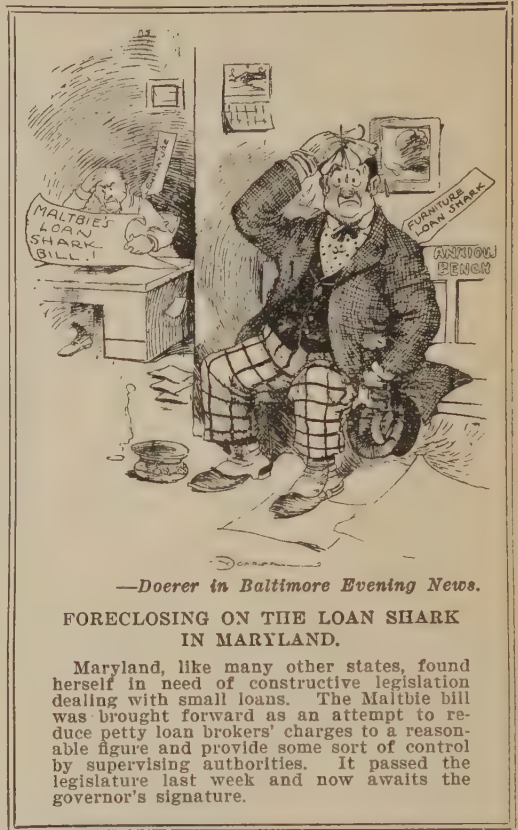
Meanwhile the Ohio 54-hour law for women is to be carried to the United States Supreme Court for final review. The Ohio Supreme Court has recently held the statute constitutional, basing its decision upon the now well-known reasoning of Justice Brewer in the Oregon case, which held that a state may legitimately limit women's hours of labor in the interest of their health and welfare.

The Ohio Manufacturers' Association, however, seeks to have the Ohio law, in its turn, carried to the highest court of the land, since it embraces in its scope a larger number of establishments than the previously sustained Oregon law.

Attorney General Hogan of Ohio has requested Louis D. Brandeis and Josephine Goldmark of the National Consumers' League, who submitted a brief to the Ohio Supreme Court, to aid in the further defense of the Ohio law.

ANOTHER BLOW AT LOAN SHARKS

The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York, Second Department, in the case of *People vs. Schultz* has recently upheld the decision of the Court of Special Sessions convicting a loan shark of violation of the Banking Law. This decision now makes possible the convicting of all persons who charge usurious rates of interest on loans and has been heralded in the press as the judicial purge that absolutely cleans the



most shark-ridden city in the country of this form of social pest. In sober truth the complete success of the campaign to enforce existing laws against the usurious money-lending business in New York now depends only on prompt and thorough action of the prosecuting officials.

The attorneys for the defendant argued that it was not the intention of the legislature to punish the making of a usurious loan unless the latter was secured by a chattel mortgage; that the section of the banking law in question was repealed by implication in 1904, and that the defendant being an agent of the principal had no connection with the alleged crime. In accordance with the arguments of the district attorney and the Russell Sage Foundation appearing *amicus curiae*, the court held:

The language of the statute indicates clearly that where the loan is a loan of money of less value than \$200 for more than the legal rate of interest, the giving of security is not

a necessary element of the crime. . . . The purpose of the act is the protection of the needy from extortion, and the legislature in accomplishing that purpose has not only limited the protected class to small borrowers but has confined the operation of the law to these comparatively thickly settled portions of the state where the evils sought to be eliminated were deemed most likely to prevail.

In the opinion of the court the statute is not inconsistent with other more recently enacted laws. The court further said:

We think the undisputed evidence sufficiently connects the defendant with the commission of the crime. The fact that the defendant made the loan on behalf of another is immaterial. The offence charged is a misdemeanor and the defendant's conceded participation in the illegal acts makes him liable as a principal.

Early decisions are now expected in the cases of several loan agents who have been tried in New York county, and action is promised upon a dozen indictments presented last year in the borough of Brooklyn.

NEW YORK TO REPORT VENEREAL DISEASES

A very important impetus was given recently to the growing movement for the sanitary control of venereal diseases when the New York city Board of Health adopted resolutions, previously approved by its advisory board, which includes a number of the most eminent physicians of the city, requiring officers in charge of public institutions, including those supported in full or in part by voluntary contributions, to report promptly to the Department of Health patients suffering from these diseases. The resolutions, based upon a plan for reporting cases which was prepared at the request of Commissioner Lederle by Dr. Herman M. Biggs, general medical officer of the department, include the following:

WHEREAS, The venereal diseases are infectious, communicable, and preventable, and constitute a serious menace to the public health, thus properly coming under the charge of the public health authorities, and

WHEREAS, It is well established that no administrative control of such diseases is possible without a system of notification and registration, associated with provision for the municipal care of patients unable or unwilling to place themselves under proper medical care and to take the precautions necessary to prevent the infection of others, be it therefore

RESOLVED, First, that on and after May 1, 1912, the superintendent or other officers in charge of all public institutions such as hospitals, dispensaries, clinics, homes, asylums, charitable and correctional institutions, including all institutions which are supported in whole or in part by voluntary contributions, be required to report promptly the name, sex, age, nationality, race, marital state, and address of every patient under observation suffering from syphilis, in every stage, chancroid, or gonorrhoeal infection of every kind (including gonorrhoeal arthritis), stating the name, character, stage, and duration of the infection, the date and source of contraction of the infection if obtainable.

Continuing, the resolutions request all physicians to furnish similar information regarding private patients under their care, except that the name and address of the patient is not requested. The Board of Health will undertake, without charge, to make the necessary bacteriological examinations and tests for the diagnosis of these diseases, and the distribution of curative sera, but only on condition that the data required for the registration of the case be furnished by the physician treating the patient. The department will also provide and distribute circulars of information in relation to these diseases.

ILLEGALITY OF SUNDAY TRIALS

Last August a woman was committed by a New York city magistrate, after trial and conviction, to the Bedford reformatory. The case was appealed because the day on which the trial was held happened to be Sunday, although in the Magistrates' Courts of New York trials have been held and commitments made on Sundays for many years. Last month the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in Brooklyn rendered a decision¹ sustaining the appeal. The effect is to prohibit the trying of all cases in the magistrates' courts on Sunday.

The ground taken seems to be that Sunday is a day of rest and therefore as a matter of public policy no trials should be held on that day. As a result a person arrested on Sunday for an offense ever so trivial must, unless he can

¹*People ex rel. Ryan v. Supt. State Reformatory for Women at Bedford*.

secure bail, remain incarcerated in a congested police station or in a district prison without a hearing until brought to court on Monday for trial. It is true the defendant may be arraigned on Sunday; the judge will be sitting as usual; court clerks, stenographers, and court attendants will be on hand; the great expense to the city of the court machinery will not be lessened by a tittle. But the service of these people's courts to the people will be very much lessened.

A large number of innocent persons will inevitably suffer by any provision which prevents the Sunday trial. Official figures show that, of the persons arrested on Sunday—and, indeed, on any other day—at least 75 per cent are almost immediately liberated by the court, because 60 per cent are discharged outright and 15 per cent more gain their freedom by the payment of small fines. A study of the records of the courts in Manhattan and the Bronx has shown that the total Sunday arraignments, including cases in the night courts after twelve o'clock on Saturday nights, have averaged about 575 persons. In the past, with these courts performing their normal function, about three-fourths, or 431, of these persons have received summary treatment and have gone their ways. With the suspension of the Sunday trial this large number must be herded together in the police stations or district prisons, except those who are able to furnish bail.

Of course many of them will secure bail. No one will delight so much in the abolition of the Sunday trial as the professional bondsman. He will get into harness again and do business with old-time celerity. He will do this business mainly among the poor and unfortunate, among whom there are those who love their Sunday liberty too much not to accept his terms. There will still be a large residuum, however, whose only course is to stay in jail until called for trial on Monday. Considering the percentage that is invariably discharged, many of these will be wholly innocent persons.

To remedy this situation a bill has been introduced in the New York legislature to remove all doubt of the magistrates'

power and duty to conduct trials on Sunday. It is one of the measures which hang in the balance in the closing weeks preceding adjournment.

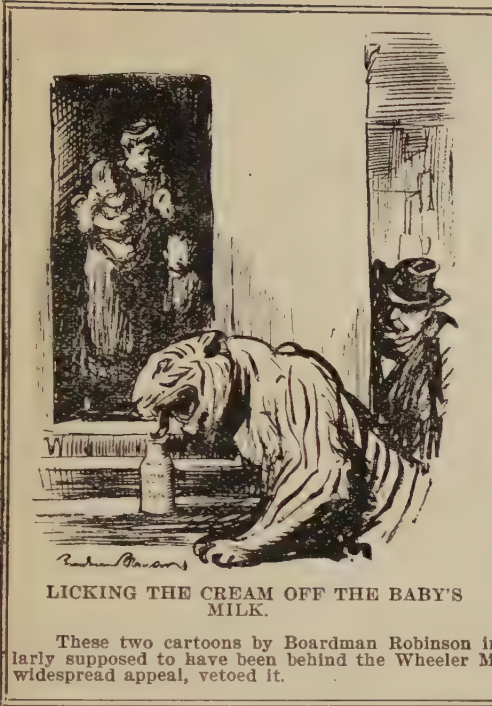
ELEVENTH HOUR FIGHT AGAINST MILK BILL

Rushed through under a special rule, the New York legislature on March 29, the very day it adjourned, passed a bill which threatened the standards regulating the purity of the milk supply for 9,000,000 people. Although the bill introduced by Clayton L. Wheeler of Delaware County, one of the important dairy districts of New York, had been before the legislature for two months, few knew that it was pending. So little was heard of it that Health Commissioner Lederle of New York, who opposed it in a letter written in February, shortly after it was introduced and referred to the Committee on Agriculture, thought it was "dead." No widely advertised hearing was held by the committee in charge although the Assistant Commissioner of Agriculture appeared in favor of the bill which at one time apparently had the backing of the State Department of Agriculture.

If the legislature by jamming through an overlooked measure during the closing hours of the session had planned to catch by surprise those fighting for pure milk, it could not have succeeded better. Not until after the measure had been passed did the New York Milk Committee know that it was proposed to amend the Agricultural Law by providing:

that a person who shall sell or exchange or offer or expose for sale or exchange any milk actually produced by a cow or dairy *which is a fair sample of the milk produced daily by such cow or dairy* and to which nothing has been added and from which nothing has been taken, shall not be guilty of any crime on account thereof.

The advocates of the Wheeler Bill claimed that its only effect would be to relieve from criminal prosecution, persons brought within the exception specified, and that it would not affect the penalty or forfeiture to be recovered by civil action for the sale of milk which is below par in solids and butter fat. Calvin J. Hudson, the newly appointed commis-



These two cartoons by Boardman Robinson in the New York Tribune show the influence popularly supposed to have been behind the Wheeler Milk Bill, and the governor who in response to a widespread appeal, vetoed it.

sioner of agriculture, declared that no criminal prosecutions had been brought in the cases now sought to be excepted.

Believing that "the manifest object of the bill is to lower the standards," opposition to the Wheeler bill spread spontaneously. Dr. Ira S. Wile of the New York Milk Committee attacked it as "an atrocious piece of legislation" and said that "under the new bill, if a dairyman produces dirty milk all the time and does not add anything to the milk, he is not violating the law." Two days after the bill passed the governor had received 135 telegrams, and Mrs. Dix had received many from representatives of women's organizations.

Among those who protested against the bill were Alfred T. White, president of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities; Howard O. Wood, president of the Brooklyn Children's Aid Society; Paul E. Taylor, secretary of the New York Milk Committee; W. A. Stocking, Jr., professor of dairy industry of the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University; Dr. Charles E. North, secretary of the National Committee on

Milk Standards; Owen R. Lovejoy, chairman of the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor of the National Conference of Charities and Correction; John A. Kingsbury, general agent of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor; the Bureau of Municipal Research, through William H. Allen, its director, and the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

The tide of protest which some feared might be to no purpose had scarcely started before Governor Dix on April 2 vetoed the measure. His veto message, in its entirety, read as follows:

The bill would be a long step backward in the fight for pure milk, and I think it must have been adopted by the legislature under misapprehension.

The veto was welcome news to physicians and those connected with the child welfare organizations of New York. Dr. Abraham Jacobi, president of the American Medical Association and for thirty-two years professor of children's diseases in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, spoke for all of them when he said: "It will save the babies."

CHILDREN IN THE HANDS OF ST. LOUIS ASSEMBLY

The Children's Guardians' Bill, designed to do away with institutional care of destitute children in St. Louis, is in grave danger of failure of passage by the Municipal Assembly.

Originally introduced in both houses in September, 1911, the ordinance will again be brought forward at the reconvening this month.

By its provisions a board of seven persons, at least two of whom shall be women, will supplant the present board of managers of the industrial school. The bill gives this new board power to place dependent children in family homes where their board (not exceeding \$3.50 a week) shall be paid by the city, provided suitable free homes can not be found. There is further provision for an agent and not more than four visitors to select homes for the children and to supervise them in the homes selected.

Considerable interest has been aroused in the fate of this measure by the circumstances attending its progress. In 1910, the Municipal Assembly made an appropriation of \$1,500 for a commission of three persons to investigate systems in operation elsewhere for caring for dependent, delinquent, and defective children and to report on the best methods to be followed in St. Louis. This commission besides making an exhaustive report, was instrumental in securing the passage by the state legislature of four repealing and permissive measures designed to give St. Louis full control of its own system of caring for dependent and delinquent children. The commission then went further and recommended that the St. Louis Assembly pass a law similar to the Children's Guardians' Bill above described. This the assembly, which had originally appointed the commission, has so far refused to do. The bill has been publicly opposed on the single ground that children can be properly cared for only in institutions. It is said to have the endorsement of practically all persons engaged in work for children in St. Louis.

Today St. Louis cares for 400 dependent and delinquent children of all ages

and races in the same institution. If the present bill becomes an ordinance, dependents and delinquents will be separated. It is the hope of those behind the bill that the cottage system in the country will be eventually worked out for St. Louis.

The objections advanced to the measure now before the assembly are being answered by presenting the experiences of other states. To the argument that not enough good foster homes can be found for children, in or near St. Louis, the answer given by Superintendent Major of the Industrial School is that all but six of the 200 dependent children now in the institution have relatives with whom placing could be arranged, provided the city contributed something to their support. Concerning those whom it would be necessary to place with others, it is asserted that

Missouri has about the same population as Massachusetts and if Massachusetts can find boarding homes for four thousand children, Missouri ought to be able to find some.

To the objection that foster families will be more interested in the money received than in the children it is replied that where the boarding system has been wisely worked out with good supervision provided it has been successful. Further attack is made on the measure on the ground, first, that no age limit has been prescribed for children who shall be cared for by the city, and second, that under this plan, people might come to St. Louis for the particular purpose of having the city care for their children. The first point has been met by a proposed amendment that the Board of Children's Guardians shall not place for board any child who has arrived at the legal working age (fourteen), unless such child shall be physically or mentally incapacitated for gainful employment. The second objection is answered by a proposed amendment that the board shall not take charge of any child who has not been a resident of the city for at least one year prior to application, or, if a child under one year, whose parents or guardian have not been residents at least one year prior to application, except in the cases of foundlings or abandoned children.

THE CHILDREN'S REBELLION

EDWARD M. BARROWS

The Recreation Problem in large capitals confronted the citizens of New York's middle West Side the other week. The citizens grappled with it and are dazedly asking themselves what happened.

A neighborhood effort was started to back a group of enterprising young men's clubs, which had formed the West Side Recreations League to co-operate with the new Public Recreations Commission of New York in securing better recreational facilities. It was decided to hold a mass meeting. A committee of representative business and professional men was organized to give substance to the effort. Several of the better known men in the neighborhood, and one or two outsiders were invited to speak. The purpose of the meeting was spread broadcast throughout the neighborhood, and the promise of some moving picture films was added, in the hope that those who would not care to spend an evening discussing the theory of recreation, would be induced to come for the sake of a little real amusement.

The children were not invited. It was understood that they would be welcome, in the company of their parents, but that this meeting was for the adults of the neighborhood themselves to discuss some way of providing recreation for the children. But the children were used nevertheless to overcome one handicap. The district is noted for its apathy in regard to all public meetings and educational lectures whatsoever, and in order to get even a representative handful of citizens to the meeting, tickets were distributed through the schools for the children to take to their parents.

Thus every child in the neighborhood was thoroughly informed of what was going to happen. What followed is worth consideration. On the night of the mass meeting a crowd of half a thousand children were hammering on the door of the public school auditorium where the meeting was to be held. By the time the doors were to open two or three thousand enthusiastic adults and eager children had swelled the clamoring crowd to the proportions of a mob, and

police assistance became necessary. When the doors were opened, things began to happen. Five hundred eager children who had disregarded the mandates of their elders, broken the laws of the city and defied the presence of the police, forced their way into the auditorium and screeched for moving pictures. They stood up three on a seat, howling; they pushed themselves to the edge of the platform and then forced their way to the platform itself where they sat in clamoring rows on the platform floor and shrieked for moving pictures.

Meantime, the crowd in the street burst in. The hall seated twelve hundred people and overcrowding was both illegal and dangerous. But the people of that district, who, it had been assured, would respond with apathy to any public meeting whatsoever, wanted to go in to that auditorium, and they went. They swept over the carefully placed corps of ushers and doorkeepers like a tide over sands.

Realizing the impossibility of controlling the meeting, the bewildered management sent for police reserves. The aisles and entrances were cleared, the excess crowding was reduced to normal proportions by compelling a large number to leave. But the remaining children still demanded pictures. The lights were turned off, and after several attempts a picture was thrown on the screen. Instantly that horde of shrieking children became docile and well behaved. They applauded some parts of the pictures, and "Oh'd" and "Ah'd" their admiration of some others.

But the program was not carried through. So now the question on the West Side is, Was this meeting a failure or an overmastering success? It was meant to voice the neighborhood demand for recreation for its young. The dominant criticism the morning after was: "The children came only to see the pictures, and so the meeting didn't mean anything." But it is answered that the children gave a practical demonstration of what they wanted. There was scathing sarcasm in the clamor which overpowered the voices of the theorists and turned the meeting from a discussion of recreation into recreation itself.

EDITORIAL GRIST

NEW YORK BAY AND THE NATION'S QUARANTINE

The report that the Health Officer of the Port of New York has recently asked the governor to urge an emergency appropriation of \$400,000 from state funds, to improve the quarantine equipment in New York Bay gives new emphasis to arguments for changing the quarantine station from state to federal control. A situation urgent enough to call for the expenditure by the state of New York of nearly half a million dollars is urgent enough also to call for serious consideration of the recent widely approved appeals that New York quarantine be made a part of the federal service. Fairness both to the state and nation, and the desire for efficiency, demand a thorough threshing out of the question before such an expenditure is authorized.

As has been pointed out in *THE SURVEY*,¹ the state of New York already spends upwards of \$75,000 a year for maintaining a quarantine station which has as good as or better claim for national support than any of the forty-four other stations now under federal control. Of the million and more immigrants coming into this country annually, over six times as many enter through New York as through all other ports of the country combined; and more than half of those entering through New York come from parts of Europe where sanitary conditions are primitive and where cholera outbreaks are not uncommon. Obviously, they do not all stay in New York state. In 1910, for instance, out of 850,000 aliens inspected at New York, over two-thirds intended to reside in states other than New York. The condition of their health was therefore of moment to Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota, and certainly to New Jersey and Pennsylvania, as well as to New York; yet the other states to which the annual army of immigrants scattered did not and do not have any part either in the cost of, or responsibility for, quarantine inspection. Moreover, the haz-

¹See *THE SURVEY*, January 27, 1912, pp. 1631 and 1640.

ards involved for the whole country through an invasion of infectious diseases have much in common with the hazards through military invasion; and yet protection against the former is assumed, to a large extent, by a single state, while protection against the latter is provided by the nation as a whole.

Soldiers who man the forts down New York bay are representatives of the national government; and their duties have been thought so important that army service has been removed from either political control or local influences which might in any way weaken its efficiency. The same consideration of efficiency should lead to the transfer of quarantine into the Public Health and Marine-Hospital service, which, like the army, is subject to only the minimum of partizan influences. The change would involve no new precedent, for the national government has already made more than a beginning toward quarantine work in its hospitals, its isolation wards, and its inspection service, established at the immigration station on Ellis Island; and it is at present conducting all except three or four of the two score and more of American quarantine stations. The change on the contrary would be in line with past precedents and would be looking toward a more uniform system of inspection and detention and toward a standardizing of administration.

A CLASH OF INTERESTS IN N. Y. PRISONS

The charges of "riot of management, waste and wrong-doing" in the prisons of New York made last December by William Church Osborne, George E. Van Kennan and John D. McMahon, the Commission to Examine the Department of State Prisons, has to date resulted in the official beheading of Cornelius Collins, the superintendent of prisons, and his assistant at Sing Sing, John P. Powers. With respect to the prison industries the commission held that,

of a possible market to the state and municipal departments of not less than \$20,000,000 per annum, the prison industries, with the free labor of 4,400 men and no overhead

charges except supervision, have supplied goods of a value of \$1,000,000 per annum. With an ample field for labor, the prison industries have paid only 15½ per cent of the cost of the prisoners' maintenance. The failure to fill the orders open to the prison industries keeps one-third of the prisoners in absolute idleness.

The New York law makes it imperative that the state and municipal departments buy this \$19,000,000 worth of goods, unless the Prison Department state that it cannot manufacture the goods ordered. On recommendation, the president of the State Prison Commission signs the release. The responsibility for recommending these releases by the Prison Department rests upon the sales-agent of that department who represents the penal institutions in securing orders from the other state and municipal departments. It is his duty to resist the efforts of business interests and independent contractors to secure the contracts for their own private benefit in all cases where goods are, or can be, manufactured by the state.

This position has been held for over ten years by Frederick Hamlin Mills. Mr. Mills openly states that the salary paid for the position is not sufficient to compensate him for all of his time, and that besides holding the position of sales-agent for the state, he is interested in numerous private businesses for his own personal benefit. One of these companies is the Hamlin Supply Company, having offices at his prison office on Warren Street, with the name of the firm on the door. This company is among those that seek to sell to the state and municipal departments goods which are not supplied from the prison factories for which Mr. Mills is officially agent. This situation can scarcely result in other than a clash of interests within his own office and upon his own official desk.

Mr. Mills states that his outside business in no way conflicts with the business of the state; he takes issue with the figures of the state investigating commission, cited above and declares that "there never has been a time during the years of his service when the prisons have not had orders for supplies in excess of their ability to furnish promptly." On the

other hand, releases are still being recommended by the Prison Department for large quantities of goods, which the president of the Prison Commission declares ought to be made in the prisons.

It is understood that further investigations are being carried forward by the governor's commission. What findings they may bring forward as to detailed transactions are, to THE SURVEY's mind, beside the main question: that is, the indefensible anomaly of a situation where there is such confusion of public and private interests.

There is, indisputably, from the standpoint of the state, the necessity for concerted effort by the prison administration to secure an increasing share of a market which it at present utilizes only to a small fraction of its potential buying capacity. Not only are the financial interests of the commonwealth at stake here, but on the outcome lies the sane employment of thousands of inmates of the state prisons.

Moreover, at the present juncture, when the movement to clean out the contract system in all the states is taking head, the New York state use system represents the most broadly conceived plan to conserve trade education and self-sustaining labor as elements in a system of prison industry without injury to free labor. The demonstration of its full possibilities is of national concern.

LEGISLATIVE GAINS FOR WOMEN IN 1912

JOSEPHINE GOLDMARK
National Consumers' League

Of the twelve states, whose legislatures have been in session this year, four states have, within the past few weeks, taken decisive steps forward in the protection of working girls and women. Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, and New York have enacted important measures regulating women's hours of labor.

In the two southern states, Kentucky and Maryland, this legislation is practically new. Kentucky has never before limited the employment of women, and in Maryland, an earlier ten-hour law, which was supposed to embrace all employes of cotton and woolen mills, has always remained a dead-letter.

The enactment of the Kentucky law was preceded by the investigations of a commission appointed by Governor Willson in March, 1911, at the request of the Consumers' League of Kentucky. The president of the Consumers' League, Mrs. R. P. Halleck, acted as secretary of the commission, of which Alexander G. Barrett was chairman. In spite of the lack of funds and the short time at its disposal, the commission was able to show conditions of employment in Kentucky which called imperatively for relief.

The Kentucky law includes women at work in laundries, bakeries, factories, stores, hotels, and restaurants, and the telephone and telegraph service. In none of these establishments may women be employed more than ten hours in one day or sixty hours in one week. Girls under twenty-one years may not be employed "at any gainful occupation except domestic service or nursing" more than the same number of hours.

The new Maryland statute was enacted after a campaign of unusual vigor and efficiency led by the Ten Hour Law Committee of the Maryland Consumers' League, of which Dr. Thomas H. Buckler has been chairman. Its main provisions establish a ten-hour day and sixty-hour week in factories, stores, laundries, bakeries, and printing establishments. The efforts of many employers to secure exemptions in the statute were all defeated, except the canners, who succeeded in persuading the legislators that the disorganization of their labor force was a legitimate reason to leave unlimited the employment of women in the canneries.

The text of the New Jersey law, as finally enacted, is not yet available. It includes factories, stores, bakeries, laundries, and restaurants, and prohibits the employment of women in those establishments more than ten hours in one day or sixty hours in one week. Mercantile establishments are exempted during a short period before Christmas, and the canners during a portion of the year.

With the enactment of this law, New Jersey partially regains her lost pre-eminence in labor legislation. Almost twenty years ago, New Jersey led all of the United States in her legislative protection of working women. In 1895 the

New Jersey legislature enacted a statute which regulated the day's and week's work and also prohibited the employment of women in manufacture between 6 P. M. and 7 A. M. and after 12 o'clock at noon on Saturday. This law was modeled on the still more rigid British Textile Act, which has been gradually perfected during a century of experience; but a general repealing law of New Jersey in 1904 reorganized the Department of Labor and was held to repeal also the women's labor law. Since then, until the efforts led by the New Jersey Consumers' League to secure a new law were this year successful, the employment of women has been wholly unrestricted in New Jersey by day or night. The bill is still to be signed by Governor Wilson.

In New York the new factory law (not yet signed by Governor Dix) cuts off at a stroke six hours from the week's work and two hours from the day's work. Instead of the inhumane twelve-hour day permissible hitherto five days of the week, the new law provides for a maximum day of ten hours. The week's work is reduced from sixty to fifty-four hours. Unfortunately, in the effort to secure this great benefit for tens of thousands of factory workers, the luckless women employed in the canneries were sacrificed, and after six years of unremitting pressure at Albany, against which the Consumers' League of New York City has each year devoted its efforts, the New York canners have succeeded in obtaining a total exemption during four months of the year, so far as concerns the hours of all workers over sixteen years old.

These concessions by several states to a powerful industry, which has failed to make out a reasonable case for the wide privileges extorted from the legislators, are discouraging to those who have sought the protection of all women subject to industrial strain. But it is well to remember that other countries, such as Great Britain, which have preceded the United States in industrial legislation, have passed through the same phase and are now in slow process of repairing by law the conditions of employment in canneries previously neglected. In Great Britain, for instance, there has been a closing hour since 1907, fixed at 10 P. M.,

for women employed in the canneries. It is reasonable to expect that American states also will in time extend to the cannery workers, at least in part, the limitation of hours, the benefits of which to both industry and labor are now well established.

The new factory law of New York brings into sharp relief the absence of any legislative protection whatsoever for women employed in New York mercantile establishments. The mercantile law applies only to girls under twenty-one years. A bill to limit the work of adult women in stores to six days in the week, instead of seven days, has just been defeated through the opposition of merchants. Indeed the unremitting activity of the Retail Dry Goods Merchants' Association of New York, which has won for that body so unenviable a reputation, has succeeded in stifling all attempts to include adult women employed in stores within the scope of the law in New York as they are now included in eighteen other states.

THE LITTLE TIN PLATE

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

In a certain city of the Middle West, which had been deeply stirred by the Men and Religion Forward Movement, a crusade was recently organized for the social cleansing of the community. The houses of prostitution here, as everywhere, presented one of the first and most difficult problems to be solved; and resort was had to the Rev. Charles Stelzle, who had been the leader of the Forward Movement in this particular city, for advice as to the best way of putting these institutions out of business. His reply was prompt and decisive, if report is correct. Post up conspicuously on the front of each house of this character, he said, so that all who run may read, the name of the madam and of the owner, side by side—and the results will be immediate!

It is interesting to note that a movement for the carrying out of such a social-welfare expedient as this is at this moment well under way in New York. Already there has been introduced into the Board of Aldermen an ordinance, originated over a year ago by Father

Curry, the militant priest of St. James Parish, providing in effect for the placing upon every building—church, apartment house, tenement, saloon, theater, hotel—of a conspicuous brass plate bearing the name and address of the owner. Dubbed by its opponents, in ridicule and contempt, the "Little Tin Plate" ordinance, this phrase has now been caught up as the slogan of a campaign which promises to yield results.

The object of this ordinance is of course just that in the mind of Mr. Stelzle. It is nothing more nor less than a device to enable the opponents of unsanitary tenements, law-defying saloons, Raines law hotels, houses of prostitution, etc., to trace back the evil in question to its ultimate source of responsibility—namely, the owner of the property concerned. This owner has a building which is being put to social uses and which is yielding him an income from these uses; and this ordinance, as Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott has expressed it with telling effect, is an endeavor to force this owner to pay the moral as well as the financial tax which society has a right to assess upon his earnings. In the words of Ex-President Roosevelt, it is an attempt "to make the owner of a building take a healthy interest in his property."

It is doubtful if a more effective weapon for the fight against the ordinary community evils of our day could be put into the hands of the reformer than this. Simple in the extreme, practically self-enforcing, rallying automatically on the side of social health, that universal love of personal reputation which is an essential part of our human instinct of self-preservation, utilizing with astonishing ease and effectiveness that pitiless light of publicity which is always the most effective agent of social progress, no more useful "ways and means" of cleansing a city of its pest-spots has ever been suggested. Against it can be urged nothing but the sheer selfishness and lust of the man who is willing to exploit society endlessly for his own private profits. In its favor can be urged every consideration of public decency and order. The secretary of the committee in charge of the "Little Tin Plate" campaign is Leverett J. Luce, 106 West 137 street.



**NEGRO WORKMEN EMPLOYED ON THE DOUGLASS HOSPITAL,
PHILADELPHIA.**

This group represents the potentialities within the Negro laboring forces. Yet among the 80,000 male Negroes in Philadelphia there are few skilled workmen. An investigation made recently by the Armstrong Association shows that the city's colored population ranges from bootblacks earning \$200 yearly to engineers earning \$1300, with the lowest grades of industry the congested ones. This situation, not an unusual one, is complicated by the fact that the city affords no adequate opportunity for the training of young Negroes in skilled trades. Consequently the Education Committee of the association says two movements are imperative:

1. A movement toward extending the opportunities for the industrial training of Negroes, either by broadening the studies and raising the standards of schools already in the field, or by the establishment of a new trade school; and

2. Organized field work which will interest Negroes in industrial education, emphasizing the benefits to be derived from definite instruction in a trade school. Through meetings in their churches attempts are made to interest the colored folk in their own industrial and economic progress. The association has helped 302 Negroes to jobs in the past year.

THE TREND OF THINGS

The visit of Lieutenant General Sir Robert S. S. Baden-Powell to this country has been a great help to the Boy Scout movement in the opinion of those active in the work here. As a hero in war and an earnest advocate of peace, a trainer of men and a developer of boys he has had an experience interesting alike to those struggling for international peace, to philanthropists concerned with the development of the boy, to parents, and finally to boys themselves. In his visit to twenty or more cities in America accompanied by James E. West, chief scout executive of the Boy Scouts of America, Baden-Powell has met two distinct phases of hostility to the scout movement: first, that it is a military organization desiring to prepare boys for war; second, that it is a strike-breaking organization. One argument was raised by the advocates of international peace, the other by the laboring men. The general took up both of these questions in every city that he visited. In Denver, Col., he referred to them in this way: "I am sorry that there is a general impression in the United States

that the Boy Scouts is a military organization. This is absolutely not so. Not a single military tactic is taught a boy scout. There is only one semblance of militarism about the scouts and that is that they are taught obedience. They are taught self-reliance. There is absolutely no intention of rearing the boys in the love of fighting or in the love of war. It is just the reverse. They are taught peace, out of which will grow the brotherhood of men among the nations.

"I also want to correct one other erroneous impression: that the Boy Scouts are in any way connected with labor. The scouts are made up of the sons of the millionaire and the sons of the poorest working-man. Speaking generally, there must be strong union sympathizers and the reverse in their ranks, but the subject of organized labor or unorganized labor must never be discussed among the scouts. The scouts are as loyal friends of labor as, in England, labor is of the scouts.

"I have three rules that govern boy scouts: first, the boy must not be simply a part of a great machine. He must be independent. He must be able to take care of himself. He must do a deed as a sense of duty, not for profit or praise. He must be true to himself

and to all others. Second, the scout-master must not work by note, but use individuality and deal with the boys as individuals, not collectively. Third, parents do not want their boys taught fighting. Therefore, the teachings must be of upbuilding of character, and all militarism must be eliminated."

In emphasizing what the boy scouts are not, Baden-Powell discussed the character-building phase of the scout movement. "We try," he said in Chicago, "to give the boys the sort of training that will build up their character, the sort of training that will make them manly and efficient, useful in emergency, courageous, of course, but not quarrelsome. The fact that we teach boys to be brave does not mean that we teach them to fight, nor that we teach them that fighting in itself is admirable. We want to make men of them, so that when they grow up they can do men's work in the world. This is an age of great undertakings in America. There will be greater undertakings within the next ten or twenty years. You are building the Panama Canal now, and that is a great undertaking, calling for just as much courage and endurance as any war ever called for. You don't have to start a war to find out whether your citizens are brave men or not. And the Boy Scouts will never lack for opportunity to show the genuineness of their heroism."

In his talk to 5,000 boy scouts in New York, the formation of character was termed the chief end and aim in life. He said that education, in his own land at least, though he did not presume to speak for any other, was sadly deficient in this particular, that it did not form character, as was evinced by the constantly increasing budget of crime and the thousands and thousands of "loafers" and "wasters" who menaced public order in England. It was with the idea of giving the youth, not only of good families, but of the slums as well, some interest which would appeal to them, and which should teach them to be regardless of others, that Sir Robert conceived the Boy Scouts. He illustrated the democracy of scouting by showing a picture of His Royal Highness Prince Alexander of Teck sitting on the ground down in South Africa "cooking his own grub."

In his lectures Baden-Powell gave a clear idea of scouting. He emphasized the value of getting the boys into the woods and teaching them camping, and various scout activities. He showed how the scout movement was designed to touch every phase of the boy's nature.

Another result of the trip is an increased number of local councils. Forty additional local councils have been organized in the last month. A paid secretary is usually employed to take active charge of the work. The impetus which the movement has received will, it is predicted, send the total number of boy scouts in the country, in the course of the next year, up to 500,000 or 600,000.

* * *

Herod of Judea slaughtered the innocents. Tughlak, a fourteenth century ruler of

India, ordered an issue of brass coin to be used at par with silver. Both could exercise their powers as despots to experiment on nations. Not so the economist; yet to the mind of Prof. Henry W. Farnam of Yale, society itself is constantly playing experimental material into the economist's hands. To quote from Professor Farnam's recent annual address as president of the American Economic Association: "He cannot, it is true, like Herod, kill off the babies for the sake of watching the effect upon population or wealth, but society is constantly creating by law conditions which lead to the slaughter both of innocents and of adults, by preventable disease and accident. In many cases this needless increase of the death rate is brought about, as it was in the time of Herod, because our office-holders are more intent upon keeping their jobs than upon earning their salaries, and care more for politics than for sociology. We have in a republic no despot to force his brass into circulation, but what no despot would dare do to the people the sovereign people cheerfully do to themselves. When our country was divided by a civil war, the hostile sections, though bitterly opposed to each other in most questions, were yet alike in that each decreed to make the government's paper equal to the people's gold, and tried over again the experiment of an inflated currency which had been tried by Tughlak, the son of Muhammed, and by many others after him.

"Thus we not only have experiments tried on a large scale in modern states, but it is fair to say that the more democratic the country, the more ready on the whole it is to try experiments on itself. Thus economic experimentation is not only possible, but it is so common that it is hardly recognized as experimentation, and the superabundant legislative activity of so many of our advanced and radical commonwealths testifies to the mass of work of this kind which is being performed gratuitously for the economist."

* * *

The magazine *Bulletin*, issued by the After-School Club of America is now in its second year. It increased in monthly volume during the year from four to twenty pages.

"Its usefulness," says the editor, "has extended in like proportion. Letters from many sections of the country have been received commending the plan of the *Bulletin* and testifying to the value of its service. These letters, not only from the individual mother or father in the home, but from organized groups of parents and teachers, all bring a word of commendation and prove that the *Bulletin* is meeting a long felt need.

"The purpose is to bring to the trainer of children, whether in the home or in the school, a knowledge of the most important articles of the month bearing on the development of children that appear in current literature. While the articles mentioned are in the majority of cases written by specialists, still it is not the author but the idea we desire to exploit. Consequently there may be found mention made of articles by comparatively

unknown writers, because of the dynamic power of the inspiring thought they contain.

"Then, again, some of the best articles will have but a few lines quoted, because it is necessary to read them entire to catch the fine spirit they hold."

The After-School Club of America has its headquarters at 112 S. 13 street, Philadelphia, Pa.

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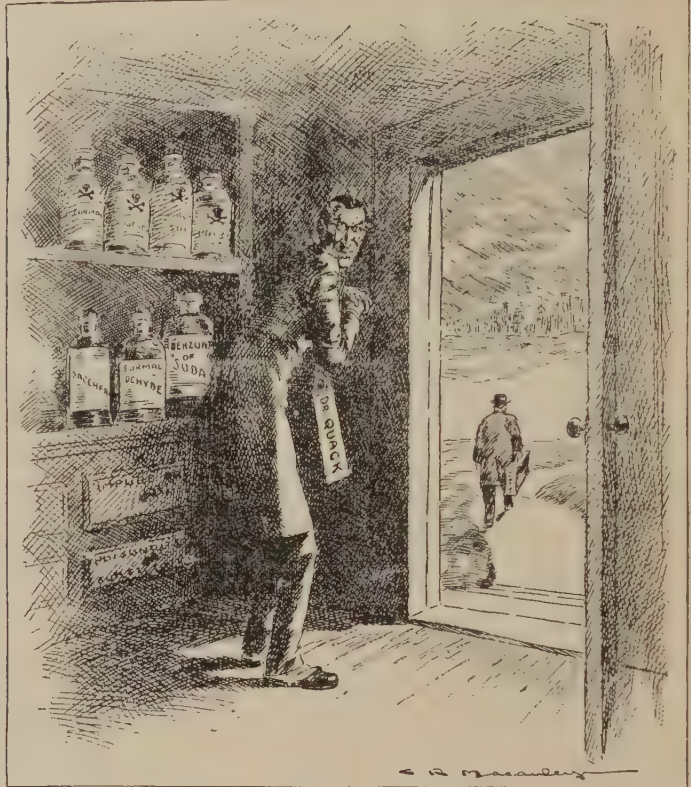
With the resignation of Dr. Wiley, *Collier's Weekly* begins a systematic exposure of the causes that made it impossible for him to remain in the Department of Agriculture. In three successive issues, beginning March 23, *Collier's* story of Secretary Wilson's record appears. "The record," says *Collier's*, "has naturally discouraged Dr. Wiley. It would have discouraged Job."

* * *

For years Mary Shaw has stood out, in the face of misunderstanding and misinterpretation, for the dramatic expression of social problems. This month she follows her earlier series in *McClure's* on the moral and material disadvantages of the actress's environment, by an interesting account of her production of Mrs. Warren's Profession, Bernard Shaw's dramatization of the facts which vice commissions and students of women in industry have made all too familiar to us of late. In telling of the scandalous publicity and adverse criticism given the play, she thus contrasts the attitude of men and of women towards it. "This play," she says, "I knew to be what stage people call a 'woman's play'—one in which the theme ap-

peals more powerfully to women than to men. In all the hubbub, not a woman's voice had been heard; it was simply one vast aggregate of men and their opinions. It seemed to me reasonable to find out what women thought about it. I therefore decided to arrange, before my appearance in the larger cities, to be the invited guest at the principal women's clubs, to lay the case plainly before them, and to ask for their co-operation.

"I wish it recorded here, to the great credit of women throughout the country, that in every community I was cordially welcomed by



—Macaulay in New York World.

DR. WILEY RESIGNS FROM BUREAU OF CHEMISTRY.

After twenty-nine years of service for the government, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley has resigned as chief chemist and pure food specialist of the Department of Agriculture. In giving the causes for severing his official relations, Dr. Wiley stated that "the fundamental one is that I believe I can find opportunity for better and more effective service to the work which is nearest my heart, namely, the pure food and drug propaganda," as a private citizen than I could any longer do in my late position." He gives instances to show that the fundamental principles of the food and drugs act, one by one, have been "paralyzed and discredited"; and continues: "Almost from the very beginning of the enforcement of this act I discovered that my point of view in regard to it was fundamentally different from that of my superiors in office. For nearly six years there has been a growing feeling in my mind that these differences were irreconcilable and I have been conscious of an official environment which has been essentially inhospitable." Dr. Wiley becomes a contributing editor to *Good House-keeping*.

the best class of organized women. They were most interested and eager to hear my side of the case. In every instance a vote was taken to visit the theater and see the play, and to form an independent judgment of it. This was to me a splendid example of the courage and fine judgment of American women. I always made it a part of my duty to learn their verdict; and of the many hundreds of women I interviewed, I never talked with one who was shocked by Mrs. Warren's Profession. On the other hand it was most unusual to find a man who was not shocked by it. I could explain this in only one way—the story was too truthfully told, too awful in its true presentation of a great fact in society."

* * *

"In the average marriage, the firm we call matrimony, the husband and wife stand in the relation of producing partner and purchasing partner," says an anonymous writer in *McClure's* in an article entitled *Matrimony—Our Most Neglected Profession*. The writer then proceeds to tell from her own experiences how proper preparatory training only can make an efficient purchaser of the wife.

* * *

Not only does successful matrimony require a knowledge of applied science, but to be a country wife requires a very special training, according to Caroline H. De Long, who writes in the April *World's Work*. Properly equipped she believes that women will miss many of the terrors of farm life. "Drudges are born," says Mrs. De Long, "and the farm need not make them. It takes brains to avoid being a farm drudge. It takes all the skill that the highest training she can get can give her. If she is college educated, so much the better. She needs her physics, her chemistry, and her sanitation to help her find the essentials in her household management and to help her attack them in the most direct way.

"The woman who dreads going on a farm hasn't yet made the acquaintance of the new type of farmer's wife. If she had she would be envious, for she is a much more alert and useful woman than her city sister. She has cultivated that variety of employment which keeps all faculties alive; she has some outdoor work, some bookkeeping and some bargaining. The telephone and the rural delivery are inexpensive and they bring the community to her door. She has much greater opportunity for public service than the average city woman, for in the city are many women of leisure who are looking for something to do. What has become of the drudgery? Some she has found is not necessary. What she must do she resolves into a problem of efficiency and manages so as to save much time and strength."

* * *

By a practical experiment the *World's Work* has proved to its own satisfaction that there are in the United States many persons who do not want to live in the towns or cities, but

who stay there simply because they do not know how to find farm homes. "Within three months," says an editorial in this month's issue, "no less than 460 such men wrote to this magazine and a larger number wrote during the same time to the authors of recent articles on successful agricultural enterprises in different parts of the country." A map made out on the basis of the districts the letters came from and the districts the writers inquired about shows "a distinct movement from the Middle West to the East, especially to the Southeast, and smaller movements to the Southwest and the Northwest."

In order to furnish the inquirers with an answer, the *World's Work* held recently a conference of representatives of the federal and state departments of agriculture and of the industrial and agricultural departments of the railroads. The conference brought out, in the opinion of the *World's Work*, the fact that both states and railroads are doing excellent and increasingly practical educational work, and that some agency for financing farm ventures is the present imperative need in solving the problem of getting the willing farmer back to the farm.

The *World's Work* proposes hereafter to undertake to supply information in regard to every phase of country life. This month's issue contains several articles on different aspects of the subject.

Other interesting articles in the *World's Work* for this month are the Pennsylvania Mounted Police—"a significant example to other states of how 250 men can maintain law and order"; two health articles, one on the work of Dr. Rupert Blue of the United States Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, and the other on a local campaign against the fly; and an article on a co-operative factory at Jena, Germany.

* * *

An editorial writer in the *Century* believes that the three bills for federal bureaus of health, national parks, and a children's bureau are so many steps toward national efficiency. "These measures have not dropped out of the sky," says the *Century*. "They are not to be classed with bills introduced 'by request,' in which even the senator or representative who stands sponsor for them takes no real interest. Nor can these proposals be set down summarily among the happy-thought ideas or fantastic notions which are pressed upon Congress by inconsiderate enthusiasts. Each of them has behind it long study and a serious purpose. Each has now a backing of intelligent public opinion. Taken together, they constitute an effort not to make a sweeping change in the federal administration, but to clothe it with certain specified powers, to confide to it a few definite tasks, and to render it more efficient and useful."

The *Century* also has an interesting article by Rheta Child Dorr on special teaching in the public schools for the "child that is different"—the child who under ordinary school conditions "simply marks time in the

lower grades" until he is graduated almost illiterate into unskilled industry.

In another article,—the *Child Who Toils at Home*, in *Hampton's Magazine*,—Mrs. Dorr describes some of the unskilled industries of childhood. This is the second in her series based on the federal investigation of woman and child wage earners.

One way of starting the child right for something besides unskilled labor is the ungraded class, another is vocational training supplemented by a combination of practical work and technical instruction. These two subjects are treated in this month's *Review of Reviews* by Mary Josephine Mayer on the general subject of Vocational Training and by Mary Burchard Orvis on the continuation schools in factories carried on by the University of Wisconsin.

* * *

Perhaps this movement for vocational training is a step toward that return to craftsmanship which artists desire.

"I believe and find in my study of art," says Gutzon Borglum in this month's *Craftsman*, "that the real artist is nine-tenths of the time a craftsman and it is only in that small one-tenth of the time that he rises to the elevated position of a prophet and a master. Unless he is—and only so far as he is—a great craftsman . . . can he . . . become a prophet and master." Mr. Borglum believes that democracy which should have cherished, has destroyed, the handicrafts by substituting machine production on the utilitarian side, and academic training on the educational side, with the result that both real education and the highest usefulness is defeated. "Man no longer sees, his eyes no longer search the form line and color of any piece of work . . . our crafts (on their part) have lost the solicitous touch of man; are ripped, burnt or driven into shape by steam or steel; and in man's aesthetic world the water-color has fallen to the lithograph, the drawing to the kodak . . ."

* * *

In last month's *North American Review* Walter E. Weyl wrote in optimistic terms of the decreasing birth-rate in France which he held to be a "strike against evil conditions" and worthy of imitation by other nations, since it is but an indication of a general progress toward the "determining of the birth rate . . . by the hope of civilization and the conquest of disease and death." A Frenchman, Gustave Lauson, writing in this month's issue of the same magazine on the France of To-Day, has little more apprehension than Mr. Weyl over his country's low birth rate. He shows what he believes to be counterbalancing evidences of vitality in his race.

Other interesting articles in the *North American* are that by Percy Stickney Grant arguing on both scientific and humanitarian grounds, for a liberal immigration law; and that by O. F. Lewis on the prisoner who has

finished his sentence. The three questions that a prison system must answer to-day are, in Mr. Lewis's opinion, "What are you doing to keep persons from becoming criminals? What are you doing to reform and rehabilitate your criminals in prison? and What are you doing to prevent them from reverting to crime when they are released from prison?"

* * *

In the *Atlantic Monthly* Hugo Münsterberg writes interestingly of the German woman. His article might almost be called the Woman Movement in Germany, as it shows that within less than a generation the attitude toward women, has, in Germany as elsewhere, undergone a revolutionary change.

In *Democracy or Dynamite* in the same magazine, Henry Raymond Mussey tries to trace the outcome of the dynamite cases. In Mr. Mussey's view, public control—even more than public ownership which often means official tyranny—is the only cure for the present industrial situation.

* * *

In *Monarchical versus Red Socialism* in Germany, Elmer Roberts in *Scribner's* tells of the effort of the German government to stave off revolutionary socialism by state action and the effect of this effort on German institutions and on the growth of the socialistic movement.

The *Scribner* article is only one out of a multitude on the subject of socialism that have come out both in popular and class magazines since the large Socialist returns in the November elections. Allan L. Benson begins a series on Socialism in the April *Pearson*, following immediately on his series on the Supreme Court.

* * *

The Bulletin of the New York School of Philanthropy for March is devoted to a bibliography on the Social Aspects of Town-Planning. Besides listing with brief explanatory notes a score of general works on the subject, it includes a number of special treatises dealing with conditions in England, Germany, and Sweden. Under a special head, Garden City Movement, is a valuable directory of sources of information on garden suburbs, garden cities, industrial housing by employers, and co-partnership housing, not only in the United States but also in England, France, and Germany, as well as a dozen carefully selected foreign language references.

This bulletin on the social aspects of town planning will be followed by one on improved housing, which explains perhaps the omission of some references bordering on its field that might without impropriety have been included. The change in the last two years from the former lack of interest and knowledge of both these important subjects is little less than a transformation. One indication of the awakening is the fact that about half of the titles in this brief bibliography on town planning are those of works issued in 1910 and 1911.

BOOKS

LILLIAN BRANDT, Contributing Editor

THE SOCIAL TASK OF CHRISTIANITY

By SAMUEL ZANE BATTEN, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company, 234 pp. \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.34.

"Christianity has not yet achieved the redemption of the world or transformed the lump of human society. . . . The real question at issue to-day is this: Whether . . . in fact it can achieve the redemption of human society within any measurable time. . . . The great problems of to-day are social problems. They are not primarily personal problems, and they are not distinctively political problems.

. . . With conditions as they are, that is, with the environment as it is, and with so many handicaps as now exist, the saving of these cities is an indefinite possibility. The problem of Christian work to-day is the problem of social work. . . . The new task of Christianity . . . is nothing less than the building up in the earth of a new and Christian type of human society. . . . The kingdom of God in the Christian conception of things never means anything less than a human society on earth. . . . The program of the kingdom is summed up in the one task of rightening the relations of men, associating them in righteous and fraternal fellowship, interfusing their hearts in common aims, interlocking their wills in a common will, taking up hindrances out of the way, making straight paths for men's feet, giving every soul a fair inheritance in life, ensuring every human being room enough for his proper expansion, and embodying their essential life in social institutions that shall realize the kingdom and in which the Son of Man can find a home. . . . The spiritual life demands a satisfactory economic basis. . . . The duty of all social workers is very plain. They must learn to take thought for the material needs of men and to provide a good economic basis for the spiritual life. . . . The men who are seeking the kingdom of God on earth will not be satisfied that there shall be any outcast and unprivileged souls doomed from birth to poverty and sin, and disbarred by conditions beyond their control from the best things in life; and what is more they will not rest till they have created such conditions in society as shall make possible for every one of its members a full worthy, human, and moral life. . . . We must . . . inspire and arouse men to undertake consciously and collectively the work of social salvation. . . . A large part of our work . . . consists in creating such an atmosphere as shall induce the right kind of life. . . . Let the church create a pure and good atmosphere in society, and all the other things of salvation will take care of themselves. . . . The first thing

it for the churches to inspire men with the

vision of the Holy City coming down from heaven to be set up on this earth. . . . In so far as the churches can inspire men with this vision, and can unite them as one army in behalf of this enterprise, that far will men be interested in the churches and will believe that Christianity is of God. . . . It will be a sad day for the church and the world when Christian men allow themselves to be out-humaned by the new humanitarians. It will bring a standing reproach against the name of Christ if Christian men commit to outsiders—to unbelievers and agnostics often—the agitation of social wrongs and the struggle for social righteousness. . . . The final apologetic for Christianity must be the apologetic of results. . . . The time is coming when the final test of one's Christian goodness will be the measure of his social serviceableness. . . . The very honour of Christ, the very existence of Christianity is at stake in the fulfillment of this social task." By selecting these sentences, from paragraphs and pages which we should like to quote, we have tried to give Dr. Batten's message in his own words. It is a thrilling "summons to the new crusade," a vision of what would happen if the thirty-four million church members in this country who pray for the kingdom of God should "unite in making that kingdom a fact." By the time the last page is reached one is ready to agree with a statement at the beginning of the book, that "instead of debating whether Christianity has failed, we may well ask whether it has really been tried."

THE RELIGION WORTH HAVING

By THOMAS NIXON CARVER. Houghton, Mifflin Company, 140 pp. \$1.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.07.

The religion worth having, in Professor Carver's view, is merely the one which acts most powerfully as a spur to energy, and which directs that energy most productively. This is obviously the view of a thorough going economist. That productive energy is to be tested by the enjoyment of its fruits is an idea with which he has scant patience. We consume primarily that we may produce, and the end of production is not enjoyment but further production. If Protestants are able to drive Catholics to the wall in the economic competition of life, they have evidently a better religion, and if Mormonism or Christian Science develops the economic virtues of thrift, application, invention, appreciation of future goods, etc., more successfully than evangelical protestantism, then this new religion will not only prevail but will have demonstrated its superiority as a religion. It is a hard saying. There seems to be something wrong with the logic, or else with our ordinary notion of religion. The pragmatist

might require us to defend our religion by showing what difference it makes that we hold it, by demanding that it "cash in," *i. e.*, justify itself in comparison with other religions, thus wringing from the consequences an answer to Pilate's famous question, What is truth? Professor Carver demands all this and more. Our religion must not only make a difference, but that difference must be in a specific spot. Our religion must "cash in" as a direct economic asset. Yet the student of religious philosophy will do well to examine Professor Carver's brief essay before rejecting its teaching. Very concisely and clearly he states his work bench philosophy; and as a protest against the "pig trough philosophy" with which he contrasts it the idea is not so repugnant as the reader may think.

THE REVOLUTIONARY FUNCTION OF THE MODERN CHURCH

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 264 pp. \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.61.

As to whether the theological views expounded in this book are sound, theologians will no doubt differ, unless indeed the author succeeds in offending them all at once by his repudiation alike of the Catholic doctrine of confession, the Protestant doctrine of conversion, and the Liberal doctrine of moral education. The volume is dedicated "to the glorious memory of Theodore Parker"; but its inspiration is drawn from modern medicine, education, criminology, and philanthropy. More deeply than most of those who from the social worker's point of view are "laymen," Mr. Holmes has attained a genuinely social point of view, and this he has brought to bear upon the inner problem of the modern church. He realizes that the pressing problem of our time is not the writing of a new creed, but the formulation of a new plan of action. He accepts whole heartedly the well established principle that it is with the individual soul that the organized forces of religion are to deal. This individual, however, is not an isolated personal entity, but a social creature, dependent upon society and realizing his individuality only as he lives in organized association with his fellows. This is no new idea, even in theology, but its uncompromising application to the practical program of the church is not the less but more significant on that account. Sin will practically disappear, we are told in this volume, only with the transformation of social conditions.

SALESWOMEN IN MERCANTILE STORES

By ELIZABETH BEARDSLEY BUTLER. Charities Publication Committee for the Russell Sage Foundation. 217 pp. \$1.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.08.

Out of the immediate need of the Consumers' League of Maryland for information on which to base the preparation of a "white list" of stores in Baltimore has come a volume which is likely to be of service not only to that city, but also to many others, in studying and improving the conditions in their retail

stores. It is marked by the careful observation and fair appraisal which is characteristic of all the work done by Miss Butler in her short years. The investigation shows that for the sake of the prosperity of the store as well as for the welfare of the worker the personal efficiency of the sales force should keep pace with the impersonal efficiency of store management. A connection was found between personal efficiency and store construction, hours and seasons of labor, range of wages, and opportunity for advancement. The analysis of the elements in store construction and furnishings which promote or hinder the efficiency of the employes may not seem to the average reader the most interesting part of the book, but as a contribution to the technique of studies of this sort it may prove to be of the greatest importance. Conditions are illustrated by well chosen photographs with such inscriptions as "One seat to a counter," "A balcony diminishes air space," "Mingling of gas and electric light." The study of seasonal fluctuations shows much greater variation in the number of women than in the number of men employed at different times of the year. The seasons in the shopping week are influenced by local customs: Monday is the busiest day, Friday and Saturday are heavy, while Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday are dull. The most striking part of the investigation is that which concerns wages and their relation to the cost of living. Four or five dollars a week is the maximum for saleswomen in some stores. In the entire group in all the stores, "there are twice as many earning less than \$5.00 as there are earning more than \$6.00." The minimum cost of living is estimated at \$6.70 a week. "Fifty-four per cent are paid less than the cost of board and clothes." Miss Butler characterizes Baltimore's point of view regarding its women workers in this way: "We regret the necessity which compels some women to work," the traditions of the city seem to declare; "properly speaking, the cost of their maintenance should be borne by their families. But if they must work, their wages are of service by adding somewhat to the family income."

JUVENILE LABOR EXCHANGES AND AFTER-CARE

By ARTHUR GREENWOOD. P. S. King and Son. 112 pp. 30 cents; by mail of THE SURVEY 35 cents.

This pamphlet is intended for the use of persons interested in organizing juvenile advisory committees in connection with employment bureaus in England. From the point of view of work in this country the most illuminating part of the discussion is the author's insistence that the problem of employment of young workers can best be dealt with by an organization concerned with the employment of adult workers. He believes that the juvenile labor problem must be handled by a department of a general employment exchange, and that it must not only carry on registration work, but must equip an information department and must establish

close connection with the public schools. He also believes that there is an important place for volunteer agencies in follow-up work during the first few years of the industrial career. In answer to those who advocate that because of superior knowledge of the pupil the school should assume this control at the time of transition to industrial life, he replies that not the education authorities, but the teachers, are in possession of this knowledge, and that the teachers could not undertake the employment problem. Thus the education authorities who would be charged with the administration of such vocational work are not only handicapped by a lack of understanding of industrial conditions, but they are under quite as great a necessity as the Board of Trade would be for obtaining the requisite knowledge about individual pupils from the teachers. In the concluding chapter, but not until then, it is suggested that the organization of employment committees might perhaps lead to the excluding of young children from industry. There are about 211,000 children under fourteen years of age in the entire country who have obtained total exemption from school attendance and are free to go to work.

FRIENDS OF THE INSANE AND OTHER ESSAYS

By BAYARD HOLMES, M.D. The Lancet-Clinic Publishing Company. 270 pp.

These essays are for the most part technical and republished from a medical journal, but they have an earnest message for the general reader as well, to whom they are at least partially addressed. Dr. Holmes is known widely as a physician of humanitarian ardor and social vision and as a devoted leader in medical education. He urges that the insane should be treated as interesting patients whose baffling ailment may yield to study and that the state should provide money and schools, and students for such study; especially he urges that the state universities should be closely allied with the great state institutions where 150,000 insane or more are kept in buildings which are hospitals in name rather than in fact. He believes "that this work of investigating the causes of insanity should be carried on by the university." He suggests that "the friends of the insane organize an offensive and defensive society—a society to secure and give information and consolation to the friends of the insane during the first shock of the calamity, during the years of struggle against cruel fate, and in the desolation of lost hope; a society to protect the officers of the hospitals of the insane from political persecutions and newspaper defamations; a society to constantly inspect, supervise and formally criticize the conduct of every department of these public undertakings; a society to demand, encourage and further the study of insanity as a symptom of many sick people, its early detection and its ultimate cure; a society to disseminate information as to the true import of insanity in its various forms." The newly launched

National Committee on Mental Hygiene will certainly do some of the work indicated by Dr. Holmes, and in time it, or some kindred organization, may be able to do all that his program includes. This work will always require the co-operation of physicians and laymen.

SOCIAL SERVICE DIRECTORY OF NEWARK, N. J.

Compiled by A. W. McDUGALL. Published through the Initiative of the Bureau of Associated Charities with the co-operation of the other private charitable organizations of the city. 220 pp. \$1.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.13.

From the name to the details of compilation this new directory is admirable. The work of the listed agencies is set in good perspective by the historical sketch of Newark by Frank J. Urquhart, the statistical description by Frederick L. Hoffman, the suggestive Outline of an Adequate Social Service Equipment for a City, for Prevention, and the introductory notes to the several classes of agencies. Emphasis is laid upon the importance of doing away with the causes of poverty, and the significance of contemporary movements having this for their aim is appreciated. Suggestions are made to the agencies of Newark for more effective social work. For example, in the prefatory note to the section on churches and religious organizations the pronouncements of several of the national church organizations upon current social problems are given in brief "because they are authoritative for the denomination and put a responsibility upon the individual church." The classifications under which the social agencies of the city are grouped are logical, the data given regarding the agencies adequate, and the indexing good. Legal Suggestions furnish a useful abstract of the laws of special interest to social workers.

HEREDITY IN RELATION TO EUGENICS

By CHARLES BENEDICT DAVENPORT. Henry Holt and Company. 298 pp. \$2.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.15.

This book will probably be for the next few years our best general text-book in "the new science of heredity in its application to man." Mr. Davenport says that his principal object is "to incite to further investigation." He does this by explaining the method which he and others are using in their study of the laws of the inheritance of human traits, and by giving the tentative conclusions which are warranted by the data now available with reference to certain problems, especially the transmission of various physical and mental human traits and susceptibilities to disease. This exposition of what the new science has to offer at this stage occupies most of the book. The practical application is summed up in the conclusion that "the proper program for the elimination of the unfit" is "segregation of the feeble-minded, epileptic, insane, hereditary criminals and prostitutes throughout the reproductive period and the education of the more normal people as to fit and unfit matings." He considers it desirable that the eugenics movement in this country should for the present take

mainly the form of investigation. Society "has not only the right, but the duty, to make a thorough study of all of the families in the state and to know their good and bad traits," and that "a state eugenic survey," which he thinks might be organized by utilizing the school teachers as investigators, should be taken in all the older states.

THE PROBLEM OF RACE REGENERATION

By HAVELOCK ELLIS. Moffat, Yard and Company. 67 pp. 50 cents; by mail of THE SURVEY 54 cents.

This is the first of a series of little books called Tracts for the Times, which give promise of proving indispensable to social workers. Small and well printed, written by recognized authorities, concise and clear, scientific in spirit and at the same time with the social point of view, the first three numbers in the series, at any rate, are valuable hand-books. Mr. Ellis introduces his subject by a survey of the movement of social reform, which he divides into four stages: (1) the effort to clear away the gross filth of the English cities, to improve dwellings, to introduce sanitation, and to combat disease; (2) the attempt to attack the problem more thoroughly by regulating the conditions of work and introducing the elaborate system of factory legislation; (3) the taking in hand of children who have not yet reached the age for work, nationalizing education, and ultimately pushing back the care and oversight of infants even to the moment of birth; and (4) the effort which is still only beginning, to provide the conditions of healthy life even before birth. This fourth division he characterizes as the "most fundamental step of all." At the same time he does not make the mistake common with some eugenists of ignoring, or viewing as waste of energy, social reforms based on the improvement of the conditions of life. "The movement of social reform by no means becomes unnecessary because it touches only the conditions of life and not life itself. The conditions of life can never become unimportant; they may improve to such an extent that their regulation demands comparatively little of our energy and the regulation itself may become largely a routine. The exclusive concentration on it has caused a reaction to the opposite extreme which must not lead us astray. Only take care of the soil, these workers of social reform said in effect, and the seed is no matter. That, as we can now see, was a silly enough position to take up. But it must not induce us to countenance the opposite fallacy with which we are today threatened: only take care of the seed and the soil is no matter. On the contrary it can never cease to matter. The finest of living organism may easily be starved, the more easily, perhaps, the finer it is. And every ill-adapted external condition, leading to imperfect or defective nutrition, is really a kind of starvation. Even if we believe that bad conditions only affect the present generation and have no permanent influence on the race, the fact that they do affect,

and very seriously affect, the present generation, is ample reason for setting them as far right as we can." Permanent care of the feeble-minded and "like unfit" and rational education for parenthood are ably advocated.

THE METHOD OF RACE REGENERATION

By C. W. Saleeby, M.D., F.R.S.E. Moffat, Yard and Company. 64 pp. 50 cents; by mail of THE SURVEY 54 cents.

In the second "tract" Dr. Saleeby divides his field into Positive Eugenics and Negative Eugenics. The possible methods under each division he classifies as Rejected, Questioned, Accepted. In the field of Positive Eugenics, he "rejects" the institution of compulsory mating and anything else that involves the destruction of marriage. He "questions" the plan of marriage certificates as likely to lead to an increase of illegitimacy if strictly enforced; and of "bonuses for children" as being too much in the nature of a bribe, whereas "every child that comes into the world should be planned, desired and loved in anticipation." He accepts (1) the principle of granting adequate help to parents that shall be specific, definitely reaching the point towards which it is aimed, favoring the maternity benefits provided by the National Insurance Bill of 1911; (2) the ideals of education for parenthood; and (3) the popularization of the concept of "eugenic marriages." On the side of Negative Eugenics he rejects (1) "the lethal chamber, the permission of infant mortality, interference with ante-natal life, and all other synonyms for murder"; (2) "mutilative surgery." He questions the "refusal of permission to marry" and accepts the plan of segregation. In a chapter on Preventive Method and the Racial Poisons the plan of the state regulation of vice is rejected. He questions legislation regarding the sale of alcoholic liquors, the use of lead glazes, and so forth, and favors the notification of venereal disease, with adequate provision for treatment; the expert instruction of adolescence; and the protection of parenthood from alcohol.

THE DECLINING BIRTH RATE

By ARTHUR NEWSHOLME, M.D., F.R.S.P. Moffat, Yard and Company. 60 pp. 50 cents; by mail of THE SURVEY 54 cents.

Particularly welcome is the third "tract," which provides us with facts we are safe in accepting, since they are presented by one of the most able statisticians and sanitarians of the time. Dr. Newsholme shows that the declining birth-rate is an international phenomenon, in which France has merely taken the lead. By means of corrected rates which eliminate differences in the composition of the population of different places he shows that in most civilized communities there has occurred a real and marked reduction in the fertility of marriage. The most significant thing about the United States is that Dr. Newsholme practically is obliged to leave it out of consideration because of the lack of trustworthy statistics of births. In analyzing the causes for this general phenomenon Dr. Newsholme

examines the possible influence of the postponement of marriage, increased nutrition, and the relation between "individuation" and genesis, but he concludes that "volitional limitation of the family" is the main cause of the declining birth-rate. With reference to the relatively higher birth-rate among the poor he thinks that we should be far from pessimistic, since "(a) the present altered distribution of the birth rate is only known to have been occurring for two generations; (b) the conditions of life of the poorest are steadily having more attention devoted to them, and there is good reason to expect that in two additional generations their possibilities of health will be still further improved; and (c) it is not certain that the average inherent mental and physical qualities of the majority of the wage-earning classes are not equal to those of the rest of the population, though there may possibly be some measure of inherent inferiority among a section of the poorest of the population." He thinks that we may "look for an extension of the practice of voluntary restriction of families "to the classes of the community as yet only slightly affected by the tendency; and it is his opinion that apart from the control which society can and should exercise over the multiplication of "the feeble-minded, the intermittently insane, and possibly the chronic dependent," "the best distribution of the birth-rate can only be secured by the exercise of public opinion, which has an undoubted effect on individual conduct."

THE HEREDITY OF RICHARD ROE

By DAVID STARR JORDAN. American Unitarian Association. 165 pp. \$1.20; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.26.

President Jordan makes the accepted facts about heredity and the principles of eugenics concrete by analyzing the career of Richard Roe, a familiar figure in legal practice, from this point of view. The "final formula of heredity" he states as follows: "Richard Roe has the sum of species characters: race characters; one unequal fourth of father's peculiarities; one unequal fourth of mother's peculiarities; one-sixteenth of paternal grandfather's peculiarities; one-sixteenth from maternal grandfather; one-sixteenth from each grandmother; one-sixty-fourth from each great-grandparent, etc.; an unknown and certainly negligible part of the gain through the father's activity; an unknown and negligible part of gain through the mother's activity; an unknown part, fortunately also negligible, of loss through the idleness or non-development of each; an unknown and doubtful change through prenatal influences received through the mother; the whole reduced by untoward influences many or few arising from transmission or failure in early nutrition, and to be modified in every part by the fact that he is a man." "In the beginning Richard Roe is

the helpless product of the forces which called him into being. . . . Once established on the earth, he becomes more and more 'the captain of his fate, the master of his soul' . . . but through all the struggles by which he builds up his character and life, he must act with the tools his ancestors have given him and with these only." The printing and binding of this book, which is uniform with a number of others by the same author, add greatly to its charm.

BOOKS RECEIVED IN MARCH

THE MATADOR OF THE FIVE TOWNS. By Arnold Bennett. George H. Doran Company. 420 pp. \$1.20; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.30.

POLITE FARCES. By Arnold Bennett. George H. Doran Company. 97 pp. \$1.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.06.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL INSPECTION OF SCHOOL CHILDREN. By Walter S. Cornell, M.D. F. A. Davis Company. 614 pp. \$3.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$3.20.

GOD AND DEMOCRACY. By Frank Crane. Forbes and Company. 72 pp. 50 cents; by mail of THE SURVEY 56 cents.

FOOD FOR THE INVALID AND CONVALESCENT. By Winifred Stuart Gibbs. The Macmillan Company. 81 pp. 75 cents; by mail of THE SURVEY 80 cents.

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH POST OFFICE. By J. C. Hemmeon, Ph.D. Harvard University. 261 pp.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN FRANCE. A study in revolutionary syndicalism. By LOUIS LEVINE, Ph.D. Columbia University. 212 pp. \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.58.

FIRE PREVENTION. By Peter Joseph McKeon. The Chief Publishing Company. 249 pp. \$1.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.85.

THE COMMON FAITH OF COMMON MEN. By Rockwell Harmon Potter, D.D. Teachers' College, Columbia University. 134 pp. \$1.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.08.

THE BOY AND HIS GANG. By J. ADAMS PUFFER. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 188 pp. \$1.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.08.

ROAD PRIMER FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN. By Samuel W. Ravenel, C.E. A. C. McClurg and Company. 159 pp. \$1.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.06.

MILK AND THE PUBLIC HEALTH. By William G. Savage. The Macmillan Company. 459 pp. \$3.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$3.46.

THE SOCIAL EVIL. Second edition of a report prepared [in 1902] under the direction of The Committee of Fifteen. Edited by Edwin R. A. Sellman, LL.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 303 pp. \$1.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.89.

THE HOME-MADE KINDERGARTEN. By Nora Archibald Smith. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 117 pp. 75 cents; by mail of THE SURVEY 80 cents.

ELEMENTS OF SOCIALISM: A text-book. By John Spargo and George Louis Arner, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company. 382 pp. \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.61.

AMERICAN BAD BOYS IN THE MAKING. By A. H. Stewart, M.D. Hermann Lechner. 241 pp. \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.60.

THE SPECIAL CLASS FOR BACKWARD CHILDREN. By Lightner Witmer, Ph.D. The Psychological Clinic Press. 275 pp. \$1.50 postpaid.

PERSONAL ECONOMY AND SOCIAL REFORM. By H. G. Wood, M.A. The Association Press. 146 pp. 50 cents; by mail of THE SURVEY 55 cents.

STRANGERS WITHIN OUR GATES. By James S. Woodsworth. Tenth Thousand, third edition. Methodist Mission Rooms, Toronto. 325 pp. 50 cents; by mail of THE SURVEY 60 cents.

COMMUNICATIONS

"LAYING OFF" FACTORY HANDS

TO THE EDITOR:

In your extract from the president's message of February 2, 1912,¹ President Taft deals with only one phase of the industrial problem: strikes, lockouts, and disagreements generally between employer and wage-earner. There is another grave trouble encountered by the wage-earner, of which President Taft makes no note, and that is the growing custom in all large manufacturing concerns and, indeed, in all concerns employing labor to "lay off" their workmen in what they call their dull times. For example, a manufacturing plant comes into a community; it proposes to make bicycles, automobiles, some new patent plow, or whatever it may be. The business at first is called very successful. The output is large and an immense industry is soon in operation; hundreds, sometimes a thousand, men move into the community—everything booms. Soon a lull comes in the market. The men with families dependent on them are laid off; there is no strike, no trouble, the men are simply laid off, and of course destitution and suffering soon follow. Every large city has such examples, every charity confronts such conditions. Now, it may be difficult to suggest a remedy, but if a commission is appointed to deal with industrial relations this phase of the labor problem should receive attention. It should be no light matter to lay off a laboring man with a family to support. Business should not be done in that spasmodic way which will make a lay-off necessary. It may not be possible to legislate on such a condition of affairs, but as long as it exists we shall have trouble in the labor world, and poverty and suffering will fall to the lot of the laboring man.

A. G. JENNINGS.

[Manager of the Old Adams St. City Mission,
Toledo, O.]

THE "EUGENICALLY ELIGIBLE"

TO THE EDITOR:

In answer to your kind enquiry as to what I intended to do with my legacy of one million dollars in case the same came to me safely, which at the time of writing looks doubtful, I beg to state that I have made the following arrangement. I have chosen fifteen of the colleges and institutions of higher learning in this country and made the following agreement with them. I have promised to help their graduates, whom I consider a picked body of men and women, in the rearing of their families, which I consider are likely to be a still more picked body of men and women. Only the graduates of the last ten years and of the coming twelve years are included in the arrangement. All

¹See THE SURVEY, February 17, page 1775.

homes in which one or more of the parents is a graduate of one of these colleges on application to me will receive the sum of \$500 on the birth of their third child, and \$750 on the birth of their fourth. These children will also be eligible for a similar amount upon entrance into one of these same colleges. The entire residue of my legacy, if any, will be given to found and endow the National Society for Inducing the Right Man to Marry the Right Girl. \$20,000 is specially to be used for advertising the significance of the "Eugenically Eligible" label which I have designed to be worn by certified marriageable men and women.

Frankly, the chance of my getting the legacy is as mythical as your request for me to tell what I would do with it, but I and my wife both are such graduates and we have three children. If you hear of anything to our advantage, my name and address is

REV. BROMIDE SMITH, R. F. D.

Utopia Springs, U. S.

P. S. I put that in about the national society to show my motives are not wholly selfish.
B. S.

MORE PUBLICITY QUICKER

TO THE EDITOR:

In the comment on State Intervention in Strikes contributed by me to a recent issue of THE SURVEY,¹ I stated that "two months and a half after the beginning of the laundry strike in New York, the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration publishes its summary of conditions disclosed." In the succeeding paragraph, I refer to "the categorical findings in favor of the laundry workers" and the flaunting of those findings by the Laundrymen's Association. I am told that my first statement is untrue and misleading. It is untrue, though unintentionally so, and may have been misleading to those (who may have been many, alas!) who read no further. The sentence should have read that the "analysis of testimony," instead of "summary of conditions," was published a month and a half after the event. The summary of conditions, or my "categorical findings," was published by the board on January 27, three days after the closing of testimony, and none will say there was too much deliberation about that.

It is not these brief findings of the board which are open to criticism, but the delay in its analysis of the testimony. The testimony of these girls and of their employers was the damning evidence which a public momentarily aroused ought to have had at once. As it is put in this analysis, now at last published, and, so far as I have been able to determine by inquiry, fallen as flat as I predicted, "a desire has been expressed that the facts as to working conditions in the industry brought to light by the investigation might be made available for the general public. Such publicity would seem to be in keeping with the spirit, if not the letter, of the law providing for such public investigations."

¹See THE SURVEY, March 16, p. 1936.

Even though legislation may have been introduced to cure some of the evils disclosed in the New York laundries, I believe my point is well taken that the *whole course* of this particular investigation shows the glaring need for public intervention different in kind from that now obtaining. These industrial disputes need airing. To quote again from my favorite author: "Publicity is the one preventive and cure which the state can administer. Let the public know the facts through an impartial, a speedy, and an efficient investigation, and one-half these strikes and lockouts would be avoided altogether or settled with small loss to either side."

PAUL KENNADAY.

New York.

DOES YOUR STATE DO THIS?

TO THE EDITOR:

I am seeking information which I believe can be most readily acquired by consulting you and your readers.

A boy or a girl runs away from home. The city attracts such a wanderer. The child has to sleep somewhere. All great cities have a variety of lodging houses of various classes, ranging from the "free" philanthropic homes and "ten cents a night" places to the smaller rooming houses. So long as the child has money the opportunity is afforded to hide away from seeking relatives. Whatever the environment of the lodging house, whether pernicious or nominally wholesome, the fact remains that the boy or girl is harbored and assisted in remaining without parental or guardian control.

In Massachusetts we have framed a measure¹ to require the proprietor of a lodging house to report immediately to a probation officer the application of a child under seventeen years of age, so that the officer can investigate the case and provide for the child's return home or otherwise give it suitable care. As the measure will probably not go before the legislature for another year, we wish to

¹The text of this law follows:

An Act to require lodging-house keepers to report applications for lodgings by children under seventeen years of age.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in general court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

SECTION 1. Whoever, being proprietor or manager of a lodging or rooming house, himself, or by his servant or agent, accepts the application for lodging of a child under seventeen years of age, without giving notice forthwith to the captain of police or other official in charge of the station located in the district in which such lodging or rooming house is located, shall be subject to a fine of not more than \$100.

SECTION 2. The police officer in charge of the station, upon receiving notice of such application having been made, as is defined in section one, shall forthwith notify the probation officer of the court having jurisdiction in juvenile cases in the district in which such lodging house is located.

SECTION 3. The probation officer receiving notice in accordance with the provisions of section two shall forthwith make an investigation and shall take such immediate action in the case as he may deem necessary pending action by the said court.

know if any other state has any legislation upon this matter, and also what the opinions of your readers are upon the subject.

I should like especially to hear from those of our own state, who may have knowledge of children who have found shelter in lodging houses, as to the effects upon the child. What instances are there where the application of the proposed statute might prevent the prolonged absence from home?

CHARLES F. BARTER.

Melrose, Mass.

JOTTINGS

THE NEW STUDIO CLUBHOUSE



NEW YORK'S NEW
STUDIO CLUB.

In THE SURVEY of March 4, 1911, was published an account of the interesting work done by the Studio Club of New York to reach the thousands of young women and girls who each year come to New York to take up study along art lines. Now, five years after its organization, the Studio Club is moving into its new headquarters at 35 East 62d street, where it will occupy a club-house accommodating about seventy resident members. Here, with greater space, a large assembly room, and comfortable reading rooms,

it is hoped that the club will extend its outside membership to the thousand mark. The club brings its members into touch with people experienced not only in artistic work but in literary, educational, and social fields. At the regular Sunday afternoon meetings addresses have been given by Henry Van Dyck, Dr. Luther H. Gulick, Maude Miner, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Hamilton Wright Mabie, and others. The Studio Club is a branch of the Young Women's Christian Association and a new development of the association's work for students. The general secretary and headworker is A. Evelyn Newman and the board of directors includes Mrs. Stephen Baker, Dorothy Perkins, May H. Terry, Mrs. Schuyler Schieffelin, and Elizabeth W. Dodge.

SOCIALIST DEFEAT IN MILWAUKEE

After the hardest fought and bitterest municipal campaign in Milwaukee's history,

the Socialists on April 2 went down to defeat in their effort to re-elect for another two years the pattern-maker mayor, Emil Seidel, and his associates who for the last two years have controlled the administrative offices and city council. The vote proved to be the largest ever polled in Milwaukee. The returns show 43,064 for the opposition candidate, Dr. Gerhard A. Bading, nominated and supported by the combined Democratic and Republican party organizations, with allies from business and civic bodies, as against 30,200 for Seidel.

The anti-Socialist newspapers, campaign managers, and successful candidates hail the result as the "redemption" of the city. The Socialists point out, however, that their ticket received more votes than it did when Seidel was elected in 1910 by a vote of 27,608, many of them votes of protest. This is in line with the trend of the last sixteen years, each mayoralty election showing a larger Socialist vote than the preceding one.

The result of the election is none the less proclaimed by the anti-Socialist press as Milwaukee's announcement to the country that she has repudiated Socialism. A group of civic reformers hail it on the other hand as a sign of the permanent elimination of national party lines from local municipal politics. They hope that it means no recurrence of the notorious corruption and inefficiency which characterized administrations given by the machine elements of the old parties. The Socialists for their part, scout the "non-partisanship" which they declare has developed through no desire for civic reform, but for the sole purpose of downing the Socialist Party.

With a city council consisting of twenty-six non-Socialists and eleven Socialists, the new administration will have a practically unhampered opportunity, and an undivided responsibility, in carrying out the promises of an efficient administration which it offered to the voters.

CONFERENCE ON MUNICIPAL NEEDS

To discuss plans recently formulated for drafting and executing, by means of a Municipal Needs Committee, a programme calculated to bring about better team work between existing social agencies and focus attention upon important matters which are now almost entirely neglected, an informal conference has been called for the evening of April 17 at the Meeting House of the Society for Ethical Culture, 2 West 64th Street, New York. It has been felt by some that there is lacking a conscious and comprehensive goal toward which the social movements of the city may work. The discussion of the project outlined recently in *THE SURVEY*,¹ which aims to remedy this deficiency, will be opened by John Collier of the People's Institute; Raymond V. Ingersoll, chairman of the Committee on the Congestion of Population; John A. Kingsbury,

general agent of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor; and Marcus M. Marks of the New York Merchants' Association, and one or two others. Further information can be had from Seba Eldridge, Room 52, 27 East 22nd Street, New York.

THE COAL STRIKE IN FRANCE

The very considerable coal strikes in France, have, like those in England, been met by conciliatory legislation. Hours was one of the questions at issue, and the day after the British Coal Bill passed, press despatches report the passing of a bill setting an eight-hour day for miners by the French Chamber of Deputies.

C. O. S. CONFERENCE

The fourth in a series of monthly conferences running from January to April under the auspices of the Charity Organization Society of New York will be held April 16, at eleven a. m., in the Assembly Hall of the United Charities Building, 105 East 22nd street. The general topic at these conferences is *The Evils of Pauperism: the Possibilities of Religious and Charitable Organizations to Overcome Them*. At the coming meeting J. M. Price will discuss *The New York City Street Cleaning Department*; Mrs. Flora Spiegelberg will talk on *The Effect of the Sanitary and Dustless Disposal of Refuse*, and Charles B. Stover, Commissioner of Parks, will speak on *Park Maintenance*.

CHILD WORKING CONFERENCE

Three phases of child life will be discussed at the annual meeting of the Lehigh Valley Child Working Conference to be held at Mauch Chunk, Pa., May 11. At the morning session Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, superintendent of the Girl's Department of the Glen Mills schools, will speak on the *Girls of the Rural Communities*, and Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, will talk about *The Child Who Works*, with special attention to the problem of the child laborer in the Lehigh Valley. In the afternoon Prof. Edward A. Steiner of Iowa College will discuss *The Education and Americanization of the Child of the Foreigner*.

INSURANCE AND RELIEF BY WORK

In a Consular Daily Report of March 8 is brought together in compact form, under the heading *Indigent Unemployed in Switzerland*, the systems of insurance and relief by work in operation at Zurich, Berne, Basel, Geneva, and St. Gall.

NEW YORK A MODEL

The Penal Reform League of London makes a recent monthly record a summary of the annual report of the New York State Probation Commission, to show "the usefulness of a permanent probation commission, and the progress being made in New York under its stimulus and supervision."

¹*THE SURVEY*, February 17, 1912, p. 1762.

Classified Advertisements

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PUBLICATIONS

"The Moral Education of School Children", by Chas. K. Taylor, M.A., Ass't in Psychology, University of Penna. Preface by Arthur Holmes, Ph.D. Ass't Prof. of Psych., Univ. of Pa. Pp. 75, 10 illust. Contains a discussion of the subject, and an outline course in Political, Industrial, and 'every-day' Morals. System already in use in public schools. Price 75c post paid. C. K. & H. B. Taylor, W. Mermaid Lane, Chestnut Hill, Phila., Pa.

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SOCIAL WORK AND VACATION TIME

VOLUME XXVIII, No. 9

WEEK OF JUNE 1, 1912

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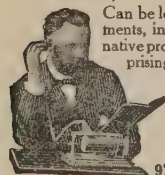


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HOMER FOLKS
The State and Social Welfare
(Kennedy Lectures)
Harvard, B.A. 1890; LL.D., Ohio Wesleyan University and Albion College, 1911; Secretary, New York State Charities Aid Association 1893-1902 and since 1904; Commissioner Public Charities, New York City, 1902-3; President New York State Probation Commission.



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Labor Legislation
Pennsylvania Ph.B. 1889, LL.D. 1909; Halle Ph.D. 1892; Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1902-4; Secretary, National Child Labor Committee, 1904-7; Director New York School of Philanthropy, 1907-12; Professor Social Legislation, Columbia University.

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The Scientific Basis of Social Work
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Family Rehabilitation
Cornell University, B. A. 1903; Assistant Secretary of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, 1903-9; General Secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, 1909-12.

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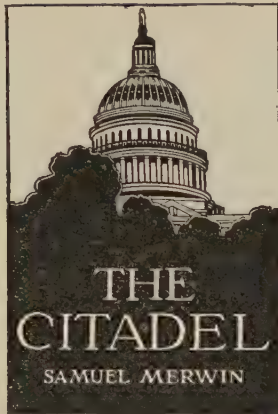
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SOCIAL FORCES

BY THE EDITOR

ANARCHY: FROM BELOW AND FROM ABOVE

In New England and in California there are disturbing indications of a disposition to appeal from the ordinary established institutions of society to a trial of force. Lawrence and San Diego are storm centers, but mutterings are to be heard also from other quarters of the horizon. Workmen are being told that the old-fashioned strike is futile. A new and better plan has been devised. They are to strike and at the same time remain at work. They are to draw pay from their masters, whom they are to hate with all the greater intensity, even as they practice the sabotage which means destruction of property and the endangering of life and limb. Let us make no mistake about the meaning of the doctrine of the class conscious conflict as preached by those who advocate "direct action." It means literal anarchy, organized lawlessness, the overthrow by force not only of the existing government, but of the existing morality and social order. To deny this would be easily exposed hypocrisy. Those who believe in orderly community life, in the usefulness of private property, in respect for the person and established rights of others, in enforcing the obligations of contracts, in morality as against unmorality, have absolutely no choice but to expose and oppose these teachings with all their strength.

There is one way, however, of attempting to stamp out these doctrines which can have no other effect than to encourage and promote them. The blood of martyrs has ever been the seed of the cause for which it is shed. Professor Simkhovitch, who is perhaps better acquainted than any other university teacher in America with the literature of socialism and anarchism, writes us as follows:

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There are those who would thereupon cry out that we must not allow such pamphlets to be printed, as the famous drunkard, on learning that a predecessor had lost his life from trying to blow out a candle when drunk, swore that he would never blow out a candle again. The remedy lies further back.

If, in Lawrence, men guilty of organizing a strike, but innocent of murder, are hanged or imprisoned for murder, no subsequent attempt to prevent the circulation of information about the event will avail to undo the mischief. If, in San Diego, men who promulgate obnoxious doctrines by peaceful means are clubbed, tortured, and shamefully maltreated by lynching vigilantes with im-

punity, not all the public schools of a generation can do enough in teaching the children to be law-abiding and considerate of the rights of others to counteract the consequences. Anarchy from below is detestable and dangerous. Anarchy from above is even more dangerous and detestable. There is no cure for the lawlessness of the street and the shop which does not rest upon a respect of law and a full guarantee of legal and constitutional rights.

We cannot believe that there will be a substantial failure of justice in Lawrence, but certainly there have been many incidents in the preliminary stage of trials not yet completed and in minor cases already decided which do not inspire confidence; and there are sinister rumors and symptoms of a public sentiment more bent upon "stern warnings" than upon doing even-handed justice. We cannot believe that the state of California and the federal courts in that state will fail to give protection and a redress of wrongs to those who have been criminally assaulted. Thus far, however, we have heard more in the way of justifying "extreme measures" than of an intention to deal impartially with anarchy whatever its origin.

Unless we are all unconscious converts to Nietzsche's doctrine of the "will to power"; unless we have outgrown our Christian morality of forbearance, and our American political traditions and social instincts, we shall set our faces against the doctrine of force, whether it take the form of "direct action" in the shop, or that of lawless suppression of free speech and movement. To compromise with either means disaster. Fortunately Socialists in their national convention have made clear their uncompromising hostility to both kinds of anarchy. No harm would come from equally clear cut declarations in the platforms of other political parties. The issues, however, are not to be settled mainly by the formulation of platforms, but rather by frank and fair-minded discussion, by sound elementary education, by steady and unsensational enforcement of law, and above all by the correction of recognized evils, not primarily for the sake of preventing the growth of anarchy, however desirable that may be, but fundamentally because the evils should be corrected.

No half way measures will suffice. Nothing less than the abolition of poverty, in the sense of deprivation of the necessities of a normal human life, will really satisfy the awakened twentieth century conscience. Even that is, of course, not the whole of a social program, but it is a good beginning.

The abolition of slavery advocated by Franklin and many of his distinguished contemporaries came after a hundred years as an incident of a costly and ghastly civil war. It might have come peacefully and constitutionally long before if men had been willing to pay the price. The abolition of poverty can be accomplished more easily, with less expense and with no great delay. The means are known; the only doubt is as to whether again men are willing to pay the price. Infectious disease, overwork, congestion, alcoholism, mental degeneracy, an inadequate educational system, and an obsolete penal system are the seven wonders of the modern world. They are all removable and with them will go that squalor and misery on which social discontent thrives. Brains and money and good will judiciously mixed are the prerequisites.

THE COMMON WELFARE

8-HOURS FOR WOMEN OUT IN WASHINGTON

To the Supreme Court of the state of Washington belongs a new distinction. It is the first American court of last resort to uphold the validity of an eight-hour law for women. This it did in a decision rendered a few weeks ago. The decision is of far-reaching importance for two reasons: It upholds the most advanced labor legislation for women yet brought before any American superior court; and it reiterates in defense of an eight-hour law the now classic utterance of the United States Supreme Court, sustaining a narrower labor statute.

"We take judicial cognizance," wrote Justice Brewer in 1908, "of all matters of general knowledge," thus in a sentence sweeping away the legal subtleties which had so long befogged the simple human facts as to health and welfare which justify these labor statutes. The Supreme Court of the state of Washington now amplifies Justice Brewer's words, and again lays stress upon the new defense of labor laws, introduced by Louis D. Brandeis. It says:

Courts in passing upon the reasonableness or unreasonableness of a statute, and deciding whether the legislature has exceeded its powers to such an extent as to render the act invalid, must look at the terms of the act itself, and bring to their assistance such scientific, economic, physical, and other pertinent facts as are common knowledge and of which they can take judicial notice.

And again:

Circumstances and occasions calling for its [the police power's] exercise have multiplied with marvelous rapidity in recent years, by reason of the well recognized fact that modern social and economic conditions have called into existence agencies previously unknown; many of which so vitally affect the health and physical condition of laborers, and especially female

laborers, that legislation of the character here involved has been sustained with greater liberality than was formerly evinced under less exacting conditions.

Of the powers and responsibilities of the legislatures in framing labor laws, this admirable decision says in unmistakable language:

We have before us, then, the question whether in this particular act the legislature has so far exceeded the necessary and reasonable exercise of the police power, in fixing the maximum daily labor at eight hours, as to render the act invalid. Any legislative enactment must be regarded as valid unless it unquestionably and palpably violates some right secured by fundamental law. All doubts as to its validity must be resolved in favor of the statute. Courts are not concerned with questions of propriety, advisability or wisdom of any statute. Those questions are for the exclusive consideration of the legislature. Legislative functions are not to be usurped by the courts. After we have given the statute a careful consideration in all of its bearings, if we are not clearly convinced that it is unconstitutional, we should resolve all doubts in its favor and sustain it.

While there are other distinctions, we think the only material difference between the statute sustained in *Muller vs. Oregon*, supra, and the one now under consideration, is that in the former the maximum limit was ten hours, while in the latter it is eight hours. Yet we cannot say that the limitation of eight hours is so unreasonable or arbitrary as to invalidate the statute. The question of the limitation to be fixed was one resting within the discretion of the legislature. It is common knowledge that a large portion of the working time for labor in this country is by private contract fixed at eight hours per day. It must be presumed that, after careful consideration and inquiry, the legislature concluded that a maximum of eight hours was a reasonable and proper limitation to place upon the world of female laborers in the factories and employments mentioned in the statute, and we are unable to conclude that the limitation thus fixed is unreasonable and arbitrary. Resolving as we must all doubts in favor of the act, we conclude it must be sustained.

"WITH BRUSHES OF COMET'S HAIR"

Artists are waking to the part civic art in its widest sense can play in America. At the third annual convention of the American Federation of Arts held at Washington in May, one session was devoted to the discussion of town planning, civic art, and the housing problem. The addresses on these subjects which were given by Cass Gilbert, past president of the American Institute of Architects; Richard B. Watrous, secretary of the American Civic Association, and Edward T. Hartman, secretary of the Massachusetts Civic League, recognized that art may be as well and as effectively developed on a "ten league canvas" as on one of ten square feet. These speakers even asserted that the larger canvas ought to be of the greater interest because it is constructive and big with human possibility.

We have largely confined housing reforms, declared Mr. Hartman, to efforts toward improving certain centers of fully and badly developed cities while embryo cities are everywhere starting without staff or compass and the fringe of every city is allowed to grow "like the bushman's beard." He went on:

An ideal development of a home district would provide houses of attractive design, large and small, according to the needs and means of the occupants, with open spaces about them, with vegetation, and all laid out with proper orientation in a street system combining both the practical and the aesthetic. Such development should characterize all districts, old and new alike. This is the positive side of the canvas. Every element in it adds to its constructive human values. Such a development will have good human and good aesthetic values. . . . If we should work for art, we should work for it in and around our every day lives. Success of the kind we have had in America has too much reserved art for special niches.

At the opening sessions special committee reports were given on art in the public schools, government art, and civic theaters. These were followed the next day by an address on civic institutions for the people of our large cities by Franklin W. Hooper, director of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. Leila Mechlin, the assistant secretary, re-

ported that as part of the educational work of the federation, exhibitions of oil paintings, water colors, arts and crafts objects, and engravings had been sent to forty-three different cities. Another feature of this propaganda was the preparation of five illustrated lectures which were sent to cities and towns remote from art centers.

The Titanic catastrophe cast a shadow over the meetings, for Francis Davis Millet, late secretary of the federation, went down with the White Star liner. A memorial meeting was held in commemoration of his life and work at which tributes were paid by Senator Elihu Root, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Charles Francis Adams, Cass Gilbert, and Charles D. Walcott.

SANITARY SURVEYS OF 1885 AND 1910

In describing before the New York Academy of Political Science the sanitary survey carried out in Springfield, Ill., in 1910, Dr. George T. Palmer, health commissioner, told how in the vaults of the city hall they only recently unearthed several massive volumes, the results of an earlier sanitary survey made in 1885 on a plan suggested by Dr. John H. Rauch, then secretary for the Illinois State Board of Health. The city council had appropriated \$1,000 for the purpose and this work was carried out with most minute detail. The net result of this painstaking application of a survey plan consisted of those big clumsy volumes, dusty, moth-eaten and stowed away in a vault. "In fact," said Dr. Palmer, "when our work was done in 1910, no one recalled that a sanitary survey of the city had ever been carried out."

In the discussion, one main difference between the two investigations developed. In the recent survey Dr. Palmer and his associates brought home their findings to the people of Springfield in a way that left no doubt as to their significance. Instead of hiding their light under a bushel they put it on a big map and in the newspapers where everyone could see what was menacing life and health in the city. Quoting Dr. Palmer:

We simply started out in Springfield to ascer-

tain certain definite facts and without the slightest idea how far or where our studies would carry us. We knew that the city had a higher typhoid fever mortality than other cities of like size and similarly situated. We knew that we had houses and tenements which served as centers of infection of tuberculosis and other diseases. We realized that our infant mortality was too high. We started out simply with the purpose of ascertaining the causes of our undue morbidity and mortality that we might be enabled to take intelligent steps to decrease sickness and lower our death rate.

The steps that followed—the investigation of shallow surface wells and springs, privy vaults, unsanitary vacant lots, and bad housing—were described a year ago in these columns.¹ But the survey was not completed at that time; and, says Dr. Palmer:

It is not now complete, nor will it be for several years to come. Each undertaking when completed, has pointed out something else that required attention and we found an aroused public interest urging us on.

The investigation of dairies led to a study of restaurants and bakeries, and at present the health department is engaged in an investigation of what the health officer is "inclined to regard as the liveliest public health problem of American municipalities"; namely, garbage collection and disposal. In other words he expects to continue applying "survey" methods to the regular administration of Springfield's public health work.

Believing that "the only way you can safely use a town as clinical material is to cure its sores," Dr. Palmer summarizes a few results to date, which he believes have justified their efforts:

For twelve years the average mortality from typhoid fever in Springfield has been something over forty per 100,000 population. In 1910, the year our investigation was undertaken, it was fifty-two. In 1911, the year after our agitation of polluted wells and the passage of sanitary ordinances, our typhoid mortality was in the twenties. The record of one year is not conclusive. Such a result immediately following sanitary agitation, however, is suggestive and encouraging.

In 1909, sixty-eight infants died from summer diarrhoea; in 1910, even after we had a good commercial milk supply, there were sixty-four deaths. In 1911 after our dairy inspections there were forty-one deaths. This may be coincidence, but it is suggestive. We

accentuated the civic needs of the city in every possible way, and we feel that we perhaps stimulated others to activity in their individual lines.

At any rate, whether our sanitary investigations had anything to do with it or not, a great many things have come about during the past two years. A detention home has removed children from the jail and has simplified the work of an excellent trained probation officer. A tuberculosis association of 1,000 members operates a dispensary and employs visiting nurses. Medical inspection of school children is established. The almshouse of Sangamon county is being thoroughly studied from a medical and sociological standpoint and provision is being made for county care of indigent consumptives. The dispensation of county charity has been placed in better hands. But, most important, the people are awakened to a necessity of a thorough knowledge of local conditions and a broad and sweeping survey of the city—a real survey this time—is being considered and is practically assured.

A CARPENTERS' UNION IN A CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

No strikes have occurred in Dallas since the business men gave earnest of their genuine belief that the proper function of the Chamber of Commerce is to promote better relations between employer and employe. The announcement of this policy followed by definite measures "to correct living and working conditions for the man who toils with his hands" has caused the carpenters' union to apply for membership in the Dallas Chamber of Commerce. Alexander Sanger, its president, is sure that many more of the labor organizations of the city will follow this most unusual example. According to an officer, who has appeared before a number of labor organizations to bear in person the invitation of President Sanger to "join together under one banner whose only motto shall be 'do it for Dallas,'" a true spirit of co-operation was shown in every instance.

Success in settling difficulties which arose between the paper-hangers' and painters' union and the contracting paint and paper houses three years ago led to the ambitious plan of the Chamber of Commerce to make itself, through the power of earned public respect, the court of last resort on questions of business policy affecting the life and welfare of the city. One step which has tended to

¹See THE SURVEY, March 18, 1911, p. 1009

convince employes that the business men of the city wish to make living and working conditions more desirable, more pleasant, and more healthful, has been the formulation of a city plan. Dallas has undertaken to command the allegiance of all classes in its population by specializing in this plan upon three departments: city and district housing, public hygiene and sanitation, and parks, playgrounds, and social centers.

The belief that a city cannot prosper "unless housing conditions are satisfactory and unless the question of public health and sanitation is given proper attention" is spreading in Dallas. The secretary of the Chamber of Commerce epitomizes the new industrial gospel in Dallas when he says "laboring men are entitled to many things in the way of surroundings for health and environment for pleasure which they do not now get and which it is the absolute duty of the employing class to provide for them."

FIRE AND OTHER FACTORY HAZARDS

Fire prevention, industrial education, and workmen's compensation appeared again this year on the program of the annual meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers. The committee on industrial education reported progress along the lines laid down at the last annual meeting of the association. The committee, under the chairmanship of R. E. Miles of Wisconsin, has been collecting information during the year in regard to systems of industrial education in practice throughout the country and has been active in its support of the Page bill before congress.

The speaker on fire prevention was Franklin H. Wentworth, secretary of a mutual association, the National Fire Protection Association, which has been singularly successful in preventive work. He quoted the well-known figures, which cannot, however, be too often quoted, on American as compared with European fire losses. Thirty-three cents per person per year is the European average; three dollars per person per year is the American. Almost \$250,000,000 a year over a period of ten years; \$1,000,-

000 a day for the first two months of 1912 are some of the cold figures that make Europeans speculate as to whether we are a nation of incendiaries or a nation of children playing with matches.

The great question is in Mr. Wentworth's opinion how to make the inevitable fires less dangerous, how to make it possible in big cities to have the fire a unit fire, extinguished within tall buildings by a self-sufficient inside apparatus installed in the building itself. As the first and longest step toward abolishing the conflagration hazard in great cities, Mr. Wentworth held that all window and door frames should be fireproof; window openings protected by shutters, if possible—by wired glass, in any case. He believed that this precaution and the prohibition of shingle roofs—the cause of the Chelsea fire—would almost obliterate the conflagration hazard.

He reported that, in great part owing to the educational work of the National Fire Protection Association, twenty states have this year proclaimed fire prevention days.

The most interesting contribution on workmen's compensation, after the committee's report of progress, was an address by Frank A. Law of the Fidelity and Casualty Company. "Does the progress made so far enable us to determine the ideal toward which we should work?" he asked, and answered "I think it does." Continuing he said:

Workmen's compensation should be compulsory; that is, it should go into operation irrespective of the consent of employers and employes. It should be exclusive; that is, it should be the only remedy that the injured employe or, in case of his death, his dependents, should have against the employer. The remedies based on the employers' common-law or statutory liability for fault should be wiped out even where the employer is negligent. Workmen's compensation should apply to all employments, farm laborers, domestic servants, workmen in so-called non-hazardous occupations, and workmen in shops employing less than a stated number of men should not be excluded. If it is our purpose really to take care of injured workmen, or in case of death their dependents, we should not defeat our purpose in part merely because in some occupations injuries are less frequent than in others. Besides, if we create a condition where some classes in the community are

subjected to a burden and others are not, those who are not burdened will take a less vital interest in the burdens imposed on the others. Once the workmen's compensation system is firmly established, there will arise a movement to increase the benefits paid. There is less chance of a proper handling of the matter if the burdens all fall on the manufacturers and none on the farmers. The exclusion of the acts is probably due more to measures of political expediency than to any conception of justice or right.

OPTIONAL AND COMPULSORY LAWS

Pending the deciding of the constitutional question raised by the New York courts in such a way as to make compulsory law possible in all states, Mr. Law recommended the passing of optional laws. He analyzed what he regarded as the strong points and the defects in actual working of the various forms of optional law so far passed. He said:

An optional law, to be successful, defining success as the acceptance of the workmen's compensation system by practically all employers and employes, must possess certain characteristics. An optional law will not be successful unless, first, it is made more easy for employer and employe to come under the workmen's compensation system than it is to stay under the employers' liability system, and second the cost of paying compensation benefits is made less than the cost of the employers' liability settlements. Of all the optional acts that have been enacted in the several states, that of New Jersey has been the most successful. It has been successful because it possessed the two essential characteristics just described. The optional acts of Wisconsin, California, and Kansas have been failures relatively because it was necessary for employers to take affirmative action to bring themselves under the workmen's compensation provisions of the act by filing notice of the acceptance of such provisions with certain state authorities. Human nature as at present constituted is characterized by a good deal of inertia and people will not take the trouble oftentimes to do even the things that are advantageous to them.

The legislators in New Jersey, wise in their generation and recognizing human inertia, turned the procedure about and made their law a success by providing that the employer and employes should be presumed to have elected to come under the workmen's compensation provisions of the law if they did not give notice each to the other that they did not accept it. Another element in the failure relatively of the California and Wisconsin acts has been that the workmen's compensation benefits were made so large as to make them cost materially more than the employer's liability settlements. Here again the legislators

in New Jersey were wise and pitched the workmen's compensation benefits in their law at a moderate figure so that they would cost less than the employers' liability settlements,—I refer to the aggregate, of course, and not to the individual cases. As a result of these two features of the law, fully 80 to 90 per cent of all employers in New Jersey have come under the workmen's compensation section of the law. No other state has attained the success of New Jersey. Illinois may, however, as its law also provides that employers shall be presumed to have elected to accept the workmen's compensation provisions of the law in the absence of notice in writing filed with the state. Here positive affirmative action is required by the employer to get out from under the workmen's compensation provisions of the act. The average employer will be inert and will stay where he is put by the law. But under the Illinois act, no employe is bound by the workmen's compensation provisions of the act unless his employer furnishes him with or posts a legible statement of the compensation provisions of the act, and there is consequently a chance for a failure of the act to be effective in many cases. This is an unwise requirement, it seems to me, and points to the legislators losing sight of what after all was their main object, namely, the establishment of the workmen's compensation system in place of the employers' liability system. Both the New York and the old Massachusetts optional laws have failed, the first, because of the cumbersome provisions for registering consents to accept the act, and the second, principally I imagine because it devolved upon employers the necessity of working out the scheme of benefits. I greatly fear that the new Maryland, Massachusetts, and Michigan optional laws will not accomplish all that is hoped for through them, in the case of the last two because of the affirmative action required of employers to come under the workmen's compensation provisions. It is hardly safe to predict the outcome in Massachusetts, however, seeing that the plan presents novel features not possessed by any other act. In addition to the two above described characteristics of a successful workmen's compensation act, it is advantageous also to provide an incentive to employer and employe to accept the workmen's compensation system, thus as in the New Jersey Act the employer in case he refuses to come under the workmen's compensation system may be deprived wholly of his fellow-servant, assumption-of-risk, and contributory-negligence defenses; and the employe in case he refuses to come under the workmen's compensation system may be relegated to the common law without modifications in his actions for damages against his employer.

Mr. Law outlined in some detail the problems to be met in any act, laid down certain essentials for success, and dis-

cussed the relative merits of compensation and state or national insurance schemes and the attitude of the accident liability companies toward compensation legislation.

THE ONLY WAY TO RAISE THE MINETTAS: RAZE THEM

Greenwich House has recently become interested in a campaign to clean up Minetta street and Minetta lane, two narrow, crooked streets, each about a block long running between Macdougall, Carmine and Bleeker streets on the lower West Side of Manhattan. They have long been known for their disreputable resorts and, although they have improved within the last few years, are characterized by Inspector Daly as second to only one other district of the size in New York.

Greenwich House first took up the question of improving these streets with the various city departments in January. Several of the houses were vacated by the department of health and several owners whose houses were being used for purposes of prostitution were notified by the tenement house department and the tenants evicted. At about the same time an Italian woman, commonly known as Maggie, who owns a grocery store in Minetta lane and controls a large number of prostitutes in the street, was arrested, and has since been sentenced to three months in the penitentiary.

In spite of the co-operation of all the departments, however, it was evident that any such efforts could bring about only a temporary improvement. The houses are for the most part former dwellings, small, and so old that it is practically impossible to keep them in repair. They have for years been inhabited by Negroes and Italians of the lowest grade and it would be difficult to persuade a better class of people to move into them. Even if the living conditions in the two streets could be greatly improved it is doubtful whether the character of the residents would change, for the place has had a bad reputation for so many years that decent people avoid it. It seemed better, therefore, to Green-

wich House to concentrate attention on an effort to get rid of these streets entirely and put a park in their place.

A meeting to discuss the subject was held at Greenwich House early this spring and a report was made of conditions in the two streets. Inspector Daly and Officer Kellor of the police department reported that while there are undoubtedly many decent people living in both street and lane there were eleven houses in which either prostitutes or cadets live and there were thirty-seven immoral women in the two streets, sixty arrests of prostitutes having been made there since last June. School men, priests and probation officers, in the course of the evening's discussions agreed that the streets should be cleared away and made into a park or if this were impossible that they should be widened so as to permit the building of entirely new tenements. Representatives from the bureau of design and survey have made a diagram showing the proposed park, and Greenwich House hopes to succeed in having this plan accepted by the city within the next year.

THE FLOOD AND ITS AFTERMATH

After the army distribution of rations ends and before the victims of the Mississippi flood have had time to produce any kind of growing crop there will come an interval which all are anticipating with dread. In that interval the substantial planter with good credit will go in debt for food for his family, his labor and his animals. But what will the small farmer do whose assets are so reduced by his flood losses that his credit is gone? Some small farmers own their land, more are tenants. In the great refugee camps at Baton Rouge and Port Hudson and Harrisonburg about one-fifth of the population are small farmers. If this proportion holds good throughout the flooded district it means that approximately 50,000 persons whose homes have been submerged belong to the class which has slight credit even in normal times. Some of this class can weather the pe-

riod between army rations and crops but a large proportion cannot do so without help from the outside. First after the water goes comes the expense, heavy in most instances, of gathering the horses and cattle and hogs from the hills to which they were hurriedly removed and turning them to the farms with the roads and bridges destroyed and the lowlands a sea of mud. This is a serious problem as the distance to be traveled will be from twenty-five to forty miles. A great many thousand farm animals have been drowned and can only be replaced at large cost. When the farmer reaches his home he finds the house in bad condition, outbuildings carried away, fences destroyed, not a pound of food or a bushel of grain for his livestock remains. The grass is all gone from his fields and even the leaves on the bushes and trees are killed to a height beyond the reach of the animals. The farmer has no cotton seed or corn or peas for planting. He is in truth almost as helpless as when in the refugee camps and is cut off from the support which he received in camp. His family is subject to the scourge of malaria and typhoid which usually follow in the wake of a flood.

These are some of the reasons for the widespread sense of dread encountered wherever one goes in the flood districts. The army has performed its tremendous emergency work with admirable promptness and on a scale of astonishing magnitude, but the army's work must end with the passing of the emergency which required the saving of lives and provision for the temporary maintenance and shelter of the people. Upon local authorities and committees and the Red Cross the rehabilitation part of the great task must fall. For its proper performance this task will require many thousands of dollars and such intelligent and impartial distribution as will insure a fair show for the remote and the less accessible districts as well as for the larger and more conspicuous communities. In fact the more remote regions are the more helpless and needy. The army will soon have completed its part. Now the public must assume the burden.

EDITORIAL GRIST

THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS

A. J. McKELWAY

Commissioner Kate Barnard of Oklahoma, on a visit to Nashville, suggested the sociological congress to Governor Ben W. Hooper. Governor Hooper, once an orphan boy, and now interested in all social reforms—he used his influence for the advanced Tennessee child labor law and is deeply concerned over prison problems—instantly favored the suggestion. Having sought the aid of J. E. McCulloch, who acted as executive secretary, he called the congress to meet in Nashville, May 7 to 10. Two directors were appointed from each state and the District of Columbia, a program was arranged, on which appeared the names of a large number of southern students of social problems, and the meeting attracted many national leaders in the field of social work. The first question before the organizers of the conference was whether the Southern Sociological Congress should be made a permanent organization. It was felt at the initial meeting of the board of directors that the congress had no justification for existence on any theory that there are social problems peculiar to the southern states. It was agreed that the Negro problem, down for a full share of discussion, was most acute in the southern states, but was itself only one phase of the same racial problem which confronts the people of the Pacific Coast. So far as this is part of the city problem the people of New York and Philadelphia share it with the people of Savannah and New Orleans. It was agreed that problems of child welfare, of the care of dependent, delinquent, afflicted, and working children, with questions of infant mortality, child hygiene and recreation, were by no means peculiarly southern problems. Nor could the case be made out for any other of the topics discussed.

One of the opening addresses was on Southern Problems That Challenge Our Thought, but the speaker, G. W. Dyer,

professor of sociology at Vanderbilt University, confined himself largely to the problems of the city which have become acute in the South through the rapid change in recent years from rural to urban community life.

On the other hand, it was felt that the conference would be of unquestioned value in mobilizing southern resources and southern interest for advancing upon the common social problems of the nation, and it was argued that a southern congress would be more largely attended by southern people interested than would the National Conference of Charities and Correction, except when that body met in a southern city. Alexander Johnson estimated that attendance at the national conference in a northern or western city would cost the 700 or 800 delegates at Nashville \$30,000 more in traveling expenses alone. The registration at this congress was far in excess of the registration from the southern states at the national conference.

The educational value of discussions carried by southern newspapers was also a consideration in favor of a permanent organization, and it was felt that there was a large amount of undeveloped talent for leadership in social service in the South, which these interstate meetings could bring to the surface. Leaders would come to know each other, and "swap" experiences. The decision therefore was to make the organization a permanent one, to have annual meetings, but to hold them in conjunction with the national conference whenever that body came to a southern city. The experience of the national body was largely drawn upon in framing a constitution.

The following officers and committees were elected:

President, Ben W. Hooper, Tennessee.

First Vice-president, A. J. McKelway, Washington, D. C.

Second Vice-president, Kate Barnard, Oklahoma.

Executive Committee: Mrs. W. L. Murdock, Birmingham, Ala.; Prof. C. H. Bocker, Arkansas; Dr. Wickliff Rose, Washington, D. C.; Prof. L. L. Bernard, Gainesville, Fla.; W. Woods White, Atlanta, Ga.; Bernard Flexner, Louisville, Ky.; Agnes Morris, Baton Rouge, La.; H. Wirt Steele, Baltimore, Md.; A. T. Stovall, Okalona, Miss.; Prof. C. A. Ellwood, Missouri; Clarence H. Poe, Raleigh, N. C.;

H. Huson, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Judge J. H. McCullough, South Carolina; W. R. Cole, Nashville, Tenn.; Prof. C. S. Potts, Austin, Tex.; Dr. J. T. Mastin, Richmond, Va.; Governor Thomas Glasscock, West Virginia.

Chairmen of Standing Committees: Public Health, Dr. W. S. Rankin, North Carolina; Courts and Prisons, John H. DeWitt, Tennessee; Child Welfare, A. J. McKelway, District of Columbia; Organized Charities, J. C. Logan, Georgia; the Negro Problem, J. H. Dillard, Louisiana; the Church and Social Service, John A. Rice, Texas.

In the absence of Governor Hooper, who was ill, the scope of the meeting was outlined by Ira Landrith, former secretary of the Religious Education Association, who touched epigrammatically each of the problems to be considered.

While it would be impossible to discriminate among the important addresses of the congress without unwittingly doing injustice, the writer was especially taken with those of C. S. Potts of the University of Texas, on the indeterminate sentence; W. H. Oates, on prison conditions in Alabama; Owen R. Lovejoy, on child labor in the South, an address which made a marked impression in its fearless setting forth of the facts and its tactful appeal to the best southern sentiment; W. H. Thomas of Alabama, on the Negro and crime; Dr. Henry F. Coke, on the relation of education and social work; John M. Glenn, on co-ordination and co-operation; Charles S. Macfarland, on the church and modern industry, and W. Woods White, on the money shark business. Several of the visitors to the congress declared that Mr. White's explanation of his loan and savings institution in Atlanta, which is unique in its methods and admirable in its results, was itself worth the expense of attending the congress. The editors of *THE SURVEY* held the boards at the closing evening session, Edward T. Devine speaking on the call of the social worker, and Graham Taylor on the qualifications of the social worker.

The range of the discussions at the congress were reflected in a stirring social program drafted by the organization committee. To their mind the congress should stand:

For the abolition of the convict lease and contract system, and for the adoption of modern principles of prison reform;

For the extension and improvement of juvenile courts and of juvenile reformatories;

For the proper care and treatment of defectives, the blind, the deaf, the insane, the epileptic, and the feeble-minded;

For the recognition of the relation of alcoholism to disease, to crime, to pauperism, and to vice, and for the adoption of appropriate preventive measures;

For the adoption of uniform laws of the highest standards on marriage and divorce;

For the adoption of uniform laws on vital statistics;

For the abolition of child labor by the adoption of the uniform child labor law;

For the adoption of school attendance laws, that the reproach of the greatest degree of illiteracy be removed from the South;

For the suppression of prostitution;

For the solving of the race question in a spirit of helpfulness to the Negro, and of equal justice to both races;

For co-operation between the church and all social agencies for the securing of all these results.

THE ROOT AMENDMENT

HERBERT PARSONS

The Dillingham immigration bill had, as it came from the Senate, a clause known as the Root amendment, which provides that any alien who takes advantage of his residence in the United States to conspire with others for the violent overthrow of a foreign government recognized by the United States may be deported by the secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor. This amendment was designed to meet the Mexican situation, where American lives and interests are said to be in danger as the result of conspiracies hatched by Mexican insurgents just over the border on our side.

If the Mexican situation is to be dealt with, then it would seem that the proper way to reach it is by amending the so-called neutrality statutes so that American citizens, as well as aliens, can be punished, after a regular trial, if they violate fair and necessary neutrality. A glance at this provision will show, however, that it is very much broader than the Mexican situation calls for, and that it strikes at one of the proudest traditions in American life, for it would submit to summary deportation any alien, no matter how eminent, who came to this country to plead the cause of his oppressed fellow countrymen.

Our own government was founded on the right of revolution. It came into being by "the violent overthrow of a foreign government" recognized by other countries. On the principle of the Root amendment, Benjamin Franklin should not have been allowed to plead our cause in France.

To this free country we have been accustomed to welcome those struggling for liberty in other countries. Had this clause been law, many of the Germans of '48 would have been deported; Kosuth, instead of being received by Congress, would have been held at Castle Garden for return by the next steamer; Garibaldi would have had his sojourn among us rudely interrupted; Irish home-rulers coming here to enlist the sympathy and financial support of Irish-Americans would have been harshly turned away, and we would have been deprived of much of the Irish brawn and muscle which aided so materially in the building of our railways a generation or more ago; and, though we fought Spain to free Cuba, Cubans here could not have asked our support against Spain.

Is it not cause for satisfaction to us as citizens of a republic that Chinese here plotted for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, Mexicans for the overthrow of the absolutism of Diaz, and Young Turks for the liberal movement in Turkey? What American has recently appealed more to the imagination than Shuster in his work for the oppressed Persians? And yet, if this amendment should become law, and some Persian, still hoping to rescue his country from autocracy, should visit us to enlist the interest of Shuster and his friends, he would be deported.

Every American educational institution in foreign countries has been a breeder of revolution. One of the claims to fame of Robert College in Constantinople, religious institution though it is, lies in its moral and personal contribution to the Young Turk movement. A Chinese cadet from our own West Point joined the revolutionary forces.

Moreover, we have always sympathized with those struggling for popular institutions. As Daniel Webster, when secretary of state put it, the United

States cannot "fail to cherish always a lively interest in the fortunes of nations struggling for institutions like their own." We owe much to those of our countrymen who came here to escape political oppression. No roll of citizens has a finer list of American names. Their faith in popular institutions has been an inspiration and their service to their adopted country most notable. Our own and all history, including that of the last decade, shows that autocracy and non-popular governments, existing as they do largely by force or the ability to use force, can generally only be overthrown by force or the threat to use force. And our interest should not cease, therefore, if violent overthrow of an existing government is sought.

This provision is also contrary to the enlightened opinion of mankind. England, France, Italy, Switzerland, and Sweden decline to extradite political refugees who are charged with political offenses, the term political offenses generally relating to an attempt violently to overthrow an established government with which other countries are at peace. That is a principle of international law. The United States has recently had occasion to reiterate it in the case of political refugees from Russia. And until this amendment our country's policy in such matters had been so pronouncedly favorable to political refugees that John Sherman, when secretary of state, said, in regard to the case of Guerra, a Mexican political refugee, that the policy of the United States had always been to resolve any doubts in favor of liberty.

MUSCATINE

HARRY F. WARD

Significance lies in the Muscatine¹ situation in its clear revelation of the consequences to the community not simply of industrial strife, but of the conditions which cause it and of those which leave the community unable to find a way out of it. After a year of industrial warfare, with its economic and moral waste, Muscatine stands bewildered, incoherent, impotent. To what

extent is this typical of the national attitude in the wider industrial situation?

Muscatine is paying the penalty of a lack of organization. Button-making has been and is an unorganized industrial process. The conditions and disputes that caused the present conflict root in that fact. Like its principal industry the town itself had not organized its community life. Its present condition is the inevitable result of that failure. Like so many towns, originally agricultural and gradually developing industrial interests, it has grown up in sprawling, haphazard fashion. It has not even a paid fire department. Its forces of law and order, its administration of justice, its ordinances, are all adapted to the simple conditions of an agricultural community, and were either ineffective or brutally unjust under the strain of an industrial situation. The community is now anxious to patch up peace and determined to enforce order, but it is not yet ready to organize its life so that its factory workers shall have justice. In this lack of organization and this willingness to temporize, Muscatine is not a sinner above others. It shares the national attitude.

Another aspect of this same situation is the incoherence of the community mind. There is no community consciousness because there has been no center around which it could focus. The mind of the community, like its external organization, is individualistic, rural, neither developed nor organized to the point of comprehending an industrial situation. There is the widest disagreement concerning the facts; indeed, there is a most general ignorance concerning the facts. There is no community means of getting them. The only newspaper which tried to be impartial soon found its access to the facts limited because both parties to the conflict charged it with being controlled by the other side. With no means either within or without the community for impartially ascertaining and making public the facts, a community of less than 20,000 forms its judgments on prejudice, and reflects all the misconceptions that are current in the class cleavages of a great city. Aside from the immediate contestants, the community stands bewildered because of its

¹See article, page 390, by Samuel Z. Batten, of Des Moines College.

ignorance, resentful because of its injuries, and bitter because of its prejudices. It is vehement against the outsiders who are leading the workers and yet justifies the turning over of its police powers to hired men from private agencies in another state. It is angry against the disturbers of its peace, and yet oblivious of the real causes of disturbance which it had tolerated in its leading industry. Here again the condition is typical.

Another significant feature in the situation is the total lack of leadership in the community. There is no power to influence let alone control the settlement of the dispute. Organized religion has failed to exercise any effective leadership, even over its own adherents. The press has been unable to form the judgments of the community because where it was not biased, it was unable to get all the facts. The business group could not influence their associates to adjust their differences with their employes. The state stands impotent, while the community life is wasted. This failure in leadership rests on the fact that there was no agency to inform public opinion, to discover and make known the real facts in the case. Here again we touch a national condition, and Muscatine is simply another argument showing in agricultural states the necessity for the proposed Federal Commission on Industrial Relations and for state bodies with similar powers for publicity.

Underneath this Muscatine situation, when all the complications of the long struggle are cleared away, there stands out clear and sharp the issue which is fundamental in the general industrial conflict. On one side stand the masters, the autocrats, asserting the right to control the industry which they imagine they have builded, without regard to the interests either of the workers or of the community, except those interests which they themselves in their limited fashion choose to recognize. On the other side stand the workers, declining any longer to be mere servants, asserting the rights of free men, demanding to know and to approve the conditions of their work and wages, refusing to permit any other group to hold their lives in its competent or incompetent hands. It is a typical in-

cident in the world-wide struggle to somehow realize democracy in industry, and there can be no industrial peace until the fundamental principle of the democratic control of industry is generally conceded. Then we can proceed with the urgent business of giving form and body to this principle of organizing industry for the benefit of the entire community.

END OF THE ANTHRACITE SUSPENSION

J. J. CURRAN

Rector Holy Savior Church, Wilkes-Barre

The seven weeks' suspension in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania is now over and almost forgotten. The noisy wheels of industry that were stilled during the period of idleness are again whirring and buzzing as vociferously as if they had never stopped. No sooner had the Wilkes-Barre convention officially declared the suspension at an end than the companies rushed their mules back into the mines, and men hurried into the dark caverns with their mining tools to be ready for resumption on Wednesday morning, May 22—the day this is written. And now the miners and laborers, car runners and mule drivers, company hands and slate pickers may be seen winding a way to the pits as leisurely and buoyantly as though there had been no suspension or thought of prolonged and bitter industrial war. The entire region has resumed its usual air of optimism and security. The merchants and other business men have drawn a deep breath of relief and have already doubled their orders for summer goods. In fact, there is no class of citizens in these parts who are not rejoicing at the close of a suspension, which is now only a matter of history.

As to the merits of the terms of agreement between the representatives of the miners' union and those of the coal operators, I am not afraid to assert that they are not altogether satisfactory to the miners. Five per cent is a small advance in their wages, particularly when we consider that the cost of living is almost daily growing higher, and that the agreement between the men and the operators is to last for four years. No



Boardman Robinson in *N.Y. Tribune*.
THE MINER EMERGES

less than 10 per cent over the sliding scale should have been accepted by the sub-committee of the mine workers, and on refusal of such demand, the men would have backed their leaders even to the risk of prolonged and bitter struggle.

And now that it is all over and little or no damage done to anybody, a word of praise is due the miners for their patience and maintenance of peace during the crucial period.

One hundred and seventy thousand men and boys of nearly all tongues and nationalities under the sun were in voluntary but precarious idleness for a period of almost two months. It was the incipency of a threatened and bitter industrial war which every man faced with a grim determination foreboding anything but happiness throughout the entire coal fields. Not a man gave sign of breaking the solid ranks; not a man budged from his stolid and fixed attitude to fight it out to the bitter end, even at the risk of life, limb, and property. And yet, the regions were as tranquil and inviting as a period of seven weeks of Sundays. The few little flurries of antagonism to workmen engaged in lawful and necessary repairs were occasioned more by the obtrusion of meddling outsiders than by those who were most interested in the cause of labor. The subordinate officers

of the union had the situation well in hand from the beginning, and in many instances were officially deputized by the various county sheriffs to maintain the law and enforce order when necessity required it.

Thus have the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania proved for the third time within the last twelve years their title to the name of a peace-loving and patriotic people, and without forfeiting at any time the title of brave soldiers in the crisis of an industrial and defensive warfare.

CONTROL OF VENEREAL DISEASES

PRINCE A. MORROW, M. D.

It has long been the reproach of sanitary science that it has failed to evolve any effective scheme for the control of that large and important class of infectious diseases comprehended under the general term "venereal." While the sanitary authorities have within recent years been markedly aggressive in subjecting all other infectious diseases to sanitary supervision, venereal diseases have been practically abandoned to their own evolution. Although the Health Board of New York city was charged by the legislative enactment creating it with the duty of protecting the public health from every form of disease "dangerous to life or detrimental to health," and was armed with full authority to enforce the measures adjudged necessary to carry out this provision, until very lately it has not officially recognized the existence of venereal diseases. The recent action of the present Health Board requiring officers in charge of public institutions after May 1 to report patients suffering from these diseases, therefore, marks a distinct step in the advance of preventive medicine.

Of interest in this connection is the fact that the committee of seven appointed by the Medical Society of the County of New York to make a local study of the "prophylaxis of venereal diseases" in its report in 1901 strongly advocated the department's present plan. It¹ recommended the registration of all

¹Report of the Committee of Seven on the Prophylaxis of Venereal Diseases in New York City by the chairman, Prince A. Morrow, M.D., December, 1901.

cases of venereal disease, urging that physicians report "the nature of the disease and the origin of the infection wherever practicable, without giving the name and address of the patient." It further recommended "the bacteriological examination of diseased secretions, and increased facilities for the reception and treatment of venereal diseases"; also, that "every hospital receiving state or municipal assistance should be required to open its doors to this class of diseases," and that "all public institutions, hospitals and dispensaries should be required to report all cases." In the opinion of the committee, "education and treatment comprise the most promising remedial measures which are immediately available." The chairman of this committee has approached each administration of the Health Department since 1900, urging that venereal diseases be placed on the same plane of sanitary control as other infectious diseases dangerous to the public health, but the proposition did not succeed until recently—the chief reason given being that such action would encounter a strong hostility from both the medical profession and the public.

The present Board of Health deserves great credit for its courage in breaking with the policy of its predecessors. Other organizations also deserve credit for educating public opinion to sanction and sustain the board's action. It may be fairly claimed that the educational campaign inaugurated by the American Society for Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis for disseminating a knowledge of the extent and dangers of venereal diseases, especially to the family and the race, has been of large value in creating professional and public sentiment favoring department control.

No further justification of this new public policy is needed; the law requires it and the interests of public health demand it. *Salus publica lex suprema*.

Some of the benefits that may be reasonably expected from the inauguration of this policy may be briefly enumerated.

First, it will have an educational influence of the highest value. The public is apt to base its appreciation of the significance and danger of infectious dis-

eases upon the attitude of the sanitary authorities; so long as the officials charged with the care of the health of the people, ignore the existence of venereal diseases, the public naturally looks upon their danger to health as negligible.

Second, the census obtained through notification and registration, however incomplete, at first, will awaken the perceptions of the public to the extent and magnitude of this hidden danger. The first and most essential condition to the correction of evils affecting society is that the public should recognize their existence and understand their significance.

Third, the proposed circulars of information telling the nature of these diseases and the modes of their contagion, direct and indirect, will be of the greatest prophylactic value. One active cause of the spread of these diseases is that they are contagious during a prolonged period and contagious even after apparent cure.

Fourth, the establishment of a bacteriological laboratory for the examination of the gonococcus and the application of the Wasserman reaction will enable patients of the poorer classes to avail themselves of these tests. This will be of special value in preventing the introduction of venereal diseases into the family, by men who suppose themselves cured and no longer infectious to others.

No one is optimistic enough to believe that health department control of venereal diseases will entirely solve the problem. It is not a purely sanitary problem and cannot be successfully worked out by sanitary methods alone. It is, in its larger aspects, a sociological problem complicated in its causes with economic and social conditions, which enter as essential factors. Many of these causes lie entirely without the pale of sanitary control. The communicative mode of these diseases cannot be touched by the strong hand of sanitary repression. It is a matter of personal control and can only be corrected by influences and agencies acting upon the intelligence and moral sense of the individual.

The entrance of the New York City Health Board into this field of prevention is not a signal for cessation of the

activities of other organizations which have been engaged in this prophylactic work for some years past. It is rather an incentive to more vigorous efforts. It furnishes a reasonable expectation that with the aid of this powerful ally the campaign against the venereal peril, undertaken by the Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis in this country, will be ultimately crowned with success.

HOME FINDING BY A HUMANE SOCIETY

HOMER FOLKS

An interesting development of children's work has recently occurred in Cleveland. The Western Reserve Child Welfare Council, an organization including representatives of the governing bodies of fifty charitable organizations, institutions, and public agencies having to do with the care of needy children, reached the conclusion that there was great need of a centralized home-finding agency in Cleveland. It was believed that many children remain in unsuitable homes or institutions because of the lack of a well-organized, efficient placing-out agency in close co-operation with all children's work in the city. Instead of recommending the establishment of a new corporation, they urged the Cleveland Humane Society to establish a new department on home-finding and placing-out. Such a department has been established. Among those who urged such action were Bishop Farrelly, Director Cooley of the municipal charities, Judge Addams of the juvenile court, Dr. Wolfenstein, superintendent of the Jewish Orphan Asylum, and James F. Jackson, director of the associated charities.

This action is an interesting indication of the close co-operation and mutual confidence existing between the Cleveland Humane Society and other charitable agencies of that city. It is interesting to note that the humane society did not follow the lead of the American Humane Association and the Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in New York and Albany, in opposing the establishment of a federal children's bureau. The Cleveland society followed

the example of the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania societies in earnestly supporting the measure. A recent bulletin of the Cleveland Humane Society, commenting on the matter, says:

For our part, we believe that publicity in the affairs of humane societies and other organizations dealing with children is necessary to ensure freedom from the evils and abuses which have too often brought discredit upon such organizations. No efficient agency need fear publicity. The great thing which the Children's Bureau will do, it seems to us, is to keep us all thoroughly informed of the exact progress of the battle against child neglect and dependency. How are we ever to win that battle unless all of the organizations enlisted on the side of the children are enabled to direct their forces intelligently to meet the constantly shifting conditions which constitute the enemy. Without a continual readjustment of work to actual needs we are in danger not only of becoming bad strategists, but also of relying upon weapons which may long ago have become obsolete.

The one question which occurs to us as possibly raising doubt on the advisability of the establishment by the Humane Society of a child-placing department is this: If the Humane Society is generally considered by the community as an agency existing chiefly, if not wholly, for the rescue of children from improper homes, will not the placing of a child in a family by that agency suggest to the community that the child was presumably suffering from improper guardianship, and will not a serious injustice thereby be done to many worthy parents compelled by misfortune, rather than misconduct, to surrender their children? There is nothing except tradition, to be sure, which would suggest that the words "humane society" have to do with the prevention of cruelty. A growing doubt has been felt by many as to the necessity of the permanent existence of a separate organization having to do exclusively with the rescue of children from improper homes. It is an open question as to whether one agency covering both preventive and constructive work would not have a better sense of perspective, and in the long run do the better work. Some of the societies for the prevention of cruelty to children are moving into this larger field. If they are to do so it would seem to us almost a *sine qua non* that they should first change their name.

June 1, 1912.



VOTES FOR WOMEN AND OTHER VOTES

JANE ADDAMS



The comfortable citizen possessing a vote won for him in a previous generation, who is so often profoundly disturbed by the cry of "Votes for Women," seldom connects the present attempt to extend the franchise with those former efforts, as the results of which, he himself became a member of the enfranchised class. Still less does the average voter reflect that in order to make self-government a great instrument in the hands of those who crave social justice, it must ever be built up anew in relation to changing experiences, and that unless this readjustment constantly takes place self-government itself is placed in jeopardy.

Yet the adherents of representative government, with its foundations laid in diversified human experiences, must concede that the value of such government bears a definite relation to the area of its base and that the history of its development is merely a record of new human interests which have become the subjects of governmental action, and the incorporation into the government itself of those classes who represented the new interests.

As the governing classes have been increased by the enfranchisement of one body of men after another, the art of government has been enriched in human interests, and at the same time as government has become thus humanized by new interests it has inevitably become further democratized through the accession of new classes. The two propositions are complementary. For centuries the middle classes in every country in Europe struggled to wrest governmental power from the nobles because they insisted that government must consider the problems of a rising commerce; on the other hand the merchants claimed direct representation because government had already begun to concern itself with commercial affairs. When the

working men of the nineteenth century, the Chartists in England and the "men of '48" in Germany, vigorously demanded the franchise, national parliaments had already begun to regulate the condition of mines and the labor of little children. The working men insisted that they themselves could best represent their own interests, but at the same time their very entrance into government increased the volume and pressure of those interests.

Much of the new demand for political enfranchisement arises from a desire to remedy the unsatisfactory and degrading social conditions which are responsible for so much wrong-doing and wretchedness. The fate of all the unfortunate, the suffering, the criminal, is daily forced upon public attention in painful and intimate ways. But because of the tendency to nationalize all industrial and commercial questions, to make the state responsible for the care of the helpless, to safeguard by law the food we eat and the liquid we drink, to subordinate the claim of the individual family to the health and well being of the community, contemporary women who are without the franchise are much more outside the real life of the world than any set of disenfranchised men could possibly have been in all history, unless it were the men slaves of ancient Greece, because never before has so large an area of life found civic expression, never has Hegel's definition of the state been so accurate, that it is the "realization of the moral ideal." Certain it is that the phenomenal entrance of women into governmental responsibility in the dawn of the twentieth century is coincident with the consideration by governmental bodies of the basic human interests with which women have been traditionally concerned. A most advanced German statesman recently declared in the Reichstag that it was a re-

proach to the imperial government itself that out of two million children born annually in Germany, 400,000 died during the first twelve months of their existence. He proceeded to catalogue various reforms which might remedy this, such as better housing, the increase of park areas, the erection of municipal hospitals, the provision for an adequate milk supply and many another, but he did not make the very obvious suggestion that women might be of service in a situation involving the care of children less than a year old.

Nevertheless, in spite of this lack of perception, women all over the world are claiming and receiving a place in representative government because they insist that they will not cease to perform their traditional duties, simply because these duties have been taken over by existing governments. Political rights have been accorded to them in Finland where women are sitting in the national parliament, in Sweden and Denmark where they are about to receive the full franchise, in New Zealand and Australia where they have exercised it for a quarter of a century: the extension of the franchise to women is discussed as an immediate possibility in England and France and has actually been given to a million and a quarter women in the United States. In certain other countries the entrance of women into government is pushed in connection with the efforts of their fellow countrymen to secure a further extension of the franchise for themselves. Certainly it does not require a social philosopher to draw attention to the fact that our age is characterized by an almost universal attempt to enter into government on the part of those hitherto outside. Not only have Russia and Portugal recently succeeded in establishing the constitutional form of government, but the desire for it has even reached Mohammedan countries where it is apparently opposed to their philosophy. Persia is at present working out a constitutional revolution under the leadership of the priests as

Turkey worked out a constitutional revolution unhampered by the priests. The latter is including women with that inveterate tendency of each revolution to incorporate into its program the most advanced features of existing governments. Following this zigzag line of progress both China and Siam in spite of their eastern customs have given women a political status in their new constitutions by extending to certain classes of them the right of suffrage.

The contemporaneous "Votes for Women" movement is often amorphous and sporadic but always spontaneous. It not only appears simultaneously in various countries but manifests itself in widely separated groups in the same country; in every city it embraces the "smart set" and the hard driven working women; sometimes it is sectarian and dogmatic, at others philosophic and grandiloquent, but it is always vital and constantly becoming more widespread.

In certain aspects it differs from former efforts to extend the franchise. We recall that the final entrance of the middle class into government was characterized by two dramatic revolutions, one in America and one in France, neither of them without bloodshed, and that although the final efforts of the working men were more peaceful, even in restrained England the Chartists burned hayricks and destroyed town property. This world-wide entrance into government on the part of women is happily a bloodless one. Although some glass has been broken in England it is noteworthy that the movement as a whole has been without even a semblance of violence. The creed of the movement, however, is similar to that promulgated by the doctrinaires of the eighteenth century: that if increasing the size of the governing body automatically increases the variety and significance of government, then only when all the people become the governing class can the collective resources and organizations of the community be consistently utilized for the common weal.

FIELD WORK IN SOCIOLOGY

ALEXANDER M. WILSON

Philtographs by Pholanthropists



IN THE PRESIDENTIAL RANGE.

Do you know the blackened timber—do you know that
racing stream

With the raw, right-angled log-iam at the end;
And the bar of sun-warmed shingle where a man may
bask and dream

To the click of shod canoe-poles round the bend?
It is there that we are going with our rods and reels
and traces.

To a silent, smoky Indian that we know,—
To a couch of new-pulled hemlock with the starlight on
our faces.

For the Red Gods call us out and we must go!

They must go—go—go away from here!

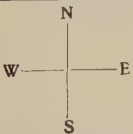
On the other side the world they're over due.

'Send your road is clear before you when the old

Spring-fret comes o'er you

And the Red Gods call for you!

—KIPLING.





ACROSS WATER TO KATAHDIN.

One of the New England lakes, untampered with as yet by the city planners. Photograph by the secretary of the Massachusetts Civic League who forgot his anti-billboard-obia long enough to leave his sign among the lily pads.



ON THE NORTH SHORE OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

Up past Michipicoten Island where still lengthier names are to be learned on a six weeks' vacation. The fisherman is Graham Romeyn Taylor, and the thigh bone of the fish is preserved in the great hall of Chicago Commons.



Photograph by Paul U. Kellogg.

WHITE BIRCHES IN NOVEMBER.

On the lower Au Sable Lake in the Adirondack region where the Adlers, the deForests, the Whites, the Janeways, the Martins, and other folks whose names are familiar in New York reform movements are entered in the camp log books as regular comers.



BREAKING CAMP IN THE CANADIAN ROCKIES.

Where the Pacific Coast insurgents store up energy for the winter. Photograph by John A. Kingsbury before he became a Yonkers commuter and general agent of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.



"Mac" Wilson.

WHITewater ON THE HOUSATONIC RIVER.



AT THE TOP OF KATAHDIN.

Frank E. Wing, superintendent of the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanatorium of Chicago, is a registered guide of the state of Maine and knows every paddle stroke on the Allagash. For years, his camp on Upper Wilson Pond was known as far as Bird Centre for its Johnny cake, sow belly, spuds and tabac.



Lewis E. Palmer's legs with two bass which weigh six pounds five between 'em. Showing how Boston-1915 looked off duty.

HALF the fun of a vacation is in planning it ahead. That's how I am having two full vacations this year before summer comes, for I'm planning four different beginnings to the outing that always ends with a few days with the family at the shore. First, a Boston lawyer, who grew up in the shadow of the Presidential Range and whose woodcraft is an instinct, wants me to help trace the route followed by two Indian tribes in an interesting hegira undertaken a hundred and fifty years ago. The Pequawkets and the Annequaticooks, allies, living somewhere near the center of Maine, suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of a neighboring tribe, losing practically all their braves. Whereupon the widows and the children, with their lares and penates stored in birch canoes, started on an amphibious journey over into New Hampshire and then north into Quebec, where they found refuge with a friendly tribe of Hurons.



Up the "Gulf" back of Mt. Washington, a ladder scales a cliff which goes by the name of Wilson's Reach. When the trail was blazed the author was the only man long enough to scale it.—Ed.



Sam, the coming superman, with his three pound pickerel caught in Debsconeag Dead-water.



Whistling for a wind. Seymour H. Stone, secretary Boston Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis.



Sherman C. Kingsley of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund digging worms.

At one place it was necessary to make a twelve-mile portage over a watershed, but if those squaws and kiddies did the trick two husky men shouldn't balk! Now, our plans for this trip fell through last summer and bid fair to suffer a like fate again, but it's a stint we've set ourselves and some day we'll do it—in the meantime we're making those carries in our dreams.

Then a Philadelphia surgeon wants me to join him in a cruise along the Maine coast in his fifty-foot sloop. While I don't know the main sheet from the tender's painter, I'm a handy man at polishing brass and holystoning the deck, and on a long reach I can hold the wheel without letting her jibe; and then there's the cool plunge overboard in the morning, the lazy loaf with a book in a calm, and the sting of spray in the face in a beat to windward in a half-gale that periodically bring regret that the creek back home was fresh water and too small for a craft with sail. Alas, it is too late now to get much more out of sailing than the zest that is added to loafing by watching the crew at work!

Then Paul Kellogg says: "Let's go off into the woods anywhere for another taste of what we had five years ago at Temagami." To all of these plans, there is a tentative assent, but the heart-hunger is for the trip that eight-year-old Sam

and I planned on a recent Sunday morning just before the grand struggle I must make against his mighty efforts to hold me in bed. I mustn't tell you any more than that "the place" is in northern Maine, twenty-eight miles by stage from



Parker B. Field, superintendent of the Children's Mission, in the Canadian Rockies in '95. Nowadays Mr. Field, whiskerless, is more often seen hiking around the Blue Hills at the head of a walking party.



Frank Wing bringing in his bed—fresh cut balsam boughs.



Allen T. Burns, secretary of the Pittsburgh Civic Commission, as he looks in the Ontario woods.



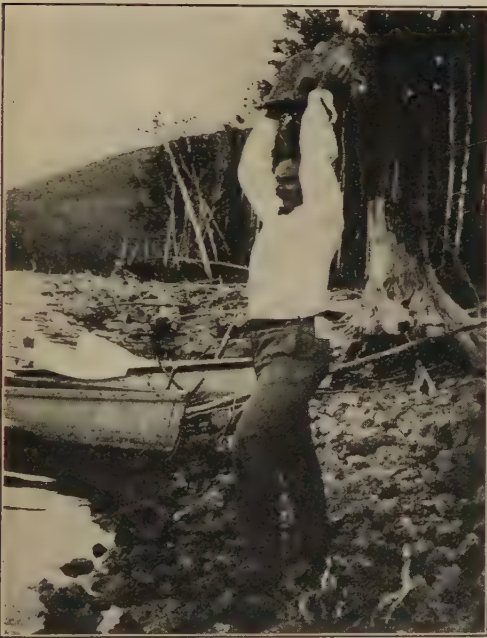
One of the Chicago "bunch" darning his Sunday darning in camp.

the railroad and then by canoe five miles down a lake, and then half a mile down a river—one of those raw-right-angled-log-jam rivers. But it's two silent, smoky white men this time. They are kindly, gentle folk who live their bachelor life there in the log cabin they built last sum-

mer—trappers, wise in the lore of the woods, brother to the wild. The crystal-clear river sings an invitation to bask on its sun-warmed shingle or dive into its limpid depths or wade in its pebbly shallows. To the rear, a mountain's blackened timber tells the sad tale of a forest fire. Sam wants to creep with me up to the beaver-dam just this side the mountain and watch that childless pair of beavers gnaw the trees they fell for food and building material, and to hunt for the fawn that ambled along the mountain side in front of me for half a mile last summer, casting shy glances behind at the strange intruder.

Never come out of the woods the same way you went in. We will keep on down the river by canoe, for Sam makes a good bowman on a down-stream trip. He can walk around Stair Falls, but I've got to shoot the bit of water that gave me such a tussle as I poled up last time!

A day down a new stream in the North Woods! Up with the sun, a plunge in the river, a steaming breakfast, a packed kit, and off by seven. Leisurely paddling for steerage-way round new turns into fresh scenes, shooting a rapid, carrying round a fall, stopping for a snapshot at deer or blue heron, and eleven o'clock is here. Pull up on a bar of gravel and spread out the blankets for an airing. Undress for a swim, coming out to lie on the blankets for a sun-bath. Then



David heaving his pebble. David is W. Frank Persons, director of general work of the New York Charity Organization Society. The Goliath of Poverty may be imagined at the left, up to his knees in a Piscataquis pond.



The woods in winter also have their "come hither." Alfred T. White and William Augustus White of Brooklyn near the Au Sable Lakes (Adirondacks) in a season of heavy snows.



The Cedar Room at Birchbay, the camp on Lake Memphremagog of Prof. and Mrs. Henry Raymond Mussey. Here, two years ago, a company of social workers spent a week in a cabin colloquy. Another colloquy is to be held this summer.

the dinner with the pipe to cap it—always at least a two-hour rest at noon! And at four o'clock begin to look for a likely camping place for the night. Pitch the tent and put the "wangan" inside, but make your balsam bed out where you can see the stars. While you are doing this for both of us, I'll get supper. Shall

I'll never want to eat again. Frank, how would you like this minute to be lying on the bank while a hundred lumber-jacks are breaking up a log-jam on Ambijijis Falls? Or handling the stern paddle in Indian Pitch at Pockwockamus? Next time we go up Katahdin let's follow Thoreau's trail and I'll show you how he walked on tree-tops and tobogganed down waterfalls in icy Abol Stream, which gushes full-grown from the mountain side.

If you think a mile-high mountain means hard work, remember the plucky climb of Katahdin that Mrs. Frank made, or remember Margaret Byington who isn't half as big as you are and did it laughing. George Vaux, Jr., who eats Canadian Selkirks—at least they sound edible—would laugh at our little Appalachian Mountains, but they're the best we have near home, and there's a wonderful lift



THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF FARMING.

The farmer stands and views his lands
And tells his trusting wife and son
How, valiantly, with his own
hands
He'll toil, while they have all
the fun.

But turn the other page and look!
This is the way 'twill really
go—

A pipe and some deep, learned
book—
While wife and son, they wield
the hoe.

Besides being professor of Economics at the University of Wisconsin, director of the Milwaukee Bureau of Economy and Efficiency and a member of the State Industrial Commission, Prof. Commons has a pair of ducks-back breeches and a farm. The originals of photographs and verses were privately printed by F. A. King.



we have flap-jacks or corn-bread? And how about new potatoes with their jackets on? Say, open another can of that "caribou" milk! What's a kahki trouser-leg for but to wipe the cooking knife on? M-m-m, ain't it good! I've got to let out two holes in this belt—ah, now I can breathe! Well, Frank Persons, you can wash the dishes if you like,

to the soul that comes from climbing *any* mountain. Every halt for a rest brings a wider view and a new exaltation.

But don't put off your outings 'till that all-too-short vacation. Mix them in liberally with the year's work. There's always good country nearby for a week-end in the open. If you're in Boston, get Miss Coe and Parker Field to intro-

duce you to the Appalachian Mountain Club which has so happily perfected the machinery for getting outdoors. Then you may have Bow Ridge Camp in the Lynn Woods for your own week-end party almost any time. If you like the canoe, there's the upper reaches of the Charles, or the Squanacook, or the Ipswich, or the Nissitissit, or the Contoocook, or a score of other rivers that go rollicking to the sea. Have you ever paddled up the placid Concord, 'neath "the rude bridge that spans the flood"? Ask Seymour Stone, some time, to take you on snow-shoes over Wauchusett. Even the humble trolley will take you to the mountain fastnesses of the Blue Hills, and Alice Higgins will tell you where the apple blossoms grow. For sheer abandon in play, commend me to the town that owns Joe Lee!

Did you ever waken early enough as you drew into Chicago to see the sand dunes that shut off the view of Lake Michigan? They don't look very exciting from the train, but a few choice spirits will tell you that they are as interesting as the stockyards! Let Jens Jensen take you there for he knows everything that grows outdoors by its first name—and this is nature's botanical garden. You will stumble over the thorny cactus yourself, but he will take you to Quaking Bog and let you gather lady-slippers. I won't promise you any mountains near Chicago, but I've seen Judge Mack sweating laboriously up

some pretty steep hills at Palos and The Sag. The judicial ermine comes off on a June afternoon, also the coat and the vest, right down to the suspenders! Did you ever see the particular variety of barbed-wire fence they affect in Illinois? It fulfills two requirements of the Kentucky judge's definition of a fence—it's "horse high" and "bull strong," but it's hardly "hog tight," for the lowest strand is about one foot from the ground. How would the National Conference of Charities like to see its distinguished president give an exhibition of rolling under such a fence? Come with us on our Saturday afternoon walks and you may lose your dignity, but you'll get back something more worth while. Or come with Graham Taylor and his tow-headed son for a canoe trip down the Kalamazoo, which is only across the lake, or with George Hooker and George Sikes down the Fox. Or get Edith Wyatt to take you to Starved Rock on the gently flowing Illinois, where La Salle planted his brave outpost. Chicago herself doesn't half suspect it—she's so busy admiring her own sociological significance—but there really is some of God's own country not many

miles from "the loop." O you Chicagoese—a s Walt Whitman would apostrophize you—go out to Camp Algonquin in the winter time and let Amelia Sears lead you in a game of Fox and Geese!

Whoever you are, wherever you live, whatever your job, a little play under the open sky will hearten you. Won't you come out and play with me?



A PASTORAL.

The Elfin Ring at Cedar Lodge overlooking Lake Memphremagog where for a quarter of a century the Barrows have spent their summers.

EAST INDIAN IMMIGRATION TO THE PACIFIC COAST

H. A. MILLIS

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE U. S. IMMIGRATION COMMISSION'S INVESTIGATIONS
IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN AND PACIFIC STATES

The immigration of Chinese and Japanese to the Pacific Coast has been followed by an immigration of East Indians which for a time aroused a strong feeling of opposition in the other elements of the population. More recently, however, little has been heard of it; for immigrants of this race have been practically denied admission to Canadian territory, and their entrance at our ports has been rendered difficult by a more rigid interpretation of the immigration law making it as restrictive as possible.

The immigration of East Indian laborers into Canada in any considerable number began about five years ago. In 1905 the number of immigrants of this race was forty-eight; in 1906, 387; for nine months in 1907, 2,124; in 1908, 2,623. Much opposition had been aroused by the immigration of Chinese and Japanese, principally into British Columbia, with the result that a head tax of \$500 had been placed upon immigrants of the former nation, while in 1908 an agreement was made with Japan which restricted the number of

immigrants from that country to 400 in any one year. The reaction against the East Indians was more rapid, and the hostility shown toward them still greater than that which at times had been shown toward the Chinese and Japanese. The

East Indians found employment chiefly as unskilled laborers on the railways, in lumber and shingle mills, and in the fishing industry, where they worked for still lower wages than those paid to other Asiatics, who in turn, were generally paid less than white men. Moreover, most of the East Indians were of the "turbanned class," and their strange appearance and peculiar habits and customs precluded them from finding a place as an integral part of the community into which they came.

The hostile attitude toward the East Indians led to an investigation by the Deputy Minister of Labor then in office. This investigation showed that most of the immigration had been induced by the activity of certain steamship companies and their agents, by the distribution of literature, containing exaggerated state-



HIS FIRST POSE.



HINDU LABORERS.

This is only one-third of the group that occupied the two-room shed shown.

ments of the opportunities for fortune-making, throughout some of the rural districts of India from which most of these immigrants came, and by the representations of a few individuals in British Columbia, who had induced a number of the natives of India to come to Canada under actual or verbal agreements to work for hire. Here, because of the severity of the northern climate, and because of the opposition to them and the unsuitability of the employment they were able to secure, many of these laborers suffered greatly. To prevent these hardships, to avoid race friction with its complications, and to protect the white workingmen, whose standard of comfort is of a higher order, and who, as citizens with family and civic obligations, have expenditures to meet and a status to maintain which the Hindu laborer is in a position wholly to ignore, the Canadian government sought a conference with the representatives of the British government, upon whose co-operation it was dependent in meeting this problem.

The conferences which followed in the spring of 1908 were entirely successful in solving the problem which had been disclosed by the Canadian investigation. The Indian government undertook to disabuse the minds of its subjects of the false impressions spread by interested parties, and the steamship companies were given to understand

that their activity was regarded with disfavor. More positive measures were also adopted. The most formidable of these was the application to immigrants of this race of section 38 of the Canadian Immigration Act, which provides that any immigrants who have come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which they are natives or citizens, and upon through tickets purchased in that country, may be excluded. As there is no means by which a continuous journey from India to Canada may be accomplished, it is needless to say that the measure is effective. Moreover, by an order in council the amount of money in possession upon landing required in the case of East Indian laborers was increased from \$25 to \$200. That these measures have served their purpose is shown by the fact that in 1909 only six such immigrants were admitted to the dominion. Since 1908 the number in British Columbia has diminished, as a result of the fact that many have returned to their native land or have migrated to the United States in search of a less rigorous climate and of more suitable employment at higher wages.

Previous to 1907 there were very few East Indians in the United States, and most of these were non-laborers and in the eastern cities. In that year, however, 1,072 were admitted, as against 271 in 1906. In 1908 the number admitted

increased to 1,710. Late in that year, however, the immigration officers began to turn back many of those who applied for admission, lest these wandering laborers should become public charges. As a result of this policy and of the measures adopted restricting their admission to Canada, whence most of them had been coming, the number admitted in 1909 was but 337. During the year 1909-1910, however, the interpretation of the general immigration law at the port of San Francisco, to which most of the applicants then came, was less restrictive, and the number who gained entrance again increased to 1,782. This increase, together with the facts that many almost immediately secured employment in the construction of a railroad near San Francisco (this giving rise to a widespread belief that there was organized traffic in this labor) and that an unusually large number of those who came were in the summer of 1910 found to be afflicted with disease, gave rise to an agitation against the Hindus, a change in the administration at the port of San Francisco, and the rejection of the majority of those who arrived. The total number of East Indian immigrants rejected at our ports was 438 in 1907, 331 in 1908, 411 in 1909, and 391 in 1910. For the three years 1908 to 1910, 447, or about 39 per cent of those denied admission, were rejected because afflicted with trachoma; 177, or about 16 per cent, because of "surgeon's certificates of defect mentally or physically which may affect ability to earn living;" and 464, or about 41 per cent, because they were "likely to become a public charge." These figures indicate that either a large percentage of those who applied for admission were unfit, or that the interpretation of the law was severe. Perhaps they indicate both. At any rate the numerous rejections wrought much hardship. In this connection it is to be said, however, that the problem of East Indian immigration has been solved and that the hardship incidental to rejection at our ports has been eliminated, for those who have come since the change of policy at the port of San Francisco has become known are few. The story of this change

of policy, so far as East Indian immigration at the port of San Francisco is concerned, is best and most concisely told by the following figures for the number admitted and the number rejected, by months during 1910:

<i>Month.</i>	<i>Number admitted</i>	<i>Number rejected</i>
January 1910	95	7
February "	377	4
March "	47	28
April "	169	68
May "	231	23
June "	183	105
July "	65	67
August "	189	138
September "	45	183
October "	1	233
November "	1	56
December "	2	14
January 1911	2	0

The policy of restriction, which temporarily at least has resulted in practical exclusion, when leniency would in all probability have brought in large numbers because of the cumulative effects of migrations, meets with almost unanimous approval on the Pacific coast, where the Hindus are regarded as the least desirable, or, better, the most undesirable, of all the eastern Asiatic races which have come to share our soil. Except for a comparative few of an idealistic turn of mind who do not reckon carefully with details, a few who look upon this country as a place of refuge for the Hindu, whom they believe to be oppressed in his native land, and a very few of the many whose chief interest and point of view are industrial, the West stands opposed to the immigration of East Indians as to that of no other race.

In 1909 the federal Immigration Commission made an investigation of the employment, earnings, salient characteristics, and mode of life of the East Indian laborers in the Pacific Coast states. The details which follow are drawn almost entirely from this investigation,



THINNING BEETS.

which was made under the writer's supervision, and the results of which are set forth in greater detail in a special report submitted to the commission.

In the western states, with rare exceptions, the East Indian laborers, who up to July 1, 1910, were estimated to number about 5,000, have engaged in the roughest, most unskilled work outside of factory walls. Perhaps with a continued immigration and a longer residence they

been employed as "yard laborers" in some of the lumber mills of the Northwest, and chiefly about Bellingham, Tacoma, Gray's Harbor, and Astoria. They have been paid higher wages than the Japanese but as a rule lower wages than "white men," the Hindus not being recognized as of the white race. Their wages have been fixed by the lumber companies at comparatively high rates, because of the strong hostility exhibited

would advance to higher occupations, as they did in British Columbia in spite of their low efficiency, but as yet their employment in the three Pacific Coast states and Nevada has been narrowly limited to "yard work" in lumber mills, as section hands—chiefly in Nevada, but also in other places—as construction laborers, as wandering agricultural laborers engaged in hand work in California, and as unskilled laborers in a pottery and in a few quarries. The only instance known where they have secured employment in manufacture was in a rope factory in Portland, Ore.

Since 1906 Hindus, immigrating for the greater part from British Columbia, have

towards them by laborers of other races, who have feared that they would undermine wage rates. In a few instances they have been regarded as worth the wage paid them, but most employers have regarded them as dear labor at the price, because they are physically weak as compared to "white" men, very slow to understand instructions, and require close supervision. Because of these things and the wide-spread and at times violent opposition to them they are not so extensively employed in lumber mills as formerly. In fact, most of the members of the race have migrated from Washington and Oregon to California in search of a warmer climate and of work in the fields and orchards.

In several instances groups of Hindus have been employed in railway construction. In all of these cases where the details are known they were paid somewhat less than the members of the white races, but were found to be too weak because underfed and too slow to be worth the price when other laborers could be secured at somewhat higher wages, with the result that their employment was in but few cases of

more than brief duration. Nor have they been more successful as section hands, as is evidenced by the fact that, though they have been employed by several railway companies, only 73 were reported in a total of 34,919 section hands employed on railroads in the western group of states in the spring and summer of 1909. In this occupation they have sometimes been paid higher wages than other Asiatics, but with few exceptions they have been



PICKING PEACHES.

regarded as the least desirable of all races employed. Unless of the soldier class (and members of that class were found in the ratio of 1 to 30 by the agents of the Immigration Commission), they have proved to be physically weak, unintelligent, and slow to acquire a knowledge of the work to be done.

For various reasons most of the East Indians have drifted into agricultural work in California, where there has been the greatest dearth of cheap labor because of the extension of specialized farming and fruit-growing, and because of the diminishing number of Chinese and Japanese available as wage laborers for seasonal work. In 1908 they made their appearance in the orchards, vineyards, sugar-beet fields, and on the large farms devoted to the production of various kinds of vegetables in northern and central California. In 1909 three small groups made their appearance in southern California. Their work has been of the most unskilled type and limited to hoeing and weeding in field and orchard, and to the harvesting of grapes, other fruit, and vegetables, certain branches of which have long been largely in the hands of Asiatics. In only a few instances have they been assigned to work with teams. In the Newcastle fruit district and along the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, where a large part of the land is cultivated by Asiatics, they have found employment without much difficulty, because of a widespread desire to break the monopoly control of the labor supply by the Japanese, or because of the higher wages than formerly commanded by other Asiatics. The ranchers of most communities, however, have been averse to hiring them, even at relatively low wages, because of their uncleanness and outlandish looks, wearing as they do the Hindu turban. They usually wander in small groups from place to place in search of work, under the leadership of one of their number who acts as interpreter and business agent, and they do not remain long in one place. These groups are not permanent, but are built up as circumstances dictate. The leader is not in a position of authority and usually earns somewhat higher wages than his men, rather than

a share of their earnings. In 1908 their wages varied from twenty-five to fifty cents per day less than was paid to Chinese and Japanese. In some instances when paid on a piece basis they worked at a lower rate than other races. This difference has tended to disappear, however, for the Hindus, when they have found employment in a community, have sometimes demanded as high wages as were being paid to other Asiatics. In 1909 the difference had been reduced to twenty-five cents per day, and in some cases to even less. Though they have commended themselves to some ranchers, they have generally been regarded as distinctly inferior to laborers of other races and not cheap labor at the wages which they have been paid. In few cases have they displaced any other race; usually they have done the work not desired by other races, or have been employed when other laborers were not available at the customary or even a higher wage.

Thus it is evident that the East Indians are practically all unskilled laborers, and chiefly wandering farm hands; that their industrial position has been very insecure; and that in general they have been looked upon as a possible source when laborers of other races were not available on satisfactory terms. In extreme need, they have frequently offered to work for very low wages and in some instances have even demanded employment; yet their competitive ability, because of low efficiency and a general disinclination to hire them, has been comparatively small. With larger numbers, more experience and time, however, their position would doubtless become more secure and their competitive ability greater. With the number of Japanese and Chinese laborers diminishing as a result of the restrictions placed upon the immigration of these classes, the East Indians with freer immigration might fall heir to the kinds of work which have been done in part by these other Asiatics; for employers are inclined to follow the line of least resistance in finding a supply of labor, and competition between races engaged in unskilled work apparently depends more

upon the rate of wages than upon efficiency.

The East Indian laborers have come without their families and live in groups of from two to fifty, depending upon the size of the "gang" employed in a given place and also to some extent upon the number of castes represented among them. Their standard of living is lower than that of any of the races with which they compete, but, with better earnings, their standard as measured by expense rises.

The agricultural laborers are provided with free lodging in "shacks," barns, or other outbuildings, or, more frequently, live in the open. They usually have no furniture and sleep in blankets upon the floor or ground. They generally cook upon a grate placed over a hole in the ground and frequently eat standing, without plate, knife, or fork. Frequently the members of several castes are found working in the same "gang" and lodging together, but the members of each caste form a "mess" and all food

eaten must be prepared by a member of the caste. As a rule they will not purchase meat which has been prepared by other hands, and are thus usually limited for their meat to poultry and lambs butchered by themselves. In fact, they eat little meat. They subsist chiefly upon unleavened bread cooked as pancakes, upon vegetables, such fruit as they may happen to be harvesting, and milk when they can get it. Tea and coffee are sometimes used. Many kinds of food are taboo, the articles upon the tabooed list varying as between the "hat" (Mohammedan) and the "turbanned" Hindus, and from one caste to another. Living in

this manner, their food rarely costs as much as \$7.50 per month for one man—this, however, not including beer and whisky, which are freely consumed in many of the groups. Of clothing, most of these migratory laborers do not have enough for a "change," and "dressing up" usually consists of a change of head-dress and putting on the coat, which most possess. The cost of clothing as estimated for various groups does not average more than \$30 per year for one man.

The construction gangs live in much the same way as the agricultural lab-

orers, but the lumber-mill laborers in the towns live better. They usually sleep in "shacks" or basements which alone are rented to them, the group, large or small, almost without exception occupying only one or two rooms. The average cost of subsistence, as reported for seventy-nine mill hands in Oregon and Washington, living in several groups, was \$12 per month, which is not materially different from the expenditures of other races conspicuous as



MOVING ON.

These casual laborers are taking their possessions with them in their search for employment.

"cheap labor" and living in groups of adult males.

The East Indians are controlled only less completely in this than in their own country by caste and custom. In several instances laborers of this race, when imprisoned for larceny or personal violence, have caused serious difficulty, for they have consistently refused to eat food not prepared by themselves or brought by their friends. The Hindus, who constitute about 90 per cent of the entire number, retain their native head-dress.

As already stated, some of our people have looked upon this country as a place of refuge for the Hindu, whom they

believe to be oppressed by the British government. Whether the rule of the British government is oppressive or not, the East Indian laborers have almost without exception come to this country to work until such time as they can save a certain sum of money, after which they expect, or did expect, to return home. They have come to make and save money. Thirty-eight East Indians employed in lumber mills in Washington, in 1909, earned \$451 as an average. In agricultural work their wages when on a day basis vary from \$1.25 to \$1.80 per day, but are most frequently \$1.25 or \$1.50. Their work is very irregular, but during the busier seasons they earn considerably more than is necessary for their subsistence. Almost all of their savings, whether large or small, are immediately sent to India to support their families or to be added to the fund they are engaged in accumulating. Few have as much as \$50 worth of property in this country. In fact, they not infrequently send all of their savings abroad, leaving themselves with nothing to live on in the event of unemployment. Frequently when going to a new locality and failing to secure employment their condition has been pitiable; but they have seldom become public charges, because they have lived a wandering life and apart from the other elements in the community, so that their distress has not become known to others.

Practically all of the Hindus on coming to the United States expected to return to India within a few years. Like other immigrants, however, who first came under similar circumstances, some of them now expect to remain in this country permanently. Thus, of seventy-

nine interviewed in Washington and Oregon in 1909, thirty-six expressed an intention of returning to India, six intended to remain permanently in the United States, while thirty-seven were in doubt as to what they would eventually do. With an immigration of considerable size, the passing of time, and better adjustment to the industrial situation, no doubt a relatively large permanent element would be formed, with its political and social problems. Indeed, in spite of the efforts of the Bureau of Naturalization a few East Indians have secured their first naturalization papers, and before the change in the administration at the port of San Francisco it was stated that some expected to have their wives join them.

The assimilative qualities of the East Indians appear to be the lowest of those of any race in the West. The control exercised by caste and custom has been referred to. So has the relatively low efficiency, which would make assimilation economically very difficult. Moreover, between one-half and three-fifths of them are unable to read and write. Of more importance, assimilation involves a bringing together of different elements; and in the case of the Hindus the strong influence of custom, caste, and taboo, as well as their religion, dark skins, filthy appearance, and dress, stand in the way of association with other races. It is evident from the attitude of other races that they will be given no opportunity to assimilate.

For the present, at any rate, they could find no place in American life save in the exploitation of our resources, and those who are directly interested in that prefer others to serve that end.

A THOUGHT

MADGE ELIZABETH ANDERSON

If we only knew
 What the other man thought,
 If we only knew
 What the other man taught,
 If we only knew
 What the other man wrought,
 We might live our life
 As a wise man ought!

WHAT ONE STOCKHOLDER DID

ALICE HAMILTON

HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO

In these days of enlightened social conscience many men and women feel more or less vague compunctions and misgivings over the lot of the thousands of workers upon whose toil their income depends and who are yet connected with them only by the loosest of ties—that which binds the men employed by a large corporation to the stockholders of that corporation. To such a conscientious stockholder there may come disquieting rumors concerning these employes, stories of over-long hours, of excessive accident and death rate, of tuberculosis and pneumonia caused by irritating dusts; and a very sincere desire may be aroused to do something to correct these evils and to give expression to this sense of responsibility. Yet the difficulties seem so great that he is baffled by their mere contemplation. The stockholders are a scattered, heterogeneous body, the managers almost unapproachable, and supposedly concerned only with profits, and there seems no way to make a protest effective; so the troubled soul is forced to content himself (probably more often herself) by taking up the cause of other unfortunates, although unhappily aware that they are people for whose lot he is not so directly responsible.

I should like to tell the story of one stockholder who attacked this apparently impossible problem with unhesitating directness and found, as I suspect many others would find, that the difficulties were not insurmountable and that the soulless corporation was made up of very reasonable and humane men. About a year ago I went to Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen to talk to her about conditions out in the great Pullman works, because I knew she was a large stockholder in the company. In the course of an investigation carried on for the Occupational Diseases Commission of Illinois¹ we had studied several of the departments at Pullman and had become con-

¹Of this commission Dr. Hamilton was medical officer.—Ed.

vinced that there was a needless amount of industrial disease among the men who were exposed to poisonous or irritating dusts and fumes. For instance, in the paint department there was a great deal of lead poisoning. The paint used for the interior of the sleeping cars in the dressing rooms and sometimes on the ceilings was very rich in white lead, and it was used in such a way that the painter could hardly escape lead poisoning. The paint had to be rubbed down with sand-paper, which produces a great deal of dust. Now, as this was done inside the small enclosure of the dressing rooms, the air became filled with white lead dust. Work of this kind is recognized as the worst the painter can do, and skilled painters are so familiar with the risks that they will not undertake it if they can possibly find anything else to do. As a consequence, many unskilled men were employed by the Pullman company to do the interior painting, some of whom had never handled a brush before. I recall an Italian of twenty years of age, two Lithuanian brothers, a Greek, and two Russians, none of whom were painters by trade. One of the Russians had been a gardener, the other a house servant. Not one of these men had had any idea that the work was dangerous, and if they were warned or instructed by the foreman they had not understood what he said.

We found nineteen men who had recently contracted lead poisoning in the Pullman shops. One of them had worked only one month before he was poisoned, another only seven weeks. There were other places in which men were exposed to poisonous substances, such as the glass etching department, where hydrofluoric acid is used. The fumes of this acid are excessively irritating, causing inflammation of the eyes, nose, and throat, bronchitis, and even broncho-pneumonia. If the acid splashes on the skin it causes a deep, slowly heal-

ing ulcer. Then there was also the department where mirrors are silvered. This is a secret process, and one can only say that the dangerous fumes from the fluids probably contain cyanide bodies.

The Illinois commission was not supposed to go into the problem of the non-poisonous dusts, but as a matter of curiosity we did examine that department which was admitted to be the most dangerous, the sand-blasting. Since the introduction of steel cars this department has grown in importance because it is necessary to prepare all the sheets of steel so that the paint will adhere to the surface. Sand-blasting consists in driving the very finest possible sand against the steel surface with such force that the grains dent it and it becomes roughened all over with millions of tiny dents. This work was done out doors in summer, but in winter it was done inside a building, and the fine sand was excessively bad for the workmen's throats and lungs.

Of course as we conversed with the workmen who were employed in these parts of the plant, we would hear from time to time stories of accidents, especially in the steel car shops, and we gained a very definite impression that the company was not giving the best care to its injured men, and had failed to meet the increased number of accidents caused by the introduction of steel construction with a corresponding increase in its surgical force.

These were the facts that were brought to Mrs. Bowen's attention and that made her decide to take up the whole question of accidents and industrial disease among the employes of this company of which she is a stockholder. First she sent an investigator out to Pullman to look up the accident situation thoroughly and report on it. The resulting report was not at all sensational, but it showed that with an average of 200 accidents a month the company was employing but one surgeon for part of his time, that he was not given the services of a nurse or an assistant, and that there was no company hospital, so that patients who could not pay and for whom the com-

pany was not legally liable had to be sent home or to the county hospital, some twelve miles away. In many cases there would be no objection to sending a wounded man home, but in the case of immigrant men living in lodgings, hospital accommodations seemed necessary.

The results of this investigation of accidents and of the state investigation into occupational diseases were embodied in a report which Mrs. Bowen submitted to the managers of the company, reserving as a last resort an appeal to the stockholders in case the managers should refuse to act. This proved, however, quite needless. The officials were at first somewhat skeptical as to the accuracy of her statements and one of them asked her why, if she thought so poorly of the company, she had not sold her stock and thus freed her conscience, to which she replied that she preferred to stay in and do something about it. On the whole, however, the conference was most amicable and the officials decided to send the report for verification to the men in charge of the various departments. When it was clear that her statements were borne out by the facts, they agreed to carry out, as far as practicable, the reforms which she recommended. Their first step was a very wise one. It consisted in having a thorough physical examination made of all the men employed in work which exposed them to industrial diseases. The examination included urine, sputum, and blood from each case, an enormous task, but it gave them a knowledge of the dangers of certain sorts of work as nothing else could.

During this time the new Occupational Diseases Act came into force in Illinois and obliged the Pullman company to do away with certain of the dangers described above. The fumes in the glass department had to be confined or carried away, and provision had to be made for lunch rooms, wash rooms, and special working clothes for the men engaged in handling poisons. It would have been, however, very difficult to apply the law to the men who sand-papered the interiors of the cars; for the wording of the law is simply that "adequate facilities" shall be provided for carrying off

all injurious dust, and there is no accepted device for doing it in work of this character. Nor does the law touch the men in the departments which are dusty but not poisonous. The company, however, had been impressed with the results of the medical examination and decided to go beyond the law and to include under special protective care not only the men in the poisonous but those in the dusty departments, the sand blasters, glass cutters, metal polishers and buffers, and asbestos cutters.

At present this is the state of things at Pullman. The protection required by law for the workers in paint, acids, etc., is being given also to the men in the dusty trades. This means that they also are provided with respirators and are given a medical examination once a month, as well as the same lunch room and wash room facilities as the men who come under the law. There is one comfort house with an excellent lavatory and lunch room, which is used by 146 men, only fifty of whom are legally entitled to use it. The company now employs five physicians where it had but one. Especially interesting is the change that has been made in the sand-blasting department. The last visit I made to this department was on a bitter zero day, and I was surprised to see the men at work out of doors. It seems that when they were consulted they said that they would prefer to work outside even in winter because it was so much safer. On that day a great bonfire was burning to keep the sand-blasting machine from freezing, and the men came to the fire from time to time to thaw out. Six of them were at work. Four who could stand rather far off from the car were wearing helmets very like divers' helmets; the two who had to come closer to their work were inside small portable houses, with canvas covered openings, through which their arms passed, and

with a window to look through so that they could control the work and yet be protected from the dust. It seemed as if the dangers of this work had been eliminated as far as possible.

The company is trying to solve the difficult problem of protecting the interior painters against lead poisoning by using a compound of lead that is much less poisonous than ordinary white lead. Their chemist had for some time been urging them to substitute lead sulphate for white lead because he thought it made a better paint for the steel cars. When the company decided to take up the matter of lead poisoning they asked the chemist if lead sulphate was safer for the men than white lead, and when he assured them that it was, they decided to adopt it.

There is a very evident feeling of solicitude for the health and safety of the men out at Pullman now, and a readiness to go to great lengths in the prevention of accidents and illness. It needed only that the conditions should be placed clearly and with a certain insistence before the officials of the company for them to recognize the necessity for changes and to proceed to make them.

Surely it is not rash to assume that the same thing would be true of most large companies. The evils that exist are probably of long standing and it simply has not occurred to anyone to inquire if they are still inevitable or if modern methods of protection would not do away with them. This would seem to be a service that a person might perform who is interested in the company and yet in a way an outsider. Mrs. Bowen's experience certainly shows that the much-criticized stockholder may really be the means of starting a very widespread reform in the methods of the company with which he is connected.



SORTING BUTTONS UNDER IDEAL CONDITIONS.

MUSCATINE

THE STRIKE PROBLEM OF A MID-WESTERN TOWN

SAMUEL Z. BATTEN

DES MOINES

The national extent and significance of the industrial struggle stands out perhaps most vividly when the "storm centers" shift from our larger cities or mining camps and grip our prided "typically American" towns. Muscatine, a clean, well-built, attractive community of 17,000 people on the Mississippi, was fifteen months ago one of Iowa's favorite examples of a busy, happy, growing city, with thriving factories, hundreds of comfortable homes, churches, and well-appointed stores, banks, and business buildings. Temperance people pointed to it with satisfaction as a practical demonstration of the value of the no-saloon policy.

For over a year it has been a city torn with civil strife, neighbor is arrayed against neighbor, church life is disturbed, and class feeling is growing. On one side stand a score of manufacturers, on the other are 2,700 workers in the town's main industry—the making of pearl buttons; between, lie the great mass of the people, trying to be impartial, wishing that the troubles would end, and fearing that the city will be ruined. A lockout began hostilities, a strike continued them, and then came the grim contest of endurance. Unable to live through the pro-

tracted idleness, several hundred workers left town. Manufacturers have moved their machines and opened plants elsewhere. Merchants have lost business. There has been disorder. The governor intervened. The town has been twice invaded by militia and several times by special officers hired in another state. Prejudice and incoherence have taken the place of good judgment and sound reasoning. Exaggeration distorts facts.

Forty years ago a German settler began to cut pearl buttons here from the fine, large, fresh-water clam-shells gathered in the Mississippi and its tributaries. The industry grew until, at the time the trouble began, Muscatine factories were producing fully 35 per cent of the pearl buttons of the country. There are several other factories, but the button factories are fifty-two in number, though only about a dozen are of much importance. For a year or more the number of button workers has ranged between 2,700 and 2,800, with a weekly pay-roll of \$30,000. The wages of the workers are moderate; the manufacturers claim, however, that they are higher in Muscatine than in similar factories

elsewhere. The pay-rolls show that a considerable number of men received \$12 a week and over. The average wage paid all workers is \$10 per week, not a high wage in these times.

Button making does not require much skilled labor; in fact, there is no part of the industry that can technically be called skilled. Given a few days, and a man with dexterous fingers can make the wages of a cutter. The factories have employed some 800 women, and these, as the pay-rolls show, have been paid as high as the men. The work is not hard, and it is not especially unhealthy. The cutter stands on his feet all day bending over his machine; many of the women appear pale and flat-chested, due in part to the work of leaning over the tables counting the buttons. Cases of "shell poisoning" occur with some frequency, though as a rule the disease is not serious. It is an infection of the hand of the cutter, caused by the decomposed animal matter on the shell. Shell dust acts like lye on the hands, and some of the cutters wear rubber gloves as a protection.

In the main, the factories are well lighted and airy; in some, there are conveniences for workers with good wash rooms and lunch rooms. The sanitary condition of some factories is satisfactory; others are poorly lighted and ventilated; in several the cutting room

floors are damp and unsanitary. In all, efforts are made to remove the dust from the grinding room by suction fans. In practically all there is dangerous machinery not adequately safeguarded. Unfortunately, a number of boys and girls are employed in the industry, for Iowa is one of the backward states so far as the protection of the workers is concerned. Many of the boys and girls leave school as soon as they are fourteen and crowd into the factories. In one factory boys of sixteen are employed on the night shift, from 6 p. m. to 5.30 a. m., with half an hour at midnight. In this factory women work the same number of hours, five nights a week.

The button industry as the manufacturers themselves admit has been largely unorganized and unstandardized. No one knows the cost of making a gross of buttons. Defective buttons are sold at reduced prices; but no one seems to know whether at a loss or profit to the manufacturer. But for several years past the industry has flourished and a number of manufacturers have made small fortunes. The city of Muscatine, like all other cities, has had an ambition to be a metropolis; the business men boomed the town and advertised for workers. By such means, more workers were brought to the city than could possibly be employed. Some of the



THE MACHINE ELEMENT IN THE BUTTON INDUSTRY.

new comers, in the nature of the case, were not the most stable people or most skilled workers. In a city of one chief industry, such conditions were certain, sooner or later, to bring on a crisis.

The lack of standardization on the business side was paralleled, until recently, by the workers' lack of organization. A button workers' union was started, but not until the autumn and winter of 1910-11 did it have many members. About that time the button industry felt a depression. Wages were affected; and, as we shall see, other causes which were real grievances produced widespread dissatisfaction. The question of wages was not, however, the primary cause of dissatisfaction. The workers felt—whether rightly or wrongly does not matter—that they were not getting a square deal in the weighing and counting of buttons. The basis for wage payments had no standard of uniformity. So long as they felt this way, they were dissatisfied and suspicious. It was not a question of wages but of justice. Be it said that the manufacturers assert that they have always favored Muscatine; and, when a reduction of work has been necessary, that they have shut down their outside factories first. In some of the factories they provided pleasant lunch rooms for the workers, and sold good coffee for a cent a cup. But the temper of the workers was illustrated by the fact that they preferred to eat their lunch out in the mills. They said that since they were not receiving justice, they did not care to receive "charity."

It is important to analyze this chief cause of friction, the main grievance of the workers—their dissatisfaction with the weighing and counting. From the beginning of the industry the manufacturers have supplied the workers with saws, spools, files, etc., free of charge. The cutter was required to cut 168 "blank" buttons as a gross (nominally 144) without regard to their thickness; a number which allowed for defective blanks or those that might be too thin for good buttons. The method of counting and weighing the product at present is somewhat as follows: The worker brings his batch of blanks to the weigh-

master who takes a handful from the bucket and lays them on the table; 168 blanks are then counted out as a gross. In doing this, the "culls"—that is, those which are chipped by being "punched," pushed too hard against the saw,—are laid aside. Then the total of these culls is added to the 168 on the automatic scale to make the unit of weight for the worker's entire output. The workers claim that the heavy buttons always go to the sides of the tub; the difference of six heavy buttons in a count may make a difference of \$2 or more in the week's wages. It will be seen that by this method a "factory" gross always contains 168 *good* blanks instead of the twelve dozen which the system of counting was originally devised to secure; even so there would be no controversy at this point if the standard remained the same. In addition to the extra twenty-four good blanks in every factory gross, the worker receives no pay at all for the culls. The workers claim that a gross may run as high as 300, according to the character of the work and the kind of shells. The standard set varies somewhat in the different shops, and is subject to change at the will of the employer. At some times a blank two lines thick will be counted for the cutter; at other times the blanks must be three or four lines thick.

Practically all of these thin blanks are finished along with the good ones and make thin buttons which are sold as a low-grade product for use on all the cheaper grades of clothing, shirt-waists, sweaters, waists, and children's suits, at prices ranging from four cents a gross upward. But for these low-grade buttons the workers receive nothing. The manufacturers claim that the prices received for them do not pay for the material used, but the exact facts of the matter have never been ascertained. They claim also that the cutters waste much material by leaving the thin part of the shell uncut. The workers admit this and ask why they should be expected to work for nothing—to cut thin "blanks" for which they receive no pay.

In the finishing department a similar



SEWING BUTTONS FOR MISSIONS.

condition prevails. In many instances it was positively asserted that the women workers were not permitted to see their product weighed, and that those who complained were at once discharged. Even in the sorting department, where the matter of breakage does not enter, the so-called bad buttons that have come all the way without yielding the worker any return must be worked over by other hands again without pay. Workers further say that they have known instances where there were by actual count 273 gross of finished buttons in a batch; yet the worker was credited with only 137 gross. Such cases are no doubt very exceptional, but beyond doubt there has been abundant opportunity for unfairness on one side and occasion for dissatisfaction on the other.

We have seen that the manner in which a weigh-master selects and counts a pile of blanks or buttons may mean a difference of \$2 or more in the week's wages. Workmen have believed that the count depended upon the supply of labor. When labor is scarce and business is good the count is "liberal"; but when business is slack and there is an oversupply of workers the count is "strict." Some of the manufacturers admit that when trade is good they can be lenient; but when trade is dull they must run close. It is admitted by all impartial men that the method of weighing and counting is unsatisfactory and that it

should be changed. The individual worker has felt all along that he could obtain no redress on this question. He was told that if he did not like the way things were done he could leave.

Another thing that increased the friction was found in the remarkable decrease of wages during the few months preceding the strike. An examination of the pay-rolls will show some significant facts on this question. In one of the largest shops the men in 1910 receiving on an average over \$14 per week. The week before the lockout few of them received as much as \$12 a week. The figures show that there was a slump in wages from 25 to 50 per cent. During this time the rate had not changed, yet wages had fallen. The men assert that they did as much work as before and cut as many blanks, but their wages showed a mysterious drop. The manufacturers assert that this was due to the irregular work done; that the men were being unionized and were accustomed to gather in groups during working hours, talking and arguing while their machines rattled on doing nothing. The men claim that they were "robbed," and point to their wages as evidence. Where such causes for friction and such occasions for dissatisfaction exist it is not strange that discontent should thrive. All these things furnished a prepared soil for the growth of a button workers' union.



HOME SEWING.

In the winter of 1910-11 as many as 300 new members were received at a single meeting. Some employers say that during this process of unionizing, many of the workers grew insolent and independent. When the manufacturers found that a considerable proportion of their workers were in the union, they doubtless felt that if any action was to be taken the first opportunity should be improved. It is now fifteen months since they took action.

Saturday afternoon, February 25, 1911, as the workers went to the office to receive their pay envelopes, they were confronted with a notice to the effect that the factories had shut down for some time. Without a moment's warning, some 2,700 workers found themselves out of work. Two things soon convinced the workers that a struggle was impending with unionism as the issue. The fact that all the factories shut down at the same time indicated concerted action on the part of the manufacturers. The next week when workers went to the factories to inquire about the prospects of work they were asked if they belonged to the union; those who would agree to tear up their union cards were taken back and given work. The action of the manufacturers was a lock-out, and it seemed clearly a concerted effort to break up the union.

It was not until some two weeks after the lockout that outside labor organizers came. In answer to an appeal Emmett

Flood of Chicago, representing the American Federation of Labor, and Miss Finnegan, representing the Woman's Trade Union League, were sent to Muscatine. Time passed with no signs of a settlement of the difficulty. In nearly all the factories there were a few who remained at work, and occasionally one would break away from the union and go back. The locked-out workers picketed the plants and exhausted their arguments in persuading those at work to come out with the rest.

From time to time petty acts of persecution and violence occurred at night. Houses of strike-breakers were stoned. Some houses were smeared with paint and tar. "Stink bombs" were thrown into a few. In some instances those who persisted in working were threatened with bodily injury. Efforts to adjust the difficulty proved unavailing, and the disorders became serious around the factories. The city police were few and were believed to be in sympathy with the workers. The sheriff and mayor accordingly called twenty men from a Chicago detective agency and these were sworn in as special officers. A number of citizens assert that they heard the sheriff declare that he had brought these men to the city to slug the people off the streets. Whatever their instructions were, this is what these specials set out to do. In their charges upon the crowd inoffensive and helpless women and children were sometimes knocked down and beaten.

From time to time efforts were made to adjust the differences and bring the parties together. John B. Lennon, treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, spent some time in the city, but without avail. A committee of business men brought representatives of the workers and manufacturers together for a conference and a statement was prepared. In this statement the workers agreed to waive the question of the recognition of the union. But they asked that the workers be taken back without discrimination, and that the question of weights and counts be adjusted. The manufacturers expressed a willingness to treat with their workers as individuals

but refused to meet a committee of any kind. In refusing to sign this agreement they resented the inference that they had even met with a committee from the union, and they absolutely declined to recognize the union in any way. State Commissioner of Labor Van Dwyne next sought to find some common ground. It is needless here to give the statement he prepared, which he supposed both parties were willing to accept. But his efforts also proved fruitless, and settlement seemed as far away as ever.

On Monday, April 24, 1911, at the suggestion of the writer, the Ministers' Association of Muscatine met a committee of the button workers' union asking what they could do to help settle the dispute, and inquiring whether the workers were willing to submit the questions at issue to an impartial board of arbitration. The workers acceded to the request. A committee of the ministers then waited upon the manufacturers with the same inquiry. The manufacturers declared that they were willing to treat with their own employes; that they refused to recognize the union in any way, and that there was nothing to arbitrate. A few days later, however, through the personal efforts of Governor B. F. Carroll, representatives of the manufacturers and the workers came to a truce, and signed an agreement. This provided, in brief:

1. Workers to return to work. No discriminating against any former employe by reason of membership in the Button Workers' Protective Union, nor against any employe by reason of non-membership.
2. All employes, except eight persons agreed upon, to be taken back and given their former positions as far as possible.
3. Employers to endeavor to provide constant work for all.
4. Employes to be allowed to witness the weighing and counting of their products.
5. Up-to-date schedules of prices to be posted in each department.
6. Employes to maintain industrial discipline and avoid waste of material.
7. Schedules of wages, counts, weights and measures to be the same as on February 25, 1911.

Following this agreement the factories opened on May 4, and the trouble seemed over. This was a year ago. It is not



OUTSIDE THE FACTORIES.

over yet. No provision had been made whereby the terms of the agreement could be enforced, and from the very first there was friction. The workers claimed that those who had been active in the union were discriminated against. It is certain that a number of union workers were discharged. In many cases it was claimed that no effort was made by the manufacturers to resume full operations or to give employes their former positions. Some of the manufacturers admitted that they did not consider the agreement to be binding; they had simply signed it "out of courtesy to the governor. Therefore, they felt at liberty to break it." The workers declared that they signed the agreement in good faith and endeavored to observe its conditions. In several shops a walk-out occurred, but the workers were ordered back by their leaders; in one instance the workers refused to return.

On August 21, by a general referendum vote, the executive committee of the union was given authority to order a strike. The committee refused to assume the responsibility and referred the decision back to the union. It was carried by an overwhelming vote.

The manufacturers then endeavored to run their factories by employing non-union men, and by persuading some union workers to come back. The union resorted to picketing. The manufacturers secured special officers from Chicago who slept in the factories and sought to protect the non-union workers. Much friction ensued when the "specials" escorted strike-breakers to their homes

and arrested persons whom they accused of violating the peace. An old ordinance, long a dead letter, was revived under which three or more persons, assembled on the street, disturbing the people by shouting or making a noise, might be arrested as an "unlawful assembly."

Through all the long and severe winter the union workers have kept together. Some broke away and returned to work. By spring the factories were running with about one-third of their usual force. In the early chapter of the struggle the sympathies of the townspeople were largely with the working people, but several things have caused some change in this sentiment. The growth of socialism was one factor.

For a number of years past socialists have conducted an active propaganda in Muscatine. In 1900 the socialist vote was 108; in 1910 their vote for governor was 617; at the city election in March, 1911, the socialists polled 1,099 votes, elected two members of the city council and two members of the school board. It is quite possible that the action of the manufacturers in precipitating the lockout crystalized discontent and made this victory possible. Several of the active officers in the button makers' union were well-known socialists, and this gave occasion for some to say that socialism was at the bottom of the whole movement of the workers. Some of the socialist agitators no doubt improved the opportunity to preach their doctrines; but abundant evidence shows that all mention of socialism was strictly forbidden in meetings of the button workers' union. Many people in the city, however, linked socialism with the growth of the button workers' union. At any rate, the political movement intensified the opposition of the manufacturers and their adherents. At a meeting of 300 business men last October, resolutions were adopted as follows:

First: That it is the right of every laborer to accept employment, if he will, and a fundamental duty of the state to protect him in such action. We respect the aims of organized labor and appreciate the great work it has done throughout the world. At the same time, the history which has resulted in the present situation conclusively shows that the Pearl Button Workers' Union has used

unionism as a mask for economic fallacies that make against social order and permanent prosperity.

It is evident that many of the "business men" not only have unintelligently confused unionism and socialism, but regard the button workers' union and the Socialist Party as a mask for fallacies that make against "social order and permanent prosperity."

Another factor in the change in sentiment was the losses sustained by tradesmen. Many of the merchants gave the workers credit during the earlier stages of the struggle when the workers were locked out; but when, after the signing of the agreement, the strike was called, they refused all further credit. They declare that they have hundreds of dollars of dead accounts on their books because of the troubles, and this fact has done much to cool their sympathies.

Other factors in changing sentiment centered around the violence which occurred. As might be expected the strikers were held responsible. It is possible that some of the unionists used language that was liable to misunderstanding. It is quite certain that the union people would have had more sympathy from the people at large if they and their leaders had more sternly repressed all forms of disorder and violence. The murder of a policeman last November was at once ascribed to the influence of the "imported labor agitators," and the community was seized with hysteria. The facts are that the young man who did the shooting, and who has since been sentenced to prison for life, had for some time been living away from Muscatine. He had been left several hundred dollars and was back in town spending it in dissipation. He states that if he had not been drunk when the policeman stopped him on the street he never would have fired the fatal shot. In discussing violence also, the fact must not be forgotten that Muscatine is an old river town with an inheritance of roughness. There was a gang in the early times called the "Mad Creek Rattlers," always ready to commit any crime up to and including murder. And in the first prohibition fight three houses of temperance leaders were dynamited.

The presence of the hired "special offi-

cers" from Chicago undoubtedly provoked much disorder, for their overbearing ways and free use of clubs aroused resentment and resistance on the part of the strikers. It is a strange thing that a town which objects to the introduction of non-resident officials of labor organizations should have turned over its administration of law and order to men hired from a private detective agency in another state, whose antecedents were extremely questionable. It strikes the observer as a confession that the civic organization of the community life had broken down. The well-meaning officials of city and county could in ordinary circumstances fulfil their duties to general satisfaction. It may perhaps be considered fortunate that in the extraordinary situation which arose they did not make more mistakes. Many misunderstandings of events and statements of individuals or committees complicated the difficulties. Employers charge up most of the trouble and of the socialistic growth to the "foreign labor leaders," not realizing that conditions in the button trade have done much to drive the workers into the union, and many of them into socialism. But it should be remembered these "outside leaders" did not appear until the union had grown to include about all the workers. They did not appear until more than two weeks after the "lockout." The socialists increased very rapidly in the city largely because of unsatisfactory industrial conditions. The heavy socialist vote has been in large degree a protest. This is confirmed by a letter from a young man, the president last year of a men's Bible class in one of the churches, the largest men's class in Iowa. He says:

I vote the socialist ticket as a protest against industrial conditions, and honestly believe that 75 per cent of the socialist vote in Muscatine is from the same cause.

At the city election this spring the members of all the other parties united in a citizens' ticket against the socialists; but the latter elected one new member to the city council.

According to the statement of the manufacturers, Treasurer John B. Lennon of the American Federation of Labor was asked why the attempt had

been made to unionize the Muscatine workers where the labor conditions are so good and the wages paid are higher than in other button centers. He is reported to have replied that localities where conditions and wages are good are always selected for the organization of new unions. The workers and Mr. Lennon deny that any such statement was made by him. But the manufacturers make it their pretext for saying:

The only possible conclusions the manufacturers were able to come to after this explanation by Mr. Lennon was that they had made a mistake in the past by paying too high wages at Muscatine and treating their employes with too great liberality.

Evidently the manufacturers propose to change conditions in Muscatine, and to make it no longer "good ground" for unionism. As a matter of fact, the local button industry, like Topsy, has "just growed," with little conscious direction on the part of any one. Any man could buy a saw and begin cutting blanks; as his income warranted, he could add other machines and increase his force of workers. The manufacturers in the main are excellent and well-meaning men, but they have failed properly to organize and standardize the industry. More than that, they seem to have failed wholly to understand the economic development of the time, and to recognize the fact that their workers are partners in the industry. They owe it to themselves, to the workers, and to the community, that they standardize the industry, secure an efficiency expert who will investigate fully some of the problems of the industry, the best use of material, the avoidance of waste, the cost of producing the low grade buttons for which the workers receive nothing, and will devise some standard way of weighing and counting.

The grievances which led to open hostilities should so be redressed. But these grievances are now overshadowed by the question of unionism, so far as the manufacturers are concerned. The history of the struggle makes this fact plain. From the first the manufacturers have declared that they will not deal with their former employes through any union committee. They say they would rather move away their machines, and then, to quote an

officer of the manufacturers' association, "there will be three men for every job in Muscatine." In fact, several have already shipped away part of their machinery to other towns. One man declared that he would not treat with a union committee if the governor should ask him, or even the President of the United States. He would go out of business first.

But the manufacturers have formed an association—a gentlemen's agreement, one calls it—and they are acting as a unit. They are looking to a joint labor bureau to furnish them workers. Such a joint labor bureau can advertise for outside help, keep a black-list, and refuse employment to a striker. But the right and privilege of concerted action which they claim for themselves they seem unwilling to accord to the workers. They act together and yet deny their workers the same opportunity. They do not seem to understand the meaning of unionism, and the necessity of collective bargaining and organized representation on the part of the workers. Thus it is evident that a fundamental principle is in issue; and this must not be obscured by any mistakes on the part of the union or its leaders. This question is nothing more than the democratic organization of industry—the right of the workers to bargain for their labor on the best terms, and to have a voice in determining its conditions.

In all this long and bitter struggle, what has been the influence of the churches and those who profess to stand for the spirit of the lowly Prince of Peace? It must with sadness be answered that many of the workers have dropped out of the Muscatine churches in the belief that they sympathize with the manufacturers. The sewing of finished buttons on cards is largely home work. It is done by the aged, by cripples, by women, and children. For this work the pay is at the rate of one and a half cents for a dozen cards! A good quick worker may earn six cents an hour! It has been the custom for ladies of the church aid societies to "sew buttons" in their meetings and thereby earn a little money for missions and other objects.

During the lockout and strike the union workers asked the church societies to discontinue this practice. Some consented, but in some churches the women resumed the work. This alienated many of the workers, and has caused church dissensions. In one or two, the "button sewers" meet on one day and the "non-sewers" on another. Many of the workers feel that the ministers of the city have never tried to understand the real source of the trouble, but have accepted the common opinion, and have not tried to remove the causes of friction.

In Christmas week a committee representing the commission on the church and social service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America visited Muscatine and made a very thorough investigation.¹ In the course of our investigation we attended by invitation a meeting of the Pearl Button Workers' Protective Union. It was a bitterly cold night but the large hall was crowded. Miss Finnegan told what the union people of the country were doing to aid the people who were striking for simple justice. She also gave an account of the button workers' Christmas tree, where the children were given a little Christmas treat. I watched the crowd very carefully and saw tears in the eyes of more than one man who wore the "red badge." The strikers are average American people, no better and no worse than the usual run of folks. The deep eternal conscience of the race showed itself in the meeting that night. These people are smarting under a sense of injustice. They are reaching out, blindly enough, many of them, after justice and equality. They look up with confidence and gratitude to any one who will voice their protest and will show them the way. And they will welcome and accept any real leadership that may come to them from any source, and especially from the church. Some of the ministers seem inclined to complain of the socialist leaders who have drawn the multitude of workers after them. But how has it come about, we may ask, that a dozen untrained men with little standing in the

¹The report of the committee presents substantially the same outline of fact, and takes practically the same point of view as this article. Copies may be had from the Rev. Charles S. McFarland, Secy., 215 Fourth Ave., New York.



COLLECTIVE BARGAINERS!

These babies, with bread-winning responsibilities, have banded together in the Juvenile Sewers and Carriers' Union of Muscatine.

community, should gain the confidence of the people and lead the people as they have done? The very question is a confession of ignorance or indifference on the part of those who, by their position, are the nominally recognized leaders. Have these leaders failed to keep close to the people they are set to lead? Here is a question which goes deep into the life of to-day and touches many other communities besides Muscatine. If the recognized leaders do not lead, can they complain if the people follow other leaders? The ministers, even though they were new to the town, could have discovered the real facts in the situation. They could have acquainted themselves with the fundamental grievances, and they could have kept in personal touch with the leaders of the workers. The pathetic eagerness with which the strikers welcomed the visit of the committee of outside

ministers is evidence that no amount of unwise leadership could have availed against the sympathetic advice of men who stood firmly for the relief of any just grievance of the workers.

It is too soon to forecast the final outcome of the struggle. The manufacturers may persist in their opposition to the union. The city and the state may fill the factories and streets with officers, and may maintain a show of law and order; the strikers may become worn out and one by one may be compelled to return to work. But in spite of it all—nay, because of all—discontent will grow among the people. The socialist vote will continue to increase. The gulf between the churches and the people will be widened. Could any situation show greater need for men to try the Golden Rule? Why not try the Golden Rule in Muscatine?

CANADIAN INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES ACT

ETHELBERT STEWART

In a special message to the sixty-second congress, on February 2, 1912, recommending the creation of such a commission as is provided for by the senate bill 5546 and house bill 21094, President Taft said:

The magnitude and complexity of modern industrial disputes have put upon some of our statutes and our present mechanism for adjusting such differences—where we can be said to have any mechanism at all—a strain they were never intended to bear and for which they are unsuited. What is urgently

needed today is a re-examination of our laws bearing upon the relation of employer and employe and a careful and discriminating scrutiny of the various plans which are being tried by some of our states and in other countries. This would seem to be the most natural step in bringing about an adjustment of these relations better suited to the newer conditions of industry.

It is precisely this fact, that our laws were never meant to apply, our courts never intended to have jurisdiction, in the really serious industrial problems of the

day, that constitutes the tragedy of our social situation. It is precisely this fact, that we have no tribunals before which industrial controversies may come before they develop into conflicts, that marks the impotency of a system which worked well enough under the conditions out of which it grew,—a system fitted to the pack-mule and the tallow-dip stage of industrial progress, but puerile when applied to an era of electric-lighting companies and empire express trains.

Conditions of employment have been so thoroughly revolutionized that the old legal theories applying to master and servant irritate, and do nothing to solve difficulties that arise between "a master" composed of a chain of employers' associations which control an industry in perhaps twenty states and "a servant" which is composed of a union of hundreds of local unions, encompassing the industry and including in its membership all the skilled workmen and in its allies all the affiliated trades tributary to the industry.

Not only are our laws and our court methods poorly adapted to the present industrial situation as related to conflicts between "master and servant," but they entirely ignore, because they have not yet reached, the larger problems. It was easy enough to ignore the public in the old type of industry where a half dozen workmen struck against a single employer whose customers numbered a few score and who could buy their meat of another butcher, or their coal of another "pit master" while the quarrel was on with their "regular store." We can frankly admit that even yet there is no "third party" to a strike of a second cook against the "mistress" in a private family. But when a federal court in New England ruled that a man who had no coal in mid-winter and could get none had no legal interest that gave him a standing in court, when every anthracite mine in the country was shut down, the question of enlarging the legal powers of the consuming public in all cases of organized or engrossed production of the necessities of life becomes a question of community life and death. In other words, the public has come to believe itself entitled to a continuous and uninterrupted supply of food and fuel,

just as it is to police and fire protection. It is in fact quite conceivable that a temporary suspension even of that court procedure which precludes the public from the conflict would not be so serious as a prolonged cessation of production of food or fuel supply by a strike.

It is not to be wondered at that our laws have not kept pace with economic conditions within the past generation. Railroads were first built in the United States in 1830. It took nearly fifty years to get away from the old common carrier laws enacted to regulate drays and stage-coaches; and to establish an Interstate Commerce Commission which had legal authority to recognize a community right in equal rates and equal service.

In the same way the production of the commodities necessary to sustain life has developed in a few years from myriads of little plants supplying a purely local demand, to the corporate control of that production to such a degree that suspension of work of one group endangers the food or fuel supply of millions of people remote from each other and from the scene and cause of the suspension. Under the old system the capitalist, or "undertaker," as old Adam Smith called him, undertook the task of producing a commodity. He assumed all the risk—the risk of being able to make the goods and of being able to sell them,—the community was at no risk, for if he failed there were plenty of other places to buy the article. Today the community takes a risk unknown and unthinkable to those of the day and time out of which our legal theories grew. The community takes the risk of being starved by the derangement of normal production by one corporation, through a dispute between it and another organized body representing the employees of that corporation; both perhaps controlled by officers and stockholders who never saw the plants in which the actual work is being done. In the sense that all commodities are being produced for the final consumers of those commodities, the consuming public may be considered in that sense at least as the final or ultimate employer of both capital and labor, and in that sense the community as a whole is

taking a risk in all vital industries, which makes it imperative that power shall be placed somewhere to prevent the stoppage of supplies. The community can never take its thumb off the throttle by which alone food and fuel can be supplied to itself. It must have such regulating power as will insure to it food and fuel to maintain its existence. A system of production, a code of laws or court practice which shuts the community out from a voice in its own power to exist stands in its own light, endangers itself rather than the community.

Nor is it in keeping with experience to say that any man, or any single session of any legislature can develop a system of laws which at once meet all emergencies. A bringing together of all the laws, experiments, and decisions which have anywhere or at any time been made to meet the conditions of change under which our industries have passed would be of incalculable assistance in such legislation, and such a survey, is the first step toward a final solution.

The social whole, the total of final consumers of meat, for instance, are after all the real employers, in the sense defined above, of all capital and of all labor engaged in the meat-packing industry. This is the social law of labor, that society, as the final consumer, is the ultimate employer, and as such has at least a right to know why supplies are being withheld; must have at least a power of inquiry and the legal power to say whether or not trivial causes shall be made issues upon which the social whole may be starved or frozen. The community right to a continuous supply of the necessities of life creates an obligation on the part of those supplying a social need to submit their grievances to a committee or a court of inquiry designated by the social whole, before inaugurating a suspension of that supply, either through strike or lockout, and this is being recognized by the law-makers of many countries. The Argentine Republic has recently passed a law controlling strikes and lockouts in all public utility operations. New Zealand, "the country without strikes," and all of Australia has legislation, the nature or consequence of which would be studied

and fairly stated by such a commission as these bills would create.

Among the efforts being made in other countries to adjust the machinery of law to present industrial conditions may be cited the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907 in Canada. The law grew out of a great coal strike in the mines of southern Alberta in the fall of 1906, which threatened to leave the prairie provinces without coal in the face of winter. The act itself is the consolidation of a large body of conciliatory labor legislation which precedes it, its dominant idea being, however, to prevent strikes rather than arbitrate conflicts already begun. By its terms it is made applicable only to so-called public utilities—steam and electric railways, power and lighting plants, and to mines.

In such industries the law prohibits, under suitable penalties, a cessation of industry, either by strike or lockout, until an investigation has been made of the merits of the case and the public fully informed by publication of the findings. Unlike the compulsory arbitration act of New Zealand and Australia, the law does not prohibit strikes or lockouts after an investigation has been made and the merits of the dispute published. A thoroughly informed public opinion is relied upon to take care of the rest.

The law requires that in the event of a dispute arising in any establishment in the industries named, employing ten or more persons, which dispute is likely to result in a strike or lockout, either or both parties shall notify the government and ask for an inquiry. Each party to the dispute is then asked by the government to name a member of a board of three; these two select a third, or in the event of failure to agree, the government names a third. Should either party to the dispute neglect or decline to name a representative for board membership, the government names one for them. The board so constituted has power to summon witnesses and compel testimony. The question of procedure is left to each board, but such good results have uniformly attended informal procedure, such bad or indifferent results where formal court procedure has been adopted, that court rules are rarely adopted by

these boards. The first effort is to ascertain the facts, then to bring the parties together on the facts. Agreements, not verdicts, are sought; hence, conference not cavil is the method of procedure most in vogue. A study of the evolution of procedure under this law would give an object lesson in methods of dealing with industrial problems much needed in the United States.

When the law had been passed but a few days and before the real administration of it could be organized, a strike of telephone girls in Toronto occurred. The girls appealed to the government under the law, although a strike was then on. The company declined to name a member of the board, but the government appointed a member and went on with the inquiry which it made open to the public. The papers published the testimony. Within three days the company appointed an attorney to represent them at the hearings and in a very few days posted an offer to its employes which covered the grounds of the strike, and which was accepted by the strikers, thus ending the difficulty before the board finished its work. The report of the board on that strike was the first complete analysis of the industrial side of the telephone businesses ever published. It is asserted in Canada that the very existence of the law prevents more conflicts than it is ever called upon to investigate because the parties do not want a public investigation.

During the first twenty-nine months of the operation of this law fifty-nine boards were appointed to investigate as many difficulties, covering 65,500 employes. Three of these were in industries outside the operation of law, and where boards were appointed only upon the urgent request of both parties to the disputes. Two of the cases were cotton mills with 5,200 employes, the other was a shoe factory with 300 employes.

That the operation of the law has developed points at which it should be amended is but natural, and any such commission as is provided for by these bills would study the workings of this law and give congress a complete insight into such amendments as are needed.

The law has not disturbed business in Canada. It has not introduced artificial wage rates. It has created no opposition to its fundamental principle and all the criticism aimed at the law addresses itself to amendments and not to repeal. It would be impossible to repeal that law in Canada today.

The attitude of labor organizations toward the Trade Disputes Investigation Act of 1907, was expressed by a report of the executive officers of the Dominion Trade and Labor Congress as follows:

Your executive, after careful consideration, gave its hearty endorsement to the principle of the bill. Organized labor does not want to strike to enforce its demands if the consideration of them can be attained without recourse to that remedy. The strike has been our last resort, and as the bill continued our right to strike, but assured a fair hearing of the demands of the workers, there was nothing to do but give our support to it. Nor is organized labor blind to the fact that in every large industrial struggle the public have a large interest as well in the result as in the means adopted to reach that result. The least the public are entitled to is a knowledge of the merits of the dispute. This knowledge will be given to them under the procedure outlined in the bill. Your executive believes it will be a happy day when every labor dispute can be settled by the parties meeting together in the presence of an impartial tribunal to discuss their differences. Our great difficulty in the past has been that we could not get a hearing. The act has been tested already in the case of the machinists and the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and no better tribute could be paid to it than the settlement arrived at in that case, which was reported to your executive at the time of writing this report as being satisfactory to both parties. The arbitration lasted three days, thus meeting the objections of those who, not unnaturally, thought that the delay possible under the bill might be too great to make its provisions of any avail.

The congress endorsed the act by a vote of eighty-one to nineteen. The words of the resolution are as follows:

WHEREAS organized labor has from time to time expressed its disapproval of strikes except as a last resort in industrial disputes;

WHEREAS particularly in disputes connected with public utilities the public have rights that must be respected and considered;

WHEREAS the Lemieux bill is designed to avoid strikes and lockouts in connection with industrial disputes in certain utilities until such time as the merits of the dispute are publicly investigated; and

WHEREAS organized labor always courts investigation of its grievances by reason of the

justice of its claims and its desire to be fair:
RESOLVED, That this Trades and Labor Congress of Canada hereby express its approval of the principle of the Lemieux bill as being in consonance with the oft-expressed attitude of organized labor in favor of investigation and conciliation.

It is true that the congress was composed of trade organizations very few of which were under the provisions of the law, but the congress showed its sincerity by asking by a vote of fifty-nine to twenty-two to have the provisions of the law extended to all trades and industries.

It is a mistake to suppose that labor organizations or anyone else disbelieves

in legislation that will prevent, or that will tend to minimize, industrial conflicts. The Sheep Shearers Union in Australia, which had 10,000 strikes in nine years, was the first to welcome the Court of Conciliation Act of 1907.

It is impossible but that a body of world-wide experiments, and the experiences drawn from them, such as the commission would digest would afford congress and the various state legislatures bases for legislation which would save the country millions of dollars in wages, and in loss from strikes with the attendant suffering to the public as well as to the contestants.

RELIGION IN SOCIAL ACTION

IX

INDUSTRY AND RELIGION: THEIR COMMON GROUND AND INTERDEPENDENCE¹

GRAHAM TAYLOR

Industry and religion with education state and solve the problem of human life when on common ground. Apart, much more in antagonism, they prove existence to be a tragedy. For what is industry? In human terms, it is the base-line, the rootage, the very condition of existence. And religion with education is the sky-line, the atmosphere, the horizon of life, which makes it more than meat, and the body more than raiment, and without which life is not worth the living.

Apart from religion and education, and the human value with which they invest toil, its process and its product, we have a body without a soul, lungs without any air to breathe, eyes without any light to see through, earth without atmosphere or sky. On the other hand, religion and education without industry give us only disembodied spirit, life on earth without the conditions of an earthly existence.

¹The substance of this article appeared in the Merrick Lectures, 1907-8, under the title *The Social Application of Religion*. Jennings and Graham.

The essentials of industry and religion, not their organizations, are our first consideration. Common ground is sought on which to consider their over-arching ideals and their undergirding motives which hold the constituency of each together, reserving for subsequent inquiry the relations between the church or other ecclesiastical expressions of organized religion and the agencies of employing capital and of organized labor. Have religion and industry, in their largest and most essential human significance, anything in common? What have they to do with each other? Is there any common ground where they can, and ought, and must stand together, if these two essential functions and ideals of human life are to fulfil their part in the order of existence?

In the foreground of our discussion lies the portentous fact that the religions of the western world are entering the second industrial century of human history. What that means we have scarcely begun to imagine. But the first cen-

tury of modern industry stands in the clear. The nineteenth century was ushered into history by the whirl of the power-loom which had then just fairly got to work. When the hand-loom ceased to beat the measured tread of all the centuries gone by, and the power-loom began to set the pace of modern life, then mediaevalism ended and times altogether new began. So much more rapid and radical than any other change through which civilization has ever passed was the transformation wrought by the introduction of machinery, the concentration of capital, the establishment of the competitive order, and the subdivision and organization of labor that the appearance of those new factors among men is recognized as "the industrial revolution." More than anything else which had yet been introduced into the world they began to weave human life itself not only into a new pattern but into a new texture. In less than thirty years the new machinery virtually revolutionized the world's life and began to change the very face of the earth.

We are far enough away from that abrupt break with the past to inquire whither we are being borne on the still rising tides of the new times. Whither away is modern industrialism bearing human life upon its resistless streams of tendency? From the course it took through its first hundred years we can discern at least the direction of the channels through which its swift and tumultuous tendencies are forging their way into the times that are to be.

With the French revolution the individual began to gain a new independence. That mighty revolt against the order of life which had for centuries merged the one man in the mass, forever broke up the ancient solidarity. Out of the death of feudalism came the birth of democracy. The democratic individual was being born politically when machinery appeared to give him a new world to conquer. All the inherent and attendant forces of machine production conspired to intensify the independent individuality of those who exploited the tools of production. Even the many more who were left to work with their bare hands, without either the material

or the machinery for producing their own living, were individualized as never before. The serf was no longer tied to the soil. Liberty of movement came in for the first time with the world market, and labor could go where there was the greatest demand for it. The individual became the new unit of society.

No sooner had the type of this new individual unit been fairly and firmly set than the same forces immediately began to put together those who had been separated from their groups. The industrial process of reintegration set in. The forces resident in or centered about machine production and the subdivision of labor began to assert their superiority to the domination of the very individuals who created and until recently controlled them. The tendency of this new industrial society has been more and more from individual independence to the interdependence of man upon man, craft upon craft, class upon class, nation upon nation. Before this century was half over industrial life swept away from unrestricted competition to a combination of capital and labor as inevitable and involuntary as the pull of the moon upon the tides. From the personal maintenance of the freedom of contract, the wage-workers were driven to the only possible exercise of that right by collective bargaining. Politically, the trend has been from local autonomy and state rights to national and international consolidation. Socially, whole racial populations have been blended more and more in huge cosmopolitan, composite citizenships. The irresistible ground swell and tidal movement of the present quarter century has been away from individualism toward a new solidarity.

Yet beneath all the overlying turmoil and friction, injustice and menace, attending this rapid and radical readjustment, there is certainly developing a larger liberty at least for the class, a rising standard of living for the mass, a stronger defence against the aggression of one class upon another, and a firmer basis and more authoritative power to make and maintain peaceful and permanent settlements of industrial differences. More slowly but surely there are developing legal forms and

sanctions which not only make for justice and peace between employers and employes, but for the recognition of the rights and final authority of that third and greatest party to every industrial interest and issue—the public.

All Christian and Jewish faiths are inextricably identified with these human factors of the industrial problem. Their destiny is inevitably involved in these irresistible tendencies in our industrial democracy. Not for the first time is the power of the Christian ideal and faith being tested by its ability to solve the problems it has raised. For Christianity has ever intensified, if it did not create, the industrial crises which attended its birth and rejuvenescence. The Christian evangel has all along held the ideal overhead and the dynamic within the heart which has inspired a divine discontent. Every now and then the gospel strikes the earth under the feet of the common man, and he rises up and demands to be counted as one. Old John Wycliffe's categorical imperative, "Father he bade us all him call, masters we have none," inspired Piers Ploughman, the first great labor song; John Ball, whose field preaching was a declaration of rights; and Wat Tyler, who led the peasants' strike. Many another labor movement has inscribed no more nor less upon its banners than the Swabian peasants had upon theirs, a serf kneeling at the cross with the legend, "Nothing but God's justice." The progress of the democracy has often halted in passing temple and church, and listened at their oracles to hear whether they could express religious ideals and precepts in terms of industrial relationship; whether it would let the worker be the man the free gospel and the free school have taught him to know himself to be.

Protestant Christianity has from its very birth been persistently faced with the demand for the economic justice and industrial peace promised by the prophets and proclaimed in the name of Christ. The reformation of the sixteenth century must be admitted to have fallen short, however excusably, of the great moral and social results which would have been its legitimate consummation if its splendid beginnings could have been

carried on and out. For it was made possible, more perhaps than by anything else, by the social discontent of the oppressed peasantry. Luther's protest found its most fertile soil in those suffering from the oppressive industrial conditions under which people had been robbed and beaten to the point of revolt. The economic side of the great Reformation is yet to be written. So far it has received scant emphasis except in the radical literature of writers avowedly inimical to Christianity.

At the rise of the evangelical movement in the eighteenth century the Wesleys had no sooner raised that standard of reality in religion than they found themselves face to face with this same imperative industrial problem. The Methodist chapels and class meetings trained both the leaders and the mass of the British working people for their trade union movement, which was one of the incidental and most far-reaching results of the revival in England. The rise of the great middle classes to their activity in social reforms is due to this same evangel which brought the sunrise of a new day out of the leaden skies of eighteenth-century England. Further, the rise of the factory system suddenly put the Christianity of the nineteenth century to the test of its supreme crisis. It was the evangel of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, of Frederick Denison Maurice, and of Charles Kingsley, which, more than the Duke of Wellington's battalions, saved England from the revolution threatened by the Chartist movement to the evolution which has sanely and surely developed England's magnificent legislative, municipal, and social progress in the last quarter century.

The present crisis in industrial relationship tests the capacity of the Christianity of the churches to adapt itself to the modern conditions of life, and marks the point at which it will either make another great advance or suffer a sharp decline. It must find terms of economic and industrial relationship in which to express and impress its sanctions, if it is to survive, much more guide and dominate life in this industrial age. And our system and methods of industry must find terms of religious spirit and fellow-

ship in which to justify their claim to be forces making for righteousness and for the progress of the race. This interdependence of religion and industry states the problem of finding common ground, on which they make it possible for each other to fulfil their essential function, a common ground upon which religious industrial life may become actual in this age of the world.

There are at least three human interests upon which both industry and religion set their value. At three points the industrial and religious valuations must either find a common denomination or be fatally exclusive of each other. Religion and industry test each other by the valuation which each puts upon every human life, upon the standard of living, upon union through sacrifice as essential to progress.

Upon each human life religion has ever placed a divine valuation. In both the Jewish and Christian faiths God identifies himself with each single self, by creating man in his own image and likeness and by standing in between each life and self-neglect or the aggression of others. When the king of Israel was self-convicted of blood-guiltiness in sending a common soldier to his death, he cried out, as though he had struck at the very life of God, "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned." The Roman who was capable of coining the sentiment "Nothing that is common to man is foreign to me," was also capable of divorcing his wife because she did not expose to death the girl baby born in his absence, so disappointed was he that the child was not a boy. Yet at that very time Christianity began to invest every life with such a divine sanctity that the law of every Christian nation has ever since gotten in between, not only the parent and the child, but between even the mother and the unborn babe. In America we put a valuation upon every child so great that we can afford to make the school tax heavy rather than to have any boy or girl grow up uneducated. The right to life is so sacred that every community in Christendom bears the burden of providing food, clothing, and shelter to every helpless person, no matter how useless to self or others such

an one may be. More than by any speech, symbol, or act of man, "the cross" sets God's estimate upon the value of every man, woman, and child. And it has imposed upon the religious conscience that sense of the worth of a life which is expressed in what we call "the burden of the soul."

How then does the industrial valuation of the same life accord with the religious value of the soul? Our economists, indeed, estimate each able-bodied working-man's life to be worth at least two thousand dollars to the working wealth of the nation. But in shameless inconsistency with these estimates of our religious ideal and economic valuation stands the industrial depreciation of the value of a human life. Let the price-mark on a life be set by the overwork of women, with which the courts are interfering to protect the nation and the race from the deterioration of their offspring. Let the insatiable waste of child labor be measured by the instinct of self-protection which forces nations to protect themselves from the industrial depletion of the very stock of the race. Let the frightful industrial casualties in America sound the depths of our own disregard of human life and safety by the lists of the dead and wounded, disabled and missing, which in some industries exceed the casualties of the deadliest battle-fields of our worst wars. Let our conscienceless indifference to the grievous burden imposed by the breadwinner's death be arraigned by our prolonged refusal to distribute that burden of supporting the dependent families of the slain or disabled workers as it is distributed in other lands between the owners of the industry, the tax-payers of the state and the wage-earners.

What makes the workaday life a tragedy is the hopelessly inconsistent disparity between the valuation which the industries and the religion of the same people put upon the same life. The claim of religious people to love the "soul," seems the cruelest hypocrisy when identified with the heedless carelessness for the very life of the same person. It would seem that to make good its claims to bearing the burden of souls, religion must find concrete meas-

ures of industrial protection in which to express its care for the lives of men. And yet, until very recently, the working people of America have been left alone by the influential constituencies of the churches to make their hard and heroic struggle for self-protection. First in the field, hardest at work has organized labor been to protect the religious and educational sanctity of each working life, to regulate or suppress child labor, to shorten the hours, and improve the conditions of women's work. But the efforts of others should not be forgotten. The splendid initiative of the Earl of Shaftesbury in placing the factory acts on the statute books of England two generations ago has led men and women from all classes ever since, and never more than now, to unite to protect and enhance the value of life. More and more the forces of religion and civilization are uniting in such concerted movements as the National Child Labor Committee, the Consumers' League, the Visiting Nurses' Association, and many other voluntary agencies to co-operate with factory inspectors, truant officers, and juvenile courts in the enforcement of just and humane legislation. Thus the sanctions of religion and education upon the value of a life are being translated in terms, economic and industrial, by every protected piece of machinery which keeps the fingers on the hand and the hand on the arm; by all the hygienic and sanitary conditions provided for in shops; by all the efforts for industrial insurance; by all the life-saving appliances and conditions on the waterways and the railways of the land; and wherever safety is in peril in the working world.

The standard of living affords another common ground on which religion and industry are found to be interdependent. In raising the standard of living to be compatible with the value of life, both industry and religion realize their ideal. By holding over every one's head the ideal of what a human life was meant and made to be, religion lifts the standards of that life, creates a divine discontent with anything less and lower, and stirs men to struggle singly and together to maintain and advance a rising

scale of living which comes to be as dear as life itself. The response of industry to this ideal of religion is the demand for the opportunity to earn such a livelihood as will make the realization of that idea possible. The struggle of working people to raise and maintain their standard of living is due to the best that is in them and not to the worst. "If this is the kind of a man or woman religion and education teach me to be," the worker naturally concludes, "I should be given the chance to earn the living of such a man or woman." Interpreted in human terms "the standard of living" means the rest which the son of a working mother thinks she should have in her old age, the exemption which his wife should have from wage-earning in order to mother his children, the schooling his boy or girl should get before going out into the working world. The rising standards of living are due to the ideal which religion has taught us all to have of manhood and womanhood, fatherhood and motherhood, wifehood and childhood. Employing industries, which have too long and too widely united to hold down and retard the rise in labor's standard of living, have more and more to their credit many and varied unselfish efforts and achievements in lifting the standards of labor's livelihood and opening to ever-increasing multitudes the opportunity and means of realizing it. Both among employers and employes the struggle to achieve the rising standard of living for the class and the mass should be sanctified by religion. It should be no small part of our personal and collective religious aim and effort not only to protect our fellowmen from lowering the standard of their living, but also to help them raise it, and keep it rising, above a mere living wage, as far as the conditions of the trade or craft will allow. Until we thus translate our religious love of souls into our economic care for selves, religion will mean very little to those who are in the struggle for life and livelihood in an industrial age.

A third common ground on which religion and industry are seen to be interdependent is defined by the fact that both have taught men to sacrifice in order to unite for the common good. Have we

not been teaching, drilling, disciplining our men, women and children—at home, at school, and at church; by their loyalty to family, party, patriotism, and faith—to sacrifice self and stand together for the common good of all or any of them? Have we not invested with patriotic and even religious sanctity those who sacrifice themselves for “their own” folk, fatherland, or faith? How then do these virtues suddenly become vices, these heroes and heroines all at once become sordid conspirators when they combine, stake everything dear to each, risk all, and stop short of the loss of nothing, in united action to save their own or their fellow workers’ standard of living? They may do so in unwise or even unjust ways, but we submit that what is by common consent considered wholly meritorious in every other sphere for self-sacrifice cannot be wholly reprehensible in that of industrial relationship where it is hardest and costliest to exercise the virtues of altruism. What is attributed to the very best in men elsewhere cannot be attributed to the very worst in men here. The “union” of laborers cannot differ, *per se*, morally and as an economic necessity from a combination of capitalists or the communion of members of the same religious faith. If at this age of the world, combination is necessary to success, where is the justice in forcing these competitors of ours to do their business with us as though they lived in that former age of the world when each one could mind his own business without combining with others?

It looks then as though the industrial world has outgrown our moral sense, as though our ethics are hopelessly belated, for we seem to want to make our profits under the modern method of combining all available resources, while at the same time insisting that our fellow workers shall deal with us under the old outworn and discarded system of individual industry. That is, we want others to do unto us as we are not willing to do unto them. It looks as though some of us were being tried and found wanting. Of “times that try men’s souls” we speak as though they were to be dreaded and yet belong to the “heroic age,” but when

we look back upon them from safe distance, we are generally forced to confess that the “times” were not more out of joint than that the “souls”—our own or others’—needed to be tried.

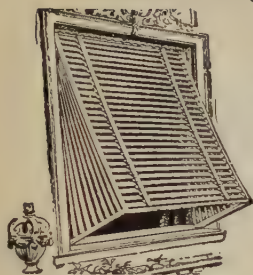
These war times in industry are indeed to be dreaded, but like all great crises that turn the course of history or personal experience, they too are heroic. But the heroism should not be confined to the strikes and lockouts of the irrepressible conflict. Industrial peace should have its victories at the hand of religion, no less renowned than war. The cross and its sacrifice, if they are to mean anything in this industrial age, must be translated by religion into terms of industrial conciliation, intercessorial mediation and sacrificial service, which will bring the pact of Christ’s own peace in human brotherhood out of fratricidal strife.

Industry has its cross as surely as religion. There is no other way to the crown for either than the passion of sacrificial service. Sacrifice not only for self but for others, is the only way by which either the strong or the weak can be crowned with that equality of opportunity which is the God-given right of manhood. Until industry takes up its cross with the self-sacrificing passion of religion, neither labor nor capital, employe nor employer, can really come to their own. Unless religion transforms its cross into terms of economic value and of industrial relationships it can never hold its supremacy over human life in an industrial age. They must unite if either is to realize its ideal or function in human life. For they are interdependent, and only on the common ground of their community of human interests can they ever bring “the new heavens and the new earth” which God has promised to man through them.

[THIS IS THE NINTH OF PROFESSOR TAYLOR’S SERIES ON RELIGION IN SOCIAL ACTION, WHICH IS RUNNING PERIODICALLY IN THE SURVEY. PREVIOUS ARTICLES WERE: I. LIFE AND RELIGION, DECEMBER 2; II. THE HUMAN POINT OF VIEW, DECEMBER 16; III. PERSONALITY A SOCIAL PRODUCT AND FORCE, JANUARY 6; IV. THE CALL AND EQUIPMENT FOR EFFECTIVE SERVICE, JANUARY 20; V. CHANGING CONDITIONS OF A WORKING FAITH, FEBRUARY 3; VI. THE RELIGION OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS, MARCH 2; VII. THE FAMILY: FIELD, FUNCTION AND TRIBUTARY AGENCIES, APRIL 6; VIII. SURVIVAL AND REVIVAL OF NEIGHBORSHIP, MAY 4; THE TITLE OF THE NEXT ARTICLE WILL BE: ORGANIZED INDUSTRY AND ORGANIZED RELIGION.]

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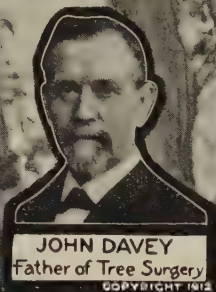
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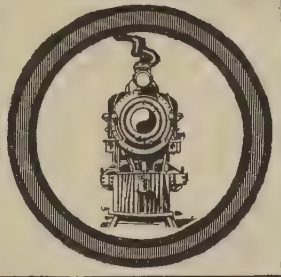
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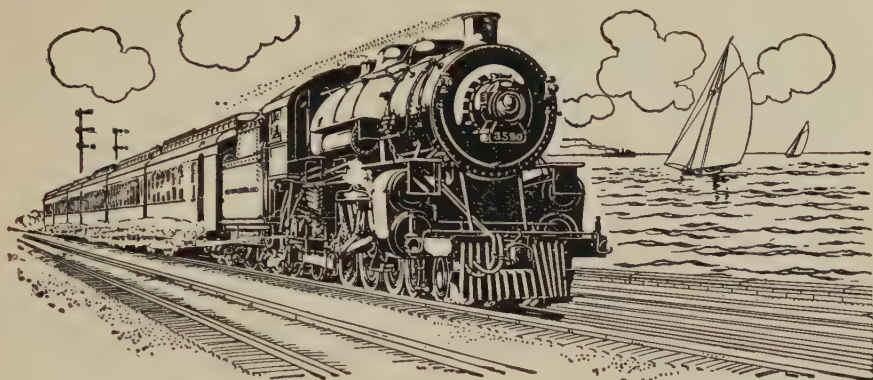
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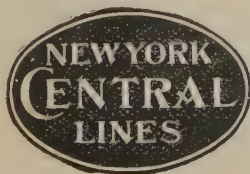
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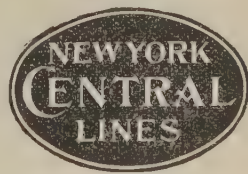
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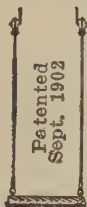
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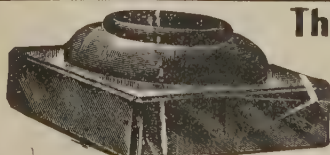
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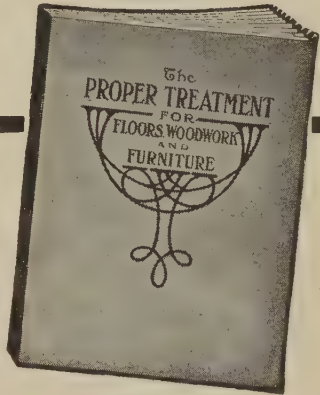
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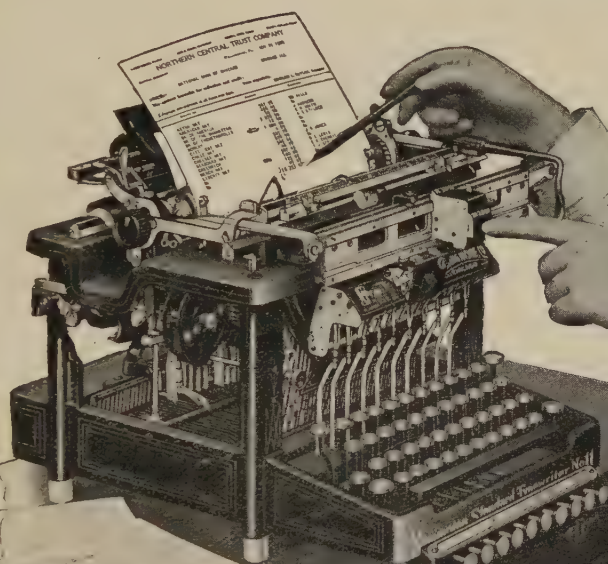
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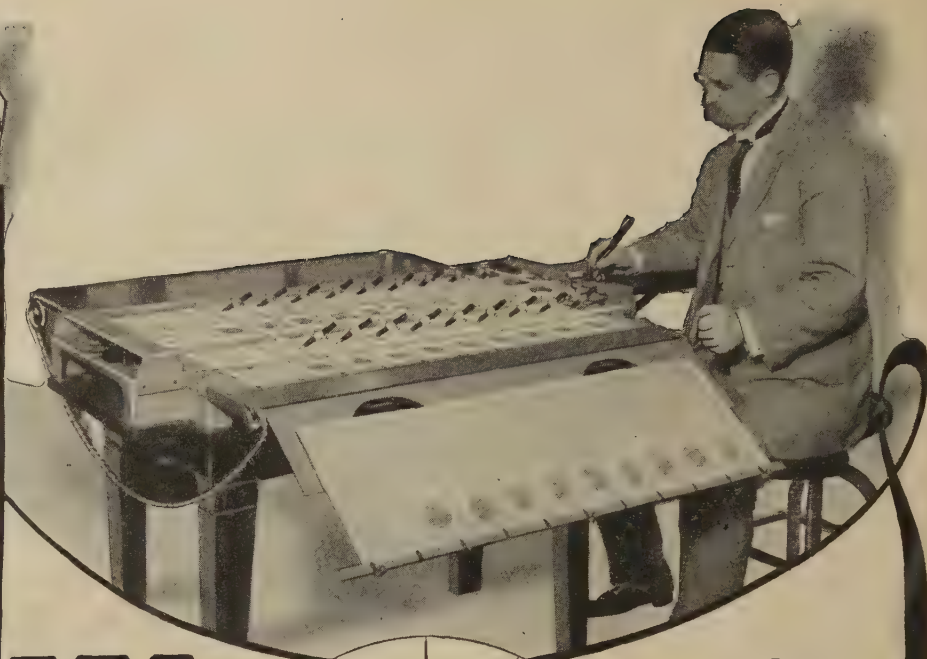
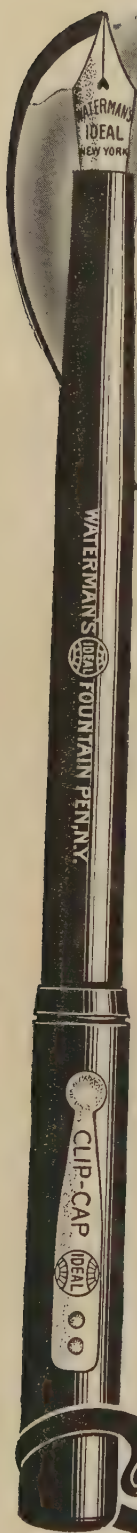
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33.....	94.60
34.....	97.45
35.....	100.55
36.....	103.80
37.....	107.15
38.....	110.80
39.....	114.65
40.....	118.70
41.....	123.00
42.....	127.55
43.....	132.45
44.....	137.65
45.....	143.15
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THE SURVEY

SOCIAL CHARITABLE CIVIC

POLITICS AND PHILANTHROPY

EIGHT REASONS why health reports, housing pamphlets, settlement year books, monographs, theses, tracts, and addresses on all manner of social, charitable, and civic conditions will be put to it to gain the beleaguered public ear during the next four months.



Donahy in Cleveland Plain Dealer.

UNCLE SAM:—"Hurry up, all you fellows
that want to get in on this campaign."

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THE PITH OF IT

THE commission idea stamped the Rhode Island legislature this session. Five permanent boards and twelve temporary commissions were created. A workmen's compensation act and a large grist of other social legislation made the session a notable one. P. 460.

SOME of Governor Dix's conservation policies, in practice, seem to keep up the party fences better than they does anything else. P. 462.

CHICAGO'S juvenile court may have a woman as assistant judge. P. 455.

NEW YORK will have a permanent civic museum at Lexington avenue and 23d street if plans launched by the City College go through. With the new Russell Sage Foundation building going up diagonally opposite, the United Charities Building a block away, the United Hebrew Charities nearby and the Metropolitan tower with its lofty offices of various national movements, the "105 East 22d street" region will become more of a ganglion of social agencies than ever before. P. 453.

AFTER all, how much civic grit is there in the Men and Religion Forward Movement which the Protestant churches have been exercising themselves over the past year? Pittsburgh has some evidence to offer. P. 463.

ST. LOUIS has been trying its hand at a child welfare exhibit. "Poverty, child labor, unskilled labor, and low wages," form a circle which rounds back upon itself and must be broken up. So said the placards. P. 457.

MASSACHUSETTS' new minimum wage bill, duly enacted into law, recalls the years when the Bay State was experimenter and pioneer in all manner of labor legislation. P. 454.

BUT, hey dey, it's the Canadian Northwest that ere long may be leading the other provinces, to say nothing of the states. Manitoba's new family desertion law calls to mind William H. Baldwin's intensive work in this field of social control. P. 456.

SPEAKING of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, its president-elect is Frank Tucker, of New York City. P. 453.

JEAN GORDON and her new mission among the working women of the South for the National Consumers' League. P. 465.

THE Saturday half-holiday in summer. P. 469.

THE SURVEY

EDWARD T. DEVINE,
EDITOR

GRAHAM TAYLOR,

JANE ADDAMS,

ASSOCIATES

A JOURNAL

OF CONSTRUCTIVE PHILANTHROPY

PUBLISHED BY

THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

ROBERT W. DEFOREST, PRESIDENT

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HOTELS

LADIES ATTENTION

Are You Going to Boston?

If so, do you know what the Franklin Square House is? If you do not, you ought to. It is a home-hotel in the heart of Boston for young women. It has a transient department for all women traveling alone, who may need to stop for a few days in the city, or who may be coming to the city for purposes of study. It is **SAFE**, it is **CLEAN**, it is **COOL**, it is **COMFORTABLE**, its rates are **REASONABLE**. If you are coming to Boston for a few days or a few weeks write to Supt., 11 E. Newton St., Boston. Ask for particulars and prices.

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THE SURVEY, 105 East 22d St., New York

THE COMMON WELFARE

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

After a year in which new lines were drawn in the struggle of the nation with the immigration problem, new forces gained headway among industrial workers, and new standards were set for our courts and prisons, the National Conference of Charities and Correction met last week and this in the city of Cleveland. A report of its deliberations together with those of the other affiliated bodies which assembled in the same city, will appear in a later issue of *THE SURVEY*. Seattle was chosen as the place for the next meeting, and the Committee on Organization named the following officers and committees for the conference of 1913:

President, Frank Tucker, New York; first vice-president, F. A. Nibecker, Glen Mills, Pa.; second vice-president, James R. Garfield, Cleveland; third vice-president, O. K. Cushing, San Francisco; general secretary, Alexander Johnson, Angola, Ind.

Committees, Children: chairman, W. J. Doherty, New York, vice-chairman, Henry W. Thurston, New York; Church and Social Work: chairman, John M. Glenn, New York, vice-chairman, Frederic Almy, Buffalo; Distribution and Assimilation of Immigrants: chairman, Julius Rosenwald, Chicago, vice-chairman, Lillian D. Wald, New York; Families and Neighborhoods: chairman, Alice L. Higgins, Boston, vice-chairman, John A. Kingsbury, New York; Health and Productive Power: chairman, Dr. Livingston Farrand, Chicago, vice-chairman, Lee F. Hanmer, New York; Probation, Prisons, and Parole: chairman, James F. Leonard, Mansfield, O., vice-chairman, George B. Robinson, New York; Public Supervision and Administration: chairman, W. T. Cross, Columbia, Mo., vice-chairman, Alexander M. Wilson, Philadelphia; Relation of Commercial Organizations to Social Welfare: chairman, Harry A. Wheeler, Chicago, vice-chairman, Munson Havens, Cleveland; Standards of Living and Labor: chairman, John A. Ryan, St. Paul, vice-chairman, A. J. McKelway, Atlanta.

MUNICIPAL MUSEUM FOR NEW YORK

Lying practically fallow since 1907 is the old building of the College of the City of New York, located in the business section of the metropolis at the corner of Lexington avenue and Twenty-third street. Dedicated by its donor to the city for educational purposes the property, now used by students in the preparatory department of the college, is to be put to a new service.

Several months ago \$60,000 was apportioned by the city authorities for remodelling the old buildings on the understanding that the trustees of the college should set aside space for a permanent budget exhibit. Those interested intended to make the exhibit more accurate, better proportioned and correlated, and of more scientific value for students than the hastily gathered collection for temporary purposes that has been displayed by the city the last two years. Drawing inspiration from this practical laboratory of municipal administration work, of which effective use could be made, the college planned to modify, develop, and systematize its present courses in municipal chemistry, school management and administration, municipal sanitation, political science, politics and sociology until New York should have a school fitted to prepare citizens educated in its schools for capable service to the city in the various departments. The courses now offered by the college are but a nucleus to be supplemented by others in branches not touched by them.

From this point the scheme began to broaden in scope. The suggestion was made that the best of the material presented in child welfare exhibits, congestion exhibits, and social surveys, could be edited, digested and applied to New York so as to form a laboratory not only of municipal activities but of all effort, public and private, directed toward the benefit of the individual citizen. To sup-

plement this the plans call for a municipal and social service reference library in the same building, though its size may be somewhat limited if the city decides to have an up-to-date library at city hall. In the immediate neighborhood is the United Charities Building and the School of Philanthropy, while the new building for the Russell Sage Foundation will be nearby. Half the social service bodies of the city will be close at hand and their workers will be invited to come for special reference work.

Some at least of these larger dreams growing from the original idea are now measurably within reach, for the Chamber of Commerce has decided to father a proposal to raise \$500,000 to build a seven-story building, provided the city will offer a series of carefully devised courses to fit young men for the higher and more specialized positions in the commercial world. The \$60,000 already appropriated for remodelling the old building, it is hoped, will be made available for the equipment of the new by a transfer. The business men who have advanced this idea have practical suggestions which they wish to have incorporated in some form in the management and curriculum of the school. A plan to give them representation is being arranged that will not conflict with the charter obligation that rests upon the trustees of the college. An available site, a board gauge plan developed by President Finley of the College of the City of New York and his associates, combined with unfulfilled needs of the city and its business enterprises, all enter in as creative factors in this new institution to advance the welfare of New York.

MINIMUM WAGE LAW FOR MASSACHUSETTS

Massachusetts has passed an act establishing a Minimum Wage Commission with power to organize wage boards in any industry in which it shall appear that the wages received by women are insufficient to supply the necessary cost of living and to support them in health. The law is based on the report of the commission appointed a year ago to investigate the subject, but in several par-

ticulars the bill which has been enacted differs from that which the commission recommended. The chief item of difference is that the commission, following the precedent of other countries, favored making compulsory such "determinations" of wage boards as were adopted by the central authority. The bill which has been enacted empowers the commission to simply recommend a wage scale and to publish in at least four newspapers in each county of the commonwealth, in a type not smaller than that used for the printing of news matter, the names of employers who fail to comply with their recommendation. Further, an employer who files a declaration under oath in the Supreme, Judicial, or Superior Court to the effect that compliance with the schedule of the commission will endanger the prosperity of his business, may procure exemption from compliance with the wage scale which the commission has promulgated.

In view of the fact that the value of wage boards is expected to lie chiefly in the element of publicity, rather than in their power to effect a radical rise of wages, these amendments of the original bill were not opposed by the investigation commission. The act will not go into effect until July 1, 1912,—nor was this opposed by the friends of the measure, as it is anticipated that in the interval employers who are sensitive to public opinion will presumably take steps to establish a better standard in the trade than prevails today.

For some months prior to the enactment of this bill an active publicity campaign has been carried on throughout the state, both on the platform and by the press. The plan was sufficient of a novelty in this country to attract much attention. The discussion aroused served apparently to demonstrate the need of some action and to allay apprehension of employers. When the bill came up in the legislature it met with a surprising lack of opposition. In the House not a voice was raised nor a vote passed against it, while in the Senate just one senator spoke against the bill and his was the only negative vote passed. In the words of a member of the investigating com-

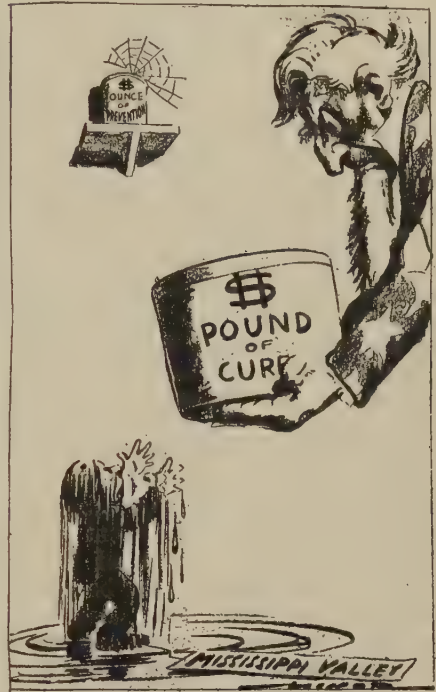
mission, "Massachusetts in this respect has repeated the experience of other countries where wage boards have been recognized as so far from radical measures that they have not encountered opposition from the employing class."

THE CANADIAN INQUIRY INTO OLD-AGE PENSIONS

Some time since a resolution was moved in the Dominion Parliament by Mr. Burnham, the member for Peterboro, for the appointment of a committee of the House to take into consideration the problem of old-age pensions, their advisability from a Canadian point of view, and the possibility of elaborating a scheme that would meet with the approval of the country. When the matter came before the House various shades of opinion found expression, some being in favor of the scheme and others strongly against it. The minister of finance, on behalf of the government, while expressing doubts as to whether or not the time had arrived for Canada to give legislative effect to such a scheme, expressed the hope that good would come from the appointment of such a committee and authorized its appointment. A committee has been selected and has the matter under review. W. F. Nickle, M. P., Kingston, who urged the advisability of immediate inquiry, compares the proposed field of legislation with Sir Richard Cartwright's annuity scheme which was elaborated with the idea of meeting the requirements of old age:

Under the Cartwright plan it is only from the savings of those who have been able to save that annuities can be had, and if conditions are met in which the worker may have done his utmost and done it well and still found himself unable to lay by anything for the purchase of an annuity, be the amount ever so small, nothing is to be had. The old-age pension scheme recognizes the worth of character and industry, even although the opportunity has not permitted of saving, while the annuity plan only gives to him who has had the opportunity of laying by something. One recognizes the right of the toiler, provided his character is reasonably good, to receive something from the state when the journey is about over; the other recognizes no such right unless the toiler has on his way been able to save. Of course the old-age pension scheme is much broader social legislation than the annuity plan.

THE MISSISSIPPI FLOOD



Minor in St. Louis Post-Dispatch.
THANKS.

CHICAGO CHILDREN'S JUDGE TO STAY WITH THEIR COURT

It will be remembered that some weeks ago Judge Merritt W. Pinckney of the Juvenile Court in Chicago announced that he desired to be relieved of these duties and wished another judge selected for service in the Juvenile Court. Those who have shown the deepest concern for the welfare of delinquent children urged the imperative need for his continued service, particularly at this period of vicissitude in the history of the court work.¹

The Circuit Court judges, whose duty it is to choose one of their number the latter part of June each year to preside over the Juvenile Court have urged Judge Pinckney to remain in the Juvenile Court service. This he has agreed to do on two conditions—that the Juvenile Court room be improved, and that he be given a woman assistant to help, partic-

¹See THE SURVEY, March 30, page 2003.

ularly for cases in which girls are involved.

The committee of judges is confident that both these conditions can be met. The court room is most inadequate as to size and ventilation, and the Board of County Commissioners is urged to remedy these defects, by adding to the present building if necessary. An effort will also be made to provide play space and better school facilities for children who are kept in the detention home.

Judge Pinckney's request for a woman assistant is based upon his plea that he can no longer endure having stories of degradation dragged from little girls in the publicity of the open court room. Although legal difficulties stand in the way of creating a new position and providing a salary before the next county budget is adopted in December, it is hoped that some arrangement may be made whereby an assistant of the sort Judge Pinckney desires may be added to the probation force, her salary—or a portion of it at least—to be met through the contribution of private funds. If such an arrangement can be made in the near future it is of course expected that, when the next county budget is prepared and adopted, provision will be made for this special position. Mary M. Bartelme, who for sixteen years has acted as public guardian for the probate court and whose appointment would be respected by all social workers has been mentioned for the position.

These plans for the continuance of this pioneer Juvenile Court's work on a high plane of efficiency and devoted service are reassuring to those who have a working understanding of the human service it renders and who have watched with anxiety during the past year the unscrupulous efforts to undermine the court's work.

FAMILY DESERTION IN MANITOBA

Work with dependent families has shown the large number of cases in which distress is due to the man's desertion or failure to support his wife and children. The act, which seems at first a private matter, "becomes a public offense when

society is obliged to furnish support for the family, or when the lack of it destroys the home and demoralizes the children." Action through the courts then becomes necessary and most states have statutes providing for legal action in such cases. The latest and one of the best has recently been passed by the legislature of Manitoba.

The criminal code of Canada provides for a maximum sentence of three years' imprisonment, but the courts have decided that desertion or non-support is a criminal offense only when it has resulted in permanent injury to the wife or child; otherwise, redress may be secured only by civil action. Finding, through its dealings with deserted families, that this provision was most unsatisfactory, the Winnipeg Associated Charities helped to secure the passage of a new act by the Manitoba legislature. This provides that the man may be released under bond to support his family and that if he fails to do so he may be sent to jail for forty days. The complaint may be made by the wife or by any charitable society acting on her behalf. It is felt that this law with its lighter penalty will prove more effective than the statute in the criminal code.

Those who are seeking improved legislation in this field will find practical and detailed suggestions in William H. Baldwin's paper on the present status of family desertion and non-support laws, which he presented at the National Conference of Charities and Correction last year and which has since been reprinted. Mr. Baldwin points out that in offenses of this character the question of punishment is complicated by the fact that the interests of the offender and the injured party are not separate as is the case in most crimes. Consequently, the punishment of the offender by a long jail sentence, for instance, may simply increase the injury which the family has already received.

Because of this fact the treatment of the case in court demands special care. Mr. Baldwin believes that this can best be attained by a special court with as few changes as possible in the judges presiding. In many cases men should be released on orders to support, often mak-

ing payments to their families through the court. This presupposes, of course, an adequate force of probation officers both to investigate cases and follow up the men released. When men are sent to jail the punishment, he holds, should always be hard labor, for which a reasonable compensation should be paid to the family. By such a system the burden of the man's punishment falls on him and not on his innocent family.

Of special importance is the discussion of the relative advantages of making family desertion a felony or of making it a misdemeanor. The chief argument in favor of constituting it a felony, that it makes extradition possible when a deserter goes outside the state, Mr. Baldwin demonstrates to be fallacious, since extradition has actually been secured in a number of states in which it is only a misdemeanor. If the offense is a felony, on the other hand, it is difficult to get women to prosecute and juries to convict. When the preliminary trial is before a magistrate who has no power to punish, the man is often simply released on promise to support. To quote Mr. Baldwin's conclusion:

It is important that we take a reasonable view of this subject, and that we do not let the impulse to punish make us forget the true purpose of the law, which is to overcome the evil. This can best be done by making the offense a misdemeanor, with an adequate punishment by hard labor and a reasonable but certain compensation for the family, so that all non-support cases, whether accompanied by desertion or not, can be tried in one of the lower courts, which shall have full jurisdiction in working promptly, patiently, and steadily for the best results to the family and to the community.

PLANS FOR Y. W. C. A. SUMMER CONFERENCES

The numerous meetings listed in the Calendar of Conferences published recently in *THE SURVEY*¹ under the Young Women's Christian Association indicates a networking of the country by these gatherings of young women. Two of the most significant and interesting of these were: the Pacific Coast conference, just closed, which was entertained entirely this year by Mrs. Phoebe Hearst, at Hacienda, her estate in the San Francisco

foothills; and the first conference for private school girls, to be held in June at Eagle's Mere, Pa., and conducted by Jessie Woodrow Wilson, daughter of Governor Wilson and a member of the national board of the Young Women's Christian Associations.

In all 4,000 or more women will be brought together this summer for ten days of study and recreation by the conference department of the national board, which plans for programs, attendance, and accommodations from its headquarters in New York city. This is too large a number of young people of formative age not to be reckoned with as a power. Not only will Bible and mission study be taught by clergymen and missionary educators of the country, but in the presentation of allied welfare movements, and the personal contact with well-known social workers, it is felt by those planning the conferences that many a college girl will receive the first personal shock of her social responsibility, and many a leisured woman will see beyond the city Young Women's Christian Association of which she is a board member to the general community needs and the organizations, of which this is one, which can work effectively and without duplication only when they work together. To quote a conference leader:

The third and by no means least important class reached, the girls from factories, offices, mill villages, and shops, will not only find that a vacation spent in this camp life may literally mean re-creation, but will find the gulf between themselves and the college girls bridged for this time at least, never again to be quite so impassable. For the wise psychology of balanced work and fun at these conferences proves that those who play together can study together, and that those who study together can see together below the surface issues to the spiritual values of their human relationships.

A CHILDREN'S EXHIBIT FOR GROWN-UPS

The fourth of the large child welfare exhibits of the country was held in St. Louis in May, with an attendance of slightly over 158,000. One of the ways in which it marked an advance upon the others, was the "summary," placed at the left of the entrance, which summed up, on twenty screens, the main

¹See *THE SURVEY*, May 25, page 350.

conclusions of the exhibit. These were grouped under three headings, and included suggestions to parents and recommendations for city and state-wide programs.

The immediate needs of St. Louis, as shown in this summary, are:

Wider use of schools—to be obtained through a constitutional amendment which will be voted on next November—

Supervision of commercial amusement by the Public Recreation Commission—

A board of children's guardians with power to place children in private homes—

An isolation hospital, for which the city already has the land—

Trade schools, a system of vocational guidance, and continuation schools—

A child hygiene division in the board of health—

Amendments to housing law, requiring abolition of vaults, running water in tenements, plenty of air and light—

A confidential exchange of information regarding families, between philanthropic institutions—

A living wage for men and women, so that children can stay in school.

With the exception of this last recommendation, all of the suggestions are within the range of immediate possibility, and can easily be made a program of desired "next steps" for St. Louis.

In going out of existence the exhibit organization has adopted a most suggestive method for continuing the influence of the display. The screens have been turned over to the public library as a part of the traveling library department, and

WE FOLLOW ONE ANOTHER

POVERTY CHILD LABOR UNSKILLED LABOR LOW WAGES

THIS CIRCLE MUST BE BROKEN

UNTRAINED CHILDREN FORCED TO ENTER INDUSTRY.

95% of their Fathers are living, but the Wages of the Unskilled Man are seldom enough to support an Average family.

\$12. per week - \$624. per year - is the largest wage of an Unskilled Laborer.

\$15. per week - \$780. per year - is the smallest income on which a family of five or six can be supported in St. Louis.

Most of the Children of 14 Years are contributing to the Family Income. In 70% of the Families, over 50% of the Children are Wage-earners. 90% of the Children who enter Occupations untrained, remain Unskilled Laborers.

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Investigation by the School of Social Economy

STANDARD OF LIVING

Every day the high cost of living

drives 20 boys and girls out of St. Louis Schools to work

A St. Louis family of five cannot live decently on less than **\$780.** per year

Food	\$350	(Nourishing but plain)
Rent	\$154	(Four Rooms and bath)
Clothing	\$110	(\$2200 per year per person)
Furniture	25	(Repairing Old and buying necessary new)
Education	5	(Books, Newspapers, Etc.)
Light & Fuel	35	
Car Fare	32.10	(for every working day in year for one person)
Insurance	30	(Each Person is insured for Burial)
Sickness	20	
Sundries	19	
Recreation	?	(Can a Family live without Recreation?)
Savings	?	(Should not every Family be able to save something?)
	\$780.	

—Troughs given by School of Social Economy—

NOTICE THESE FIGURES

Could you live on this amount?

Bel according to the U.S. Census 1909, the 87,371 factory employees in St. Louis averaged \$555. even.

These are regular employees, not the lowest class of transient labor: — **\$555. — \$780. = \$225.**

MINUS \$225. WHAT?

CHILD LABOR is the real answer. The individual parent can see

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IF THESE CONDITIONS—

—ACTUALLY EXIST—

will be placed at the call of the public. The executive committee of the exhibit continues in existence to stimulate this demand, and to see that the various exhibits are used by the right people at the right time. Fifty screens go immediately to the Young Women's Christian Association for two weeks; forty go to the Jewish Educational Alliance, while some small sections, such as that on anti-tuberculosis, have already eleven places scheduled for exhibition purposes. Many of the churches and settlements are planning to run a continuous exhibit of six or eight screens at a time, changing every two weeks. Intensive work of this kind will not be as spectacular as the large exhibit, but will enable more people to study the screens as they deserve.

REMEDIES IV

The Wealth of the World is Human
THE PROBLEM OF THE CHILD IS THE PROBLEM OF THE RACE

These are some of the Solutions offered for the Industrial Problem

Many People say:
We need Better Laws and
strong Government Enforcement

Single Taxers say:
Abolish Labor Exploitation by Taxing
Land for its full Value, thus making
Land Monopoly impossible, removing Taxes
on Processes of Civilization Manufacture & Exchange

Socialists say:
Abolish Private Ownership of the Nation's
Productive and Distributive Plants.
Then by actual Democratic Management every
Worker can be assured of his Full Share of
the Product

Anarchists say:
Develop the highest Social Responsibility
in the individual under complete Freedom
from Compulsion by either Law or Government

THINK ABOUT THESE SUGGESTIONS.
Only Wide-spread Regular Thinking
Will ever Change Conditions

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The researches of the School of Social Economy were a striking feature, as were the researches of the Board of Public Welfare in Kansas City. This was especially noticeable in the sections on work and wages and philanthropy, which went beyond the similar sections of other exhibits in many ways. In the section on philanthropy, no institution was featured by itself; all were grouped as part of a general scheme showing the children's institutions of St. Louis under the main headings: Types of Institutions, Methods of Handling, Play and Recreation, Training and Education, etc. From the standpoint of the general public this method is undoubtedly the most satisfactory; it is, however, more difficult to carry through, unless some preliminary work of investigation has been done.

The section on work and wages went into more fundamental questions than any child welfare exhibit has as yet touched. Wages of women and girls had indeed been a feature of the Kansas City exhibit, and the demand for a living wage for women had been very strongly made. It was reserved for St. Louis to take up the question of family standards of living. All other exhibits have treated child labor as a question to be settled by legislation and law enforcement. Striking statistics and cartoons in this exhibit show that the average wage of 87,000 workers in St. Louis is so low that a family of five cannot possibly live on it. "Child labor is the only answer the individual family can see." This frank statement of the helplessness of the individual family and the inadequacy of law to prevent child labor under present industrial conditions leads the way to the concluding screen of this section, of which an illustration is here shown. Probably fifty people worked over this screen in the effort to get a fair and telling wording of the social programs of the various propagandist movements. In its open facing of the unsolved problems of the working people, this screen carries the St. Louis display beyond the consideration of immediate child problems, and makes it an exhibit of the deepest social questions confronting us today.

EDITORIAL GRIST

SOCIAL GAINS BY RHODE ISLAND LAW-MAKERS

GRACE M. SHERWOOD

Legislative Reference Director, Rhode Island State Library

Aside from passing a workmen's compensation act and several measures affecting childhood, public health, education and probation, the Rhode Island General Assembly of 1912, in one of the most fruitful sessions ever held in that state, created seventeen new commissions, five permanent and twelve temporary. The five permanent boards include a tax commission, a state board of control and supply, a public utilities commission, a state printing commission, and a board of examiners of trained nurses.

After bitter debate in both branches an act was passed establishing a board of control and supply, providing for the regulation and control of state institutions. This board numbers five members, the salaries of the chairman and the secretary being \$3,000 each annually, the other members receiving \$2,000. The board may purchase supplies and make contracts for repairs and alterations at the state institutions in Cranston, the state sanatorium, the state home and school for dependent children, the institute for the deaf and the school for the feeble-minded. This board has charge of the construction and furnishing of all buildings for any of the said institutions. The power hitherto exercised by the board of state charities and corrections over the labor of prisoners and other inmates of the institutions is transferred to this board.

The board of state charities and corrections remain in existence merely as a visiting and advisory board, with power to make reports to the general assembly.

The establishment of a new tax department is in some ways the most important achievement of the session. Through it is promised a more equitable raising of revenue and a more business-like administration.

The third big commission—public utilities—is composed of three members and a secretary. The salary of the chairman is \$4,000, of the secretary \$3,500, of each member, \$3,000. This board legislated the railroad commissioner out of office, and his duties were absorbed by the new commission. The hearings and records are to be public. Investigation is to be made upon written complaint laid against any public utility as to fares or service, and right of entry in the performance of any investigation is given the commission and any of its agents. If after investigation and hearings the complaint appears just and reasonable, the commission may require the public utility to remedy its rate or service system, and provide adequate means for safe service and the use of safe equipment.

The board of examiners of trained nurses is made up of five persons who are paid \$2 for each day of actual service. The board examines all applicants who are required by this act to pass an examination, in the elements of anatomy and physiology, materia medica, in medical, surgical, obstetrical and practical nursing, invalid cookery, and household hygiene. There is a reciprocal registration provision, if the requirements in other states are nearly uniform.

Several of the twelve temporary commissions have nothing to do except investigate certain things and report to the next general assembly, but others are charged with the responsibility of proposing changes to the state constitution, repairing bridges, erecting armories and courthouses, deepening a river, eliminating grade crossings, holding celebrations and erecting a monument. These are largely local matters.

Perhaps the principal piece of legislation of interest to industry was the passage of the workmen's compensation act, relative to payments to employes for personal injuries received in the course of their employment. The occupations of domestic science and agriculture are barred, nor does the act apply to an employer who employs five or less workmen, unless such employer elects to comply with the act. In an action to recover damages for personal injury sus-

tained by accident by an employe arising out of and in the course of his employment, or for death resulting from personal injury so sustained, the defenses of negligence, fellow servant's fault and assumption of risk are abrogated. This provision does not apply if the employer elects to become subject to the provisions of this act and files with the commissioner of industrial statistics a written statement to that effect. Copies of such statement must be posted in conspicuous places for his workmen to see. This operates to subject the employer to these provisions for one year.

An employe of such employer waives his right of action at common law unless he gives notice in writing at the time of his hire that he claims such right and within ten days files with the commissioner of industrial statistics a copy of the notice, such waiver to continue in force for one year. No compensation is ever allowed for injury or death where wilful intent to injure is proved against the employe or where the employe was intoxicated while on duty, and compensation is to begin on the fifteenth day after the injury. For the first two weeks reasonable medical and hospital services and medicines when needed must be furnished by the employer.

If death results from the injury, the employer pays those wholly dependent upon the employe's earnings at the time of his injury, weekly payments equal to one half his average weekly earnings. This shall not exceed \$10 nor be less than \$4 a week and shall continue for a period of 300 weeks from date of injury. For total disability, compensation is the same as for death, to continue for 500 weeks. For partial disability, weekly compensation is equal to one half the difference between the weekly wages before the injury and the average weekly wages able to be earned thereafter, but not more than \$10 a week, for a period not greater than 300 weeks from the date of injury. Compensation for specified injuries is fully noted in the act.

Three enactments directly affect children. One is the night messenger law. No person under the age of twenty-one years may work as messenger for any

telephone, telegraph, or messenger company in distribution, transmission, or delivery of goods or messages before five o'clock in the morning or after ten o'clock at night. For safeguarding the lives of children in case of fire in schools, compulsory fire drills are required to be held at least once a month. In providing for neglected and dependent children, further authority is given the board of control of the state home and school, when children are placed in a family which is to furnish their education, to pay such amount as may be agreed upon for the care and support of the several children.

Along educational lines, the new laws authorize the establishment of open air schools and state aid in support of industrial education. In case any town provides instruction in manual training and household arts in its public schools, with the approval of the state board of education, the town shall be entitled to receive as aid from the state a sum not exceeding one half of the amount expended by the town for the purchase of apparatus necessary for such instruction.

The acts for the preservation of the public health are largely concerned with amendments of the chapter of the general laws relating to medicines and poisons. It is declared a misdemeanor to sell any article of food or drink or any drug for internal use containing wood alcohol.

Whenever it comes to the knowledge of the state probation officer that the family of a prisoner serving sentence for non-support is in destitute circumstances, a new law authorizes him, with the approval of the board of state charities and correction, to contribute to the support of such a destitute family during the term of the sentence.

For the ousting of the "loan shark" and the protection of the legitimate money lender, the usury law was amended so that a person may not take interest money in such an amount that the total of one year's interest shall exceed 30 per cent of the amount actually received by the borrower on all amounts exceeding \$50, whether in one or more loans; and on all amounts not exceeding

\$50, 5 per cent per month for the first six months and thereafter $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per month of the amount actually received by the borrower.

GOV. DIX AS A "CONSERVER OF MANKIND"

THE SURVEY felt honored to include in the special number on the feeble-minded, an article by Governor John A. Dix, of New York entitled *Conservation of Mankind*.¹ It is with a feeling of constraint that attention is called, notwithstanding the governor's absence, to three recent acts on his part which seem out of harmony with his expressed views on conservation.

The first is his failure to retain in office Dennis McCarthy, fiscal supervisor of state charities for the past two years by appointment of Governor Hughes. In his long term of service as an active member of the State Board of Charities, and in his work as fiscal supervisor, Mr. McCarthy had gained a wealth of experience and knowledge of the needs of the institutions of the state, which it would seem might well have been conserved. We have heard no criticism of Mr. McCarthy's acts. On the other hand, we have heard widespread and well-informed approbation. It seems a pity to waste such valuable knowledge. It seems a pity that the managers and superintendents of the state charitable institutions must again explain their needs, their methods, their purposes, their detailed requirements, to a fiscal supervisor who, however well-intentioned, is not familiar with their work, but must, nevertheless, pass on their requisitions.

The second instance was the failure of the governor to retain the state architect, Franklin B. Ware, also selected by Governor Hughes. Mr. Ware was an architect of good standing and broad experience, and in his years of service he also had gained an intimate knowledge of the peculiar needs of the various state charitable institutions and state hospitals. It had been his duty to develop the plans of Letchworth Village, of the New York State Training School

for Boys, of the new state hospital for the insane at Mohansic, and other similar undertakings. He possessed not only a store of detailed information as to the condition and requirements of each institution, but what is perhaps more difficult, a knowledge of its particular purposes. All this has been wasted, thrown away. The New York *Evening Post* states that the newly-appointed state architect is not a member of the professional societies to which we would naturally expect him to belong; that he has had substantially no experience as an architect, his chief work having been that of a draughtsman. Even if he were a fully qualified architect, in the absence of reasons to the contrary, it is certainly distinctly in conflict with the spirit of conservation to throw away all the information and special knowledge gained by his predecessor during his extended experience as state architect.

The third instance to which we refer is the reduction of the appropriation for Letchworth Village for construction work from \$750,000 to \$450,000. As introduced, the bill carried \$1,250,000. The Senate, just before adjournment, cut it to \$750,000; the governor cut out another \$300,000. The state, like an individual, must, it is true, make both ends meet. Its resources, however, are not sharply circumscribed. The re-establishment of the direct tax makes it possible to collect such sums as in the judgment of the legislature and the governor are needed to carry on properly the business of the state. With an appropriation of a million dollars a year Letchworth Village could be completed in three years. With an appropriation of \$450,000 a year, it will not be completed for seven years. Meantime we will have failed to conserve the best interests of the state by failing to segregate the feeble-minded. Feeble-minded young women will have continued to bear feeble-minded children, to spread venereal diseases and depravity. We can not help feeling that the governor's action in thus reducing the appropriation for Letchworth Village was inconsistent with the spirit of his article on conservation, inconsistent with the best interests of the state, inconsistent with sound business and social policy.

¹See THE SURVEY, March 2, 1912, p. 1880.

CIVIC GRIT AND THE PITTSBURGH CHURCHES

After all, how much civic grit is there in the Men and Religion Forward Movement which the Protestant churches have been exercising themselves over the past year?

Pittsburgh has some evidence to offer. At a time when militant civic reformers could not get local newspapers to print the serious charges they brought against the heads of the departments of health, safety and public works, when the impressive Industrial Commission with its great funds for the up-building of Pittsburgh showed itself more concerned in hushing things up than in cleaning them up, and when the new City Council, created to give Pittsburgh good government, had to have its nose rubbed into its official responsibility, these Pittsburgh men of religion took hold of the situation and in three days won a hearing for the people.

A year ago, the Pennsylvania legislature wiped out the old bi-cameral councils in Pittsburgh with their record of over a hundred members involved in the graft cases, and instituted a small responsible councilmanic body elected at large. There seemed every prospect that the city was entering upon a new era in municipal government. Men of high business standing were appointed and were continued in office at the November elections. There was general public conviction at the time that the executive departments of the city government were also being maladministered and specific charges to that effect made by the Voters' League, the organization which unearthed the councilmanic graft of 1908, were the factors which in the end forced through the legislation that gave Pittsburgh its new charter.

Throughout all this period Mayor Magee has continued in office and along with him the department heads responsible for the conditions alleged—Armstrong of the Department of Public Works, Morin of Public Safety, and Walters of Public Health. Mayor Magee continues in office until January, 1914, but under the law the terms of his cabinet are held

to have expired April 1 last. As Council had done nothing in the interval to remedy the department conditions which had been the immediate cause of its creation, the Voters' League called upon it to declare the offices vacant and to see that the new appointees, which would be subject to Council's approval, should be of the type which the public interest demanded. Such a resolution was passed by Council in April. The mayor ignored it. Thereupon the Voters' League suggested three plans by which Council through mandamus proceedings could force the mayor to act, hoping by this simple method to secure the desired reforms without such a general washing of dirty linen as militant Pittsburghers have had to resort to at other times to overcome inertia and exploitation of the public interests. Council voted down each of the three plans and called on the league to submit evidence of maladministration before a special councilmanic investigation.

While the easier methods had thus been turned down by Council, the chances seemed favorable for a thoroughgoing overhauling of the situation by a method very much simpler and less sensational than impeachment proceedings. The league accepted the challenge in good faith and preferred the charges. These charges were, with respect to the Department of Public Works, that the civil service laws were being violated, that unfair contracts had been awarded, that the street cleaning was so inefficiently managed that no unit costs were available, that for a year there had been no adequate inspection of the public lighting supplied by private companies, and that the health of the city was threatened by the methods employed at the great filtration plant which had cleared Pittsburgh of typhoid fever. With respect to the Department of Public Health, the charges were that the sanitary conditions of the poorer districts were unbearable, that food inspectors had accepted bribes, that there had been few if any prosecutions under the health laws for a year and that cases in which sanitary inspectors had filed as many as twenty-nine violations against certain properties had been held in abeyance by

order of the director. Director Morin of the Department of Public Safety has been president of the Order of Eagles and is the republican nominee for congressman-at-large in the November election. The general charge against him is that of running a wide open town. The Guthrie police orders prohibiting the sale of liquors, music, and lewd entertainments in houses of prostitution have been held in abeyance and the houses themselves have spread into the tenement neighborhoods. It is charged that gambling and vice "circuses" have been the order of the night in the Big-number houses.

These are not frivolous charges. They reach to the heart of the community life. Those who know the record of the Voters' League in the past would unhesitatingly credit them as being made in good faith. They were submitted on a Thursday night. Not a Pittsburgh newspaper published a line of quotation from them the next day. There was only unfavorable editorial criticism in violation of ordinary newspaper ethics.

Here it was that the church forces, aroused by the Men and Religion Forward Movement, swung into line. Its executive council met Friday and called a meeting of ministers on Saturday morning. Sunday morning nearly a hundred congregations listened to the charges which the newspapers had suppressed. Sermons were delivered and resolutions were adopted calling on councils to act. Hundreds of special delivery letters were in turn sent to the newspapers calling on them for publicity and to come out for a thorough and fair investigation. In thirty-six hours the press boycott had been smashed. The newspapers were "in bad" and their labored editorial explanations showed it. Some had the grace to come out openly and admit the corn. Since then the news columns have carried the facts as to the public proceedings, but, as in the graft cases of 1908-9, the movement continues with only half-hearted editorial support or none at all.

Meanwhile the churches have reasserted vigorously some of their old-time functions, as channels for information and leadership among the people and

it will be a long day before the newspapers of Pittsburgh again attempt to put an embargo on the news,—even at the instigation of short sighted commercial interests, which fall into the error of supposing that it is going to hurt a town to advertise its determination to guard its own health, its municipal business and its childhood.

Meanwhile also, and only in lesser degree than the public press, Council has failed to get down to hard pan in investigating the departments in which maladministration is charged. It has shied at shouldering the responsibility for thoroughly sifting the work of these departments to the bottom. Yet the chairmen of the councilmanic committees on health, safety and public works bear supervisory relations to each of these departments, are empowered to have access to their records and scarcely less than the mayor himself are responsible to the public that things do not go wrong. Moreover, the new charter provides specifically for councilmanic investigations of the work of departments, a judge of the common pleas court presiding, as a simple method by which city officials can be held to accountability. Instead of entering upon a convincing and resourceful public inquiry, Council has put the Voters' League in the position of a complainant at a trial, itself the jury. On the basis that the public health and morals are the most vital interests at stake, the league arranged to present its evidence as to these departments first. At the eleventh hour the Council switched to the Department of Public Works and the hearing is set for June 29. Two explanations are suggested in Pittsburgh as the reason for this change, the first being that the administration believed the league's weakest case was against the work's department; the second being that as council and court may adjourn for the summer by mid-July, the health and safety investigations may go over till fall when public interest, now thoroughly aroused, will have cooled off. The fact that Judge Robert Frazer, presiding judge of the Common Pleas Court and the man who tried most of the graft cases, will preside at the hearings, gives prom-

ise of their thoroughness, and will give the progressive members of Council their chance to rehabilitate that body in the public estimation. So far as the public goes, the presumption is of course that the department heads have served the city well and are entitled to a fair hearing to show that the charges are false; but the public is equally insistent that all the facts shall be brought into the open, and through the churches has served notice to that effect at a time when press and Council and business bodies alike were laggard in their stewardship. The presumption that the charges are groundless and that the city administration covets full and fair inquiry, has not been strengthened, however, by an incident of the past few days. Former sanitary inspectors of the Department of Health have been employed by the league in gathering evidence as to conditions in the poorer districts. Two were arrested by the police and threatened with being sent up if they were caught investigating again.

PERSONALS

Jean Gordon, formerly factory inspector and now honorary factory inspector of the city of New Orleans, has entered upon the duties of secretary for the southern states of the National Consumers' League. Some years ago Miss Gordon, aided by the Era Club of New Orleans and a number of influential men, succeeded in having the constitution of Louisiana amended so that a woman could hold the office of factory inspector in the Parish of Orleans, which is identical with the city of New Orleans. The legislature then passed a bill regulating the work of women and children and creating the office of inspector of factories for that parish. Miss Gordon was immediately appointed to the new office, which she occupied until a year ago, when she resigned and became honorary inspector without salary.

It is largely in consequence of Miss Gordon's exertions that women in New Orleans now enjoy the benefits of a law restricting their working hours to ten in one day and sixty in one week, and that children under sixteen years of age are banished from the stage; that children in other occupations are free from work at night and have the protection of a statute which compares well with the best in the North, except in two particulars: Louisiana does not yet give her children the blessing of an eight-hour day or an educational requirement.

Since entering her new field of activity, Miss Gordon has presided at the conference on the labor of women and children at Chattanooga, Tenn., and reports the forma-



JEAN GORDON.

tion of a consumers' league in that city at the close of the conference. Under her guidance committees of women students of Sophie Newcomb College (which bears the same relation to Tulane that Barnard bears to Columbia), have undertaken practical work in relation to industrial conditions in their city. They are the first students south of Maryland to do this.¹

Typhoid Mary has broken into fiction and added another to the long list of victims which have made her the puzzle and then the despair of the New York Department of Health. Possessed of culinary cunning which made her popular in many kitchens, and of robust Irish health, she was found by Dr. Lederle to be a "typhoid carrier," giving off fatal germs as surely as the pot colors the dish rag or the onion onionizes milk, to use illustrations in her realm.

Her story is widely known, but to make of it a detective tale required a rare sort of imagination which perhaps only THE SURVEY could excite. At any rate, it was Arthur B. Reeve, formerly of our staff, who has woven about her such a tale of ingenious murder and equally ingenious detection as only this twentieth century could furnish. To kill a rich man, whose will he has forged in his own behalf, the villain of this piece sends Typhoid Mary—which is not her name in fact or in fiction—with a forged recommendation as a cook. With his food she unconsciously mixes germs until the rich man dies. The villain has made himself safe by vaccination against typhoid.

But so many other servants in the house fall sick of the fever that suspicion is aroused. Craig Kennedy, the Professor-of-Chemistry-Sherlock-Holmes hero, traces Mary by her

¹Miss Gordon may be addressed at 1729 Coliseum st., New Orleans, La.

finger prints, detects the forgery by irregular heart-beats shown in the writing, and brings the villain down.

The whole book¹ bristles with such ultra-modern situations as a bird-man murdered in mid-air by wireless flashes of electricity from a rival miles away, solid steel safes eaten through like wormy wood, with new chemicals, all detected by the shrewd psychology of Professor Kennedy.

To Thomas Maurice Mulry, banker of New York, the University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind., has this year conferred the Laetare medal, which is annually bestowed on a layman of the Catholic Church for distinguished services to church, country, arts, letters, science, civilization or humanity.

It was for his efforts in the field of philanthropy extending over a quarter of a century that Mr. Mulry was chosen for this distinction. He has been for many years president of the Superior Council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

With the exception of a decoration from the Pope himself, the Laetare medal is said to be the most important decoration with which a Catholic layman in this country is invested. In Europe the Golden Rose, which is another decoration awarded on Laetare Sunday, is conferred by the Pope on some Catholic sovereign or other notable. It is never conferred on any one in the United States, and therefore the Laetare medal takes its place.

A strong memory with those who met last week and this at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Cleveland was the last appearance before that body of the late Frederick Howard Wines. This was in Boston in 1911. When the committee on law-breakers, of which I was chairman, planned its program early in the year a number of members felt that as Dr. Wines was getting old his earnest words on the distressing conditions in county jails, which had been uttered recently in Maryland and elsewhere, should be heard from the national platform before he became too feeble to utter them. Mr. Wines was written to and replied that he had not planned to come to the conference, but under the circumstances would make the effort, because our general session was to be held on the opening night of the conference.

Those who were in Boston will remember that the opening session of the conference was a noteworthy one. There were on the platform as speakers Governor Foss, President Eliot, of Harvard, Mr. Folks, and Mr. Wines. The keynote of the meeting had been struck by Governor Foss and Mr. Folks. I introduced Dr. Wines as follows:

"Dr. E. C. Wines, who founded the International Prison Congress, has been called the John Howard of America. It is a special

honor for us to have upon the platform the son of Dr. Wines, himself a penologist of renown and the writer of an American classic. He will speak to us on the abolition of the county jail."

Then Dr. Wines began. It was already after ten o'clock. The natural inclination of a number of persons to leave after a two-hour session was manifesting itself. Restlessness was in the air. Dr. Wines was somewhat hoarse and his voice could not carry very far in the great Tremont Temple. But the compelling personality of the man, his prophetic vision, and his intense earnestness stayed the tendency to leave. Dr. Wines, I am sure, felt that he was perhaps giving his last message. He pleaded no longer for the cleaning up of the county jail, but for its abolition on the ground that the county jail cannot be a compromise institution, half prison, half detention prison. As he spoke, his voice strengthened, and throughout the great hall people strained their ears to listen. His last words were:

"Mine is a poor, weak voice; it will not carry very far. This right arm is not the arm of a giant, nor even of an athlete; it will not deliver a smashing blow. For the sake of the human derelicts languishing in merited or unmerited confinement, I could wish that both were stronger. Still more earnestly do I wish it for the sake of our common country and its honor. An old man suffers in many ways that a young man hardly understands. One of my secret griefs is the shame I feel that my country has so long tolerated, and continues to tolerate, a wrong which disgraces it in the eyes of the world, and which, unless it is redressed, must sooner or later bring down upon it the vengeance of Almighty God."

When he had finished speaking, he paused as if partially exhausted, and took his seat. Mr. Folks and I had been worried beforehand for fear the splendid message of Dr. Wines might not carry in the great hall, but the applause increased in volume until the old man, intensely moved, rose and bowed his appreciation.

That evening's reception to Dr. Wines was not spectacular, was not a great event. I cite it here simply because it was a beautiful culmination to his connection with the national conference. He had been its president in the early days, in 1881. The last words he addressed to the general conference were the words "Almighty God," and I believe that it was in the spirit of God that his life of prison reform was conducted.

O. F. LEWIS.

David S. Beyer, chief safety inspector of the American Steel and Wire Company, has become director of the department of inspection and accident prevention of the Massachusetts Employes' Insurance Association. This association was organized under the new Massachusetts workmen's compensation law, and is a semi-public mutual insurance com-

¹The Silent Bullet, by Arthur B. Reeve, Dodd, Mead, and Company. By mail of THE SURVEY, \$1.42.

pany modelled after the German plan. Its managers have shown a rare forethought in drafting off to its work perhaps the most scientific of the safety experts developed by private industry in America.

The development of civic and social activities within organizations founded for the narrower purpose of furthering commercial interests has found expression in a change of name. The change has been made by the recently organized Civic and Commerce Association of Minneapolis, a combination of several smaller organizations which gives promise of a large membership of democratic character. Its constitution provides for the admission of mechanics, laboring men, etc. The secretary is Howard Strong. It is one of Mr. Strong's aims to secure a representation of every element in the community instead of only a few of these elements.

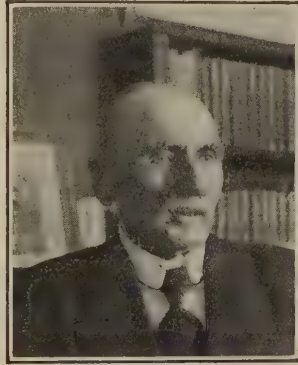
The spirit which animated the founders of the Civic and Commerce Association is most clearly indicated to outsiders by their choice of a secretary. Mr. Strong was assistant secretary of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce and during the past ten years has been the executive officer of most of the committees which have given the Cleveland organization a national reputation as a Chamber of Citizenship. Among the activities of some of these committees have been the securing of a state law and a city ordinance and the organization of a department for the elimination of the smoke nuisance, the preparation and enactment of a sanitary code, and the development of systems of milk and meat inspection perhaps nowhere else surpassed in efficiency. Other committees have been instrumental in the creation of a system of medical inspection in the public schools, the creation through legislative and councilmanic action of a department of forestry, the development of a sanitary system of street cleaning, the issuance of bonds for a separation of grade crossings, the development of park playgrounds, the construction of a new tuberculosis hospital, the supervision and development of the various charitable organizations in Cleveland, the preparation and passage of a building code, the preparation of a tenement house code and the creation of a tenement house department, and in the development of schemes for city beautification.

With Mr. Strong as executive officer and with the spirit indicated in the new organization's name, the Civic and Commerce Association gives hope that at the end of the next ten years, it will be able to look back upon a record of achievement in its dealings with the problems that confront Minneapolis even better than that of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

Otto W. Davis, who was superintendent for four years of the Associated Charities of Columbus, Ohio, is assistant secretary of the association. Mr. Davis intends to organize a charities investigating bureau so that every solicitation for alms will be scrutinized before aid is granted. While in Columbus Mr. Davis,

with E. L. Weinland, former city solicitor, drafted a housing code. He lectured throughout the city urging its passage. Part of his work in Minneapolis will be to aid in ridding that fast growing city of its slums. Before going to Columbus, Mr. Davis was superintendent of the Associated Charities in Pater-son, N. J.

Adam Meister, seventy-eight years old this spring, is as young in heart as anyone in the service of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society. He goes upstairs two steps at a time, does two days' work in one, and laughs at troubles while he overcomes them. He will die young.



ADAM MEISTER.

He was the first visitor of the first charity organization society in America, and began this work more than thirty-five years ago, on December 11, 1877, when the Buffalo society was organized. On his seventy-fifth birthday the society gave him a parchment beautifully illuminated in colors, and some gold which he liked less. His fellow-workers gave him flowers. He said: "I am glad you gave me these flowers now. I enjoy them so much more than if you had given them to me after I was dead."

Never callous, never tired, wise-hearted, but incorrigible in his old ways, with children swarming around him like bees, loved by the second and third generation of the families he has helped, Adam Meister is a proof to everybody that "organized charity is organized love."

FREDERIC ALMY.

The plaudits which Governor Hooper of Tennessee is receiving because of his stand on prison reform and like matters are not unmixed. One of his recent acts was to induce the Board of Prison Commissioners to remove the stripes from upper-grades prisoners. It thereupon became necessary to choose another uniform. The one finally selected by the board was of a shade of gray. In this innocent-looking fact lay powder for political sharp-shooters.

A daily paper charged the governor with clothing convicts in the garb of the Confederate veteran. Other newspapers reiterated the accusation. The William Frierson Camp of Confederate Veterans of Shelbyville held an indignation meeting, and passed a set of resolutions denouncing Governor Hooper for attempting to "degrade and humiliate" the southern soldiers by putting convicts into Confederate gray. This made more copy for man-eating dailies and presently a state was aflame over the color of a coat. Into the conflagration Governor Hooper sent the dampening facts that the original charge came from one who had never seen the cloth in question, that it has been "pronounced to be a brown or olive drab" bearing no more resemblance to a Confederate gray than to a Federal blue, and that the whole affair was "cooked up for the palpable purpose of creating prejudice" against him.

Among the addresses at the superintendents' annual convention dinner, commemorating twenty years of administration of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, some verses were read and dedicated to the Veteran's Association. Their subject was really the vision and plans which Assistant Secretary Lee K. Frankel, formerly manager of the United Hebrew Charities, has brought into the field of industrial insurance. Here are a few lines:

Long has he taught
The calm and peace that come with death not
fraught

With thoughts of dear ones left behind to mourn
In want and penury, How bright the bourne
Untroubled, undisturbed by thought or fear
Of pauper burial. To-night we steer
A strange and novel course. To-night we preach
A gospel new, one that we hope will reach
To every nook and hamlet where the name
Of "Met" is known. To-night we shall proclaim
Our purpose firm to succor, not alone
When the grim reaper enters hut and home,
But over and beyond all this to give
To those we serve the knowledge how to live.
Ours is the task to speak of longer life
Instead of death; to teach that in the strife
With dread disease man need not fall betimes.
Ours is the duty—as sound the chimes
Far overhead, bidding us act—to go
Into the homes of men and gladly show
That threescore years and ten are still our lot.
Thus was it said of old, ere men forgot
That sin took toll in suffering; ere wealth
And greed obsessed the hearts of men; when health
Was yet of price.
Let no man say that we have failed to fight
The battle of the weak. To them we'll bring
Comfort in sickness, that they rise and sing
Pæons of praise. For them we shall install
Our white-robed sisters at their beck and call,
To nurse them back to health. Sisters, said I?
Angels were better,—for in truth they vie
With God's fair messengers in sacrifice
Of time and self—a service beyond price.
Ministering angels they whose gentle touch
On fevered brow brings peace and rest to such
Who lie on bed of pain. They speak the word
Of cheer and hope, and faith, too seldom heard
In homes where hunger reigns; 'tis they who give
The cooling, healing draught that men may live.
Angels of mercy they! who bind the bleeding
wound;
Missioners of peace triumphant, who sound
The note divine of God's undying love.

A number of people in the District of Columbia have started a movement to induce President Taft to appoint a woman to the

Juvenile Court judgeship, the present term of which expires June 30. The woman whose fitness is urged is Ellen Spencer Mussey. Without reflecting on the competency of Judge de Lacey they maintain that "the child is the most sacred offering of woman to the state and she has therefore a right to help direct the young citizen along the path of safety and usefulness." They declare that Mrs. Mussey has demonstrated her fitness for the Juvenile Court bench, "as dean of the Washington College of Law; as a member of the Board of Education for two terms, of which body she is now vice-president; as a promoter of kindergartens in our public schools, special schools for subnormal children, and public play-grounds; as author of the law which made mothers equal guardians with fathers of their children (the Mussey Act); and as an active force in all progressive work for child rearing and education."

As an outgrowth of the Men and Religion Forward Movement in Philadelphia, a social service secretary of the Inter-church Federation has been employed, and the city has secured the services of William B. Patterson of New York, former general secretary of the Methodist Brotherhood and editor of *Methodist Men*, a magazine of which he was one of the founders.

Mr. Patterson has been a member of the American Institute of Social Service for several years and of the committee of that society which is publishing under the editorship of Josiah Strong lessons in "the gospel of the kingdom."

He was one of the original group which organized three years ago the Laity League for Social Service in New York, now operating through the federation of churches, and was the vice-chairman of the social service committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement. Mr. Patterson has been in general church work, principally among men's organizations, for the past eight years, and was formerly a newspaper man for eleven years, going from the editorial desk of the *New York Evening Mail* to develop a general men's organization in the Methodist Episcopal Church. He is the author of numerous monographs on social service themes and of a book on Modern Church Brotherhood.

Prof. J. L. Gillin, who has been teaching sociology at the State University of Iowa for the past five years, has accepted a call to the University of Wisconsin. At Wisconsin Professor Gillin will teach sociology one semester of each year and will spend the remainder of his time as secretary of the department of general information and welfare, one of the four departments in the extension division of the university. In this capacity he will have an opportunity to promote social surveys in Wisconsin, work which he has been doing in Iowa with considerable success. He will also have an opportunity to co-ordinate academic work in sociology with actual field work through the extension division.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE REVOLUTION ON THE SEA

TO THE EDITOR:

Having just read the article by Rev. George McPherson Hunter on *The Revolution on the Sea* I cannot refrain from sending you this short comment thereon. My experience with seamen covers a little more than forty years. I have sailed as boy and man under five different flags in steam and sail, and as an official of a seamen's union, I have felt with their feelings—let me say, our feelings. I have been thinking the same thoughts, living the same life, suffering the same injustice, and I have been touched by the same dreams. I repudiate the article as untrue to life. The experience and skill needed in years gone by in sailing is needed now in steam. If you were to take away this day all the officers and men trained in the sailing vessel you would have a condition, which would increase the premium on insurance by 50 per cent. The seaman felt the wrongs under which he suffered when sail ruled the ocean as he feels them now; but he had no voice with which to express them. One of the first expressions of which I learned the meaning in coming into British ships was "that no one goes to sea unless he can find nothing else to do and that the sea has on it the rakings and scapings of hell, bedlam, and Newgate. Seamen's lives have become more and more impossible as the changes have come; not the changes from sail to steam, but the changes in life on shore. As life on shore improved so the cost of living went up and the purchasing power of the seaman's never-changing wages went down. While the wages of the landsman went up, the seaman, held in the ligaments of his status, could not follow. The result was failure to provide for a family and a corresponding self-contempt and a desire to get away from a life so dishonored and so barren. Skill is needed as ever but rarer, and men are going from place to place seeking other things to do. It is not the engineer but the landsman that has changed the sea and the seaman.

ANDREW FURUSETH.

Washington, D. C.

SATURDAY HALF HOLIDAY

TO THE EDITOR:

What can be done to secure a half holiday during the summer months, asks a Troy correspondent in your issue of June 8.

Nothing would be better than to have an experience meeting of *SURVEY* readers on this subject—by means of letters to the editor. As you know, Governor Dix has just signed the fifty-four hour bill which, so far as I can see, seems likely to give the Saturday half holiday automatically to a very great number of women and girls, who will all be tempted

¹See *THE SURVEY*, May 4, 1912, page 199.

more than ever to shop on Saturday afternoon. This is going to make your task harder rather than easier, and we expect the same difficulty here in New York, where the Consumers' League has been more successful than anywhere else in getting stores closed on Saturday afternoon.

One thing that would help very much would be a persistent, quiet effort directed toward the manufacturers, urging them to pay wages on some other day early in the week rather than on Saturday, the worst day in the whole week, so far as the interests of the clerks and small merchants are concerned.

Another means of help is the churches, and all possible organizations of women, urging all those who can do so to shop at other times. This is a very slow method, indeed, but in the long run it is very valuable, and it is worth all the time it takes, even when it seems most discouraging.

Finally, the passage of the fifty-four hour bill for women employed in manufacture opens, for the first time, the way toward legislation shortening working hours for the clerks. This last is, I am sure, the most fruitful field of effort that we can enter upon, and it behooves us all to begin immediately to make public opinion for giving the fifty-four hour week to the clerks.

FLORENCE KELLEY.

[Secretary, National Consumers' League.]

New York.

ACCIDENT COMPENSATION

TO THE EDITOR:

I have just finished reading the articles on Accident Compensation in *THE SURVEY* of May 4. The present objections to the German plan are numerous and varied. The objections to the English plan are only two.

1. The excessive burden placed on the employer in case of a great calamity.
2. The possible loss to employee in case of insolvency of employer.

Why not adopt the English plan of direct compensation but supplement it by a state guarantee fund to protect the employer and employee in the two contingencies above mentioned? In case of some unusual calamity calling for payments representing more than — per cent of the payroll for the twelve months preceding accident, then the state to provide the excess. In cases of insolvency, the state to compensate the individuals. A very small tax on all corporations and firms doing business in the state would meet the requirements. Most states now tax corporations annually.

H. T. N.

Rochester, N. Y.

FIRE ESCAPES AND ARCHITECTURE

TO THE EDITOR:

The Americans are called an inventive race, but there is no indication of it in the fire-escapes which are being placed every day on our buildings. New buildings or old, busi-

ness or residence—the pattern is the same for the tenement or the loft skyscraper, and has not been changed for forty years.

Long ago Ruskin showed us beautiful types in wrought iron gates and balconies, and what is a fire-escape but a balcony?

Rounded at the ends, the fence or guard could be made ornamental at slight expense. Why not have a circular staircase instead of the stiff steps that now make the ugly oblique lines across the window openings. The stair could be brought down in front of a column, and the present danger of flames from the lower windows would be done away with.

Such a winding stair, the escape from two adjoining buildings being combined, and coming down on the line of the party wall, would be far safer than the present plan. A steel wing on each side, without impeding the exit, could still further guard against the peril from windows shooting forth flame.

Why in the world the American Institute of Architects, or some similar body, does not take up the matter is hard to see. A dozen handsome designs, once standardized in patterns for the iron-worker, would cost no more, when made in quantity, than the present form.

It is strange indeed to see these cheap looking gratings being put up on some of the best buildings in Washington Place, Mercer, and Greene Streets, Manhattan, in exactly the style, if style it may be called, of Hester, Sheriff, or Mulberry Streets.

JOSEPH D. HOLMES.

New York.

MINORS BARRED FROM DANCE HALLS. TO THE EDITOR:

I note in your issue of April 20, the commendatory statement regarding the dance hall ordinance recently passed in Duluth, referring especially to the age limit barring those under twenty-one from frequenting the halls. I consider this a most illiberal provision and believe it will work all kinds of harm. This is similar to the provision of the Minnesota state law now being enforced in Minneapolis.

The people who like especially to dance and who will make every effort in the world to get dancing as recreation are those between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, and if they are put out of legitimate dance halls—and there are such—they will go to far worse places.

The situation in Washington, D. C., has perhaps a little bearing on the subject, showing such a condition. In that city the absence of recreational opportunities has driven young people to develop a series of dreary and sordid so-called "cottage dances." These consist in renting some woman's little room or parlor, badly lighted, close and ill ventilated, and a group of boys and girls come together there for dancing. They bring their own liquor, dance usually to the tune of a mouth harmonica or some other such simple musical device, and are subject to no supervision whatever.

Experience shows that a law which places

the age of admission at twenty-one only creates evasions and eternal trouble for the management of good places, as well as having a decidedly bad effect upon sentiment for wholesome recreation throughout the country. Such a law is almost unenforceable.

The law in Cleveland places eighteen as the age of admission, and even that is too high. In Elizabeth and in New York city, the age is sixteen.

BELLE LINDER ISRAELS.

[The Committee on Amusement Resources of Working Girls (Inc.)]
New York.

JOTTINGS

STEEL PENSIONS

A report has been made of the first year of operation of the United States Steel and Carnegie Pension Fund. It will be remembered that when Mr. Carnegie sold out to the Steel Corporation his first act was to set aside a fund of \$4,000,000 for the purpose of providing pensions for the employes of the Carnegie Steel Company. In 1910, the United States Steel Corporation added \$8,000,000 to this fund and from the \$12,000,000 fund thus established pensions are granted to superannuated workmen in all of the plants of the United States Steel Corporation.

According to the report, the fund was definitely established January 1, 1911, with 1,152 beneficiaries. There were added during the year 565 new names, but 111 cases were discontinued, leaving 1,606 names upon the pension list on December 31, 1911. Of those added during 1911, the average age was 66.66 years; the average service was 40.3 years, and the average monthly pension \$20.75.

It may be interesting to note that the amounts received as pensions by employes of some of the different subsidiary companies in round numbers are as follows:

Retired employes of the American Bridge Company received \$10,000; American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, \$11,300; American Steel and Wire Company, \$86,500; Carnegie Steel Company, \$81,500; H. C. Frick Coke Company, \$37,600; Illinois Steel Company, \$11,200; National Tube Company, \$22,700; Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, \$700. The total amount distributed was \$281,457.37.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMMIGRANTS

In the report of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society Stanley Bero, the national organizer, presents an interesting summary in chart form of conditions affecting immigrants in the eighty-one cities visited by him during the past year. Mr. Bero shows that forty-seven of these cities afforded fair to good opportunities for immigrants, forty-nine were attracting Jewish artisans, and twenty-nine had well-developed Jewish communal activities. Fifty-nine had fraternal organizations of some kind, and in seventy-three of them, an important point, the dietary observances may be followed.

GETTING TOGETHER IN TEXAS

In spite of her great distances and rural civilization Texas has a second time demonstrated her ability to hold a successful conference of charities and correction. For three days recently meetings were held at Waco either separately or in conjunction with the Southwestern Conference on Tuberculosis and the Texas Anti-Tuberculosis Association. When the subject of state supervision of public and private charitable and correctional institutions was brought up George Fox discussed the relative advantages of the central board of control as opposed to the supervisory board and the elective or appointive board, as in New Jersey and Oklahoma. Thomas J. Riley of Washington University analyzed the two functions of management—the administrative function on the one hand and the supervisory function on the other—and was inclined to the belief that Texas was so large a state that a supervisory board with central administrative boards for the various classes of institutions would be the best arrangement for it to adopt. A resolution was adopted memorializing the legislature to create a supervisory board such as the Indiana State Board of Charities, to have supervision over both state and local public institutions. But it was deemed hardly advisable to undertake to extend for the present this supervision to private institutions.

Secretaries of united charity organizations gave it as their opinion that one half of the work done by them today comes as a result of family desertion. The state constitution will have to be amended before the fines that are assessed against deserters can be turned over to the victims rather than into the coffers of the state. The conference went on record as favoring the establishment of an industrial school for wayward girls and an institution for training the feeble-minded. There were interesting exhibits on child welfare, prevention of blindness, and criminal identification by means of the Bertillon system of measurements, while the state school for the blind showed an exhibit of products. The next meeting will be held at Fort Worth and a unanimous invitation was voted to the National Conference of Charities and Correction to hold its 1913 meeting in that city.

In a series of resolutions the conference favored pending amendments to the state constitution providing for an extension of the term of office of all members of board of control of educational, charitable, and correctional institutions to six years; an adequate law defining and punishing family desertion and non-support; a compulsory school attendance law; and an amendment to the Juvenile Court law allowing all counties to appoint paid probation officers.

SOCIAL BEARINGS OF HOME ECONOMICS

Both speakers and subjects well known in social work will interest the third annual meeting of the administrative section of the American Home Economics Association at Lake Placid Club, New York, June 22 to 26,

In the course of a varied program which will deal with everything from directions for kitchen employes to matters of public health, Martha Bensley Bruere will discuss the relation of household administration to public utilities; Edward E. Pratt, of the New York Food Investigation Association, will discuss facilities for marketing and the cost of living, and Frank B. Gilbreth, consulting engineer, will deal with the principles of scientific management applied to the household and institution. A special meeting will be held on school lunches during which the following topics will be taken up: general development and present status of the school feeding movement, elementary school lunches under school board direction, training of school dietitian, and school lunches and medical inspection.

OVER SIX MILLION FOR AN ORPHANAGE

A bequest of \$6,250,000 was recently left in the will of the late Baron Wandsworth for the foundation of an orphanage in England.

A "LABOR FORWARD MOVEMENT"

A unique adaptation of the Men and Religion Forward Movement is the Labor Forward Movement carried on in Minneapolis and St. Paul during two weeks of May. So effectively was the idea of the Men and Religion campaign carried out in a series of meetings in churches and halls that Duluth took up the plan and labor leaders of other cities began to take notice. The object was to spread a knowledge of the basis of trade unionism and of some of the things for which trade unions stand. No national program has been announced.

It is said that the Labor Forward Movement was first suggested by Tom Hamlin, editor of the *Labor Review* of Minneapolis. The Trade and Labor Assembly appointed a large committee representing all the unions in the city and invitations were sent to all the national organizations to send speakers. Before the campaign was over twenty of these had responded with some of their highest officers. One feature of the campaign was the close co-operation with the churches. In Minneapolis alone on one Sunday twenty-two pulpits were occupied at evening meetings by leaders of labor.

The aim was twofold, to make the unions numerically stronger and to increase the knowledge of the principles of unionism among citizens. That six unions have been formed in Minneapolis alone as a direct result of this effort is the statement of E. G. Hall, state president. The extent to which the second aim was achieved may be partially guessed from the following topics which were discussed before large audiences: the union shop vs. the non-union shop; what does labor want; child labor and female labor; organized labor, its struggles; the trade union of to-day; compulsory education and child labor; health, safety and sanitation in factories; compensation to workmen for injuries received in employment.



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Official Organ of the

General Federation of Women's Clubs

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416 FREAR BUILDING, TROY, N. Y.

VOLUME XXVIII, No. 14

WEEK OF JULY 6, 1912

THE SURVEY

A JOURNAL OF CONSTRUCTIVE PHILANTHROPY



Photograph by Jessie Tarbox Beals.

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(To Josephine Shaw Lowell)

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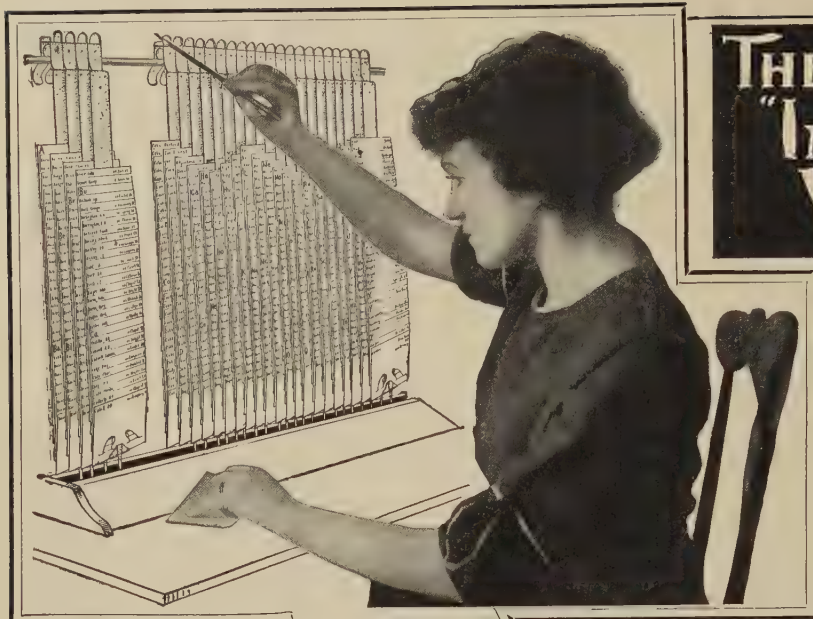
So from her fresh-flowered grave—
Her's who all her being gave
Other lives to beautify,
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There shall spring a spirit-tree,
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Till its top shall reach the skies,
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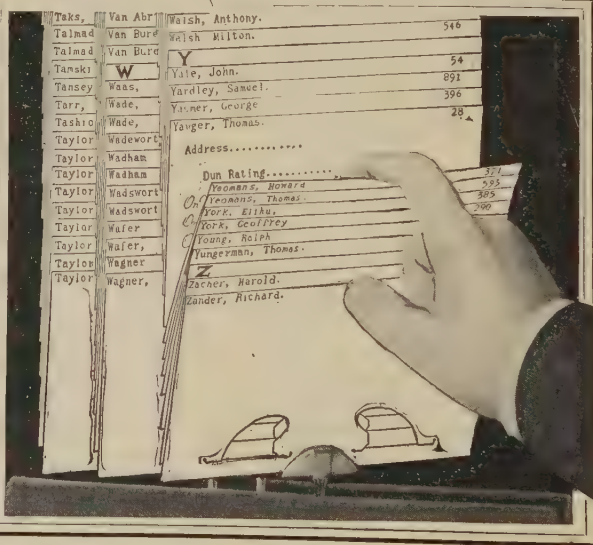
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SOCIAL FORCES

BY THE EDITOR

HOW SHALL POVERTY BE ABOLISHED?

Conservative people are generally willing to admit that preventable disease, overwork, congestion of population, alcoholism, feeble-mindedness and glaring defects of the educational and of the penal systems are worthy of more serious and persistent attention than they are as yet receiving. They are willing to join some one or two of the specific campaigns, and to take a mildly sympathetic interest in others. Evidently, however, they do not expect any fundamental result from their efforts within a period which has direct interest for the present generation. Their faith is small and their vision is limited.

Radical people are often willing to join, a little grudgingly, in such remedial measures, protesting that they are merely "palliatives"; stop gaps, as it were, until the panacea comes. Their vision also is limited, albeit to a distant or at least to a revolutionary conception, in which the actual release of living, human beings from the particular handicaps and hardships from which they really suffer has little place. Their faith also is small in the efficacy of the measures at which they work with others merely because they must do something until the panacea comes.

Now it is no part of the function or of the desire of *THE SURVEY* to change conservative people into radicals, or radical people into conservatives. Our whole desire is to increase the faith of both radicals and conservatives in the measures to which theoretically and in practice both are committed, and to clarify their vision of that better kingdom, or as we may well prefer to say, of that better democracy which is at hand, and of which both radicals and conservatives, if they are socially minded, are potentially natural-born citizens.

How then shall we increase the faith and clarify the vision of the people as to the seven curses which we have named, to the removal of which and of others like them we have especially consecrated this journal? Surely it is by insisting upon the unity of all social endeavors, and upon their ultimate goal in the abolition of poverty. By infectious disease, insanitary homes, industrial crippling and injuries to health, child labor and physiologically injurious work of women, we are creating year by year a large class of subnormal people; and these helpless, subnormal people we are exploiting for the profits of manufacturers, mine owners, and merchants, instead of protecting them for their own safety and for the welfare of the race. The means of abolishing all that poverty which is due to the presence of handicapped and subnormal people is to stop creating the handicaps and to stop increasing the number of the subnormal. By employing little children for wages when they should be in the fields and woods laying the foundation for sound health and a normal life; by working women at night, near the time of childbirth, and at the monthly period, or at any time under physically exhausting and destructive conditions; by our inadequate housing laws and regulations; by our failure to control infectious disease and to prevent industrial injuries, we are perpetuating poverty.

Of course it is the weaker ones who actually succumb and apply to the dispensaries and charitable societies for aid. These weaker ones are apt to exhibit deplorable personal qualities such as intemperance, shiftlessness, and general irresponsibility. In trying to help these weaker ones we are very apt to be unduly impressed by their personal defects and to ignore the fact that the social and industrial forces which have borne them to the wall have also operated to injure grievously a larger number who, to be sure, do not ask for aid, but who are victims none the less of conditions for which society is responsible, with incalculably evil results to themselves and their children.

Alcoholism, like tuberculosis and insanity, is a disease. Whether its victims are more responsible individually for their affliction than the insane or consumptives may be a question. Probably they are, in that the exciting cause of their undoing, strong drink, does not often assert its mastery until after many warnings have been disregarded. If the tubercle bacilli, which cause the medical fraternity and mankind in general such anxiety, could be obtained only in solution over a bar, or at a club or restaurant, it would seem as if the disease of which they are the exciting cause could be more easily stamped out. **This** however is doubtful. If money could be made by the manufacture and sale of the liquid poison, through advertising and the clever exploitation of appetites and social instincts, it may well be, that sanitarians would have an even harder time than now when the perpetuation of that particular disease is at least free from direct commercial gain.

The anti-saloon crusade is amply justified. We need, however, a wider and more fundamental movement, one in which temperance fanatics—radicals—and the brewers' associations—conservatives—might conceivably unite, a movement, however, which neither radicals nor conservatives as such shall dominate, but which shall be under the direction of public-spirited physicians, business men, penologists, statesmen and especially stateswomen who are willing to survey patiently and thoroughly the ravages of inebriety, to consider it as a disease, as a weakness, as a vice, as a crime, and even, if they can bring themselves to do so, as the desirable emotional outlet which Professor Münsterberg prefers to religious revivals or other forms of emotional excitement. On the basis of such a survey, appropriate preventive and remedial measures could be devised. Surely we have not yet exhausted the effective means of dealing with this omnipresent cause of poverty.

The means to the abolition of poverty are clear. Protect women and children; forbid excessive speeding and overwork; stamp out mental degeneracy by segregating and humanely caring for the feeble-minded; put an end to overcrowding and insanitary housing; organize a strong and effective campaign against inebriety; give the public health service a dollar a year for every man, woman and child and then hold it responsible for controlling infection and for the successful education of the public in health matters; stop creating sub-normal and handicapped candidates for industrial exploitation. The means are many but they are related. The program is diversified but one. The national legend applies *e pluribus unum*. From many campaigns against specific causes of poverty one victory—the early and complete abolition of poverty.

THE COMMON WELFARE

JULY PLANS FOR NEXT CHRISTMAS

Santa Claus is having his picture printed seventy-five million times. It's a good many, but the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis and the American Red Cross expect to need that number of Red Cross seals bearing Santa Claus' picture for the next Christmas sales. The design used for the seal is new—some people think it the best that the Red Cross has had—and it will be reproduced in three colors, red, green and gray. Its greater attractiveness will help the sale; besides, the campaign will be spread out into much new territory. In addition to selling agencies in practically every state in continental United States the campaign will be carried on in Porto Rico, the canal zone, and the Philippine Islands.

From 13,500,000 stamps sold in 1908, the number increased to 32,000,000 last year. New York was the banner state in 1911, disposing of nearly six and a half million; Ohio was second with three and a half million; Wisconsin third with nearly three million and Illinois fourth with a little over two million.

Speaking recently of the disposition of the funds raised by the seal sales, Philip P. Jacobs, assistant secretary of the National Tuberculosis Association, said:

The fundamental principles upon which the seals are sold are two; first, that all money derived from the sale after expenses have been deducted shall be devoted to anti-tuberculosis work; and, second, that this money shall be spent in the community in which the seals are sold. The American Red Cross, therefore, acts simply as a central supply and distribution agency. The state and local agents dealing with the Red Cross are charged a percentage of their gross receipts, which will this year be 10 per

cent. This percentage pays for the cost of printing and distributing the seals and for the work of organizing the campaign. Thus, from 50 to 90 per cent, according to local expenses, of the money received from the sale is spent in the locality where the seals are sold.

The selling campaign has enlisted remarkable co-operation in the past and this year it is expected that no less than 100,000 volunteer agents, including storekeepers, druggists, managers of motion picture theaters, and others will help.

A FLARE-UP AMONG PITTS- BURGH STEEL WORKERS

"A spontaneous outburst" is the term a citizen of Pittsburgh applied to a strike of 2,000 employes of the National Tube Company, which started Monday, June 17. The men were employed in what is known as the Pennsylvania department, a Pittsburgh plant of this constituent company of the United States Steel Corporation.

The first men to go out were about fifty of the employes of the pipe-threading department. The trouble quickly spread through all the finishing and furnace departments. By Tuesday the entire force employed in the plant, with the exception of a few skilled men, had left the works. After a day of uncertain action the men got together and appointed a committee which presented the following demands to the company:

1. A raise of two and one-half cents per hour for all hands.
2. Pay for time and a half for work on Sunday nights.
3. Thirty minutes for lunch instead of twenty and electric lights to remain on during lunch hour. (It seems that it has been the custom of the engineer to oil his dynamo engine during lunch and the men felt that the uncertain light of the furnace was not enough light.)



4. Pay every two weeks. (This demand comes from the fact that while the steel corporation pays its men twice a month, there is always one three-week pay in every quarter of the year and for this reason the men feel that it is too long to wait for their money and are now asking the company to pay every two weeks, regardless of the calendar.)

5. Spell of twenty minutes in every hour for furnace hands. (The men claim that the company have taken off the "spell-hands." These "spell-hands" are men who relieve the regular furnace men in turns so that each man gets a rest during each hour of the day.)

The company officials expressed a willingness to grant all demands except the two and one-half cent raise per hour and the time and a half for Sunday work. The men, however, seemed determined to hold out for these two demands.

There was no violence during the week with the exception of a small disturbance which occurred on Monday, the opening day of the strike. A couple of policemen attempted to arrest a striker they alleged to be disorderly, and found themselves suddenly surrounded by a crowd of workingmen and sympathizers. The police turned in a riot call and soon two wagon loads of reserves were on the ground. There was some jostling and throwing of sticks and stones. Soon after the reserves arrived, however, the entire Soho region in which the works are located was quiet. A few shots were fired into the works on the opening night of the strike.

Outside observers were most impressed by the failure or inability of the men to organize in launching the strike. The I. W. W. had one or two representatives in the field, but they did not seem to be able to hold the men together. The leadership of the strike has largely devolved upon the editor of a socialist newspaper and a small group of socialists connected with his organization. The men held meetings each day and seemed to feel the need of strong leadership.

While the majority were holding out at the end of the week, each day brought its defections, although the mills did not attempt to operate. The officials declared that they would not bring any strike-breakers into the plant. Most of the tubular goods made at this plant can

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The handbills of the strikers' committee address the men as brothers in English, Lithuanian and Polish.

be made at some of the other works of the National Tube Company. Should the men decide to remain out indefinitely the company will probably have the unfilled orders diverted to one of the other departments. In bargaining with their men the managers thus have all the advantages of large scale production and a string of alternative plants. The fact that the great majority of the men are Lithuanians, Poles, and Hungarians makes the situation still more difficult for the small group of American strikers.

One notable aspect of the strike is the fact that surrounding this mill of the steel corporation, and on the opposite side of the Monongahela river, lie a couple of the largest plants of the independent steel makers in the Pittsburg district. In the independent plants the conditions and wages are both at a lower level than in the Pennsylvania department of the National Tube Company.

There have been wild rumors in circulation as to sympathetic strikes in other departments of the National Tube Company, and behind that, the feeling that the whole steel district might turn into a tinder box once there was a flare-up at one point. The I. W. W. has talked strike in the steel mills ever since Lawrence. So far as outward appearances go, however, the region is peaceful. Were it not for the presence of the mounted policemen on guard at the tube works, no one would think that there was any industrial disturbance even in the Soho.

SYRACUSE SURVEY MAKES ACCOUNTING

A year has passed since field work was begun on the Syracuse preliminary social survey, a project which had its inception in the minds of Rev. Murray Shipley Howland and Paul E. Illman of that city. Something over six months have elapsed since the survey reports

were given to the public in a "know-your-city" week. The local committee of citizens who backed the undertaking regarded it much in the light of a social audit. It was a drawing together into one balance sheet of the major social assets and liabilities of the community in such a way that they could be seen in their mutual relations. With this as a basis the central survey committee constructed a program of "next-steps" toward eliminating what community deficits were found; and now, at the end of six months, makes a report on developments which seemed clearly traceable to the social survey. They are ten in number:

First.—The mayor has publicly stated his intention to appoint a city planning commission, and the Chamber of Commerce has appointed since the "know-your-city" week a committee that is actively at work on plans for the city's growth and development.

Second.—The mayor has also publicly stated his intention of appointing a commission to draw up a housing code for the city.

Third.—As a result of the agitation of the Consumers' League and the reports made during the "know-your-city" week, the law keeping small newsboys off the streets and compelling those above ten years of age to wear badges has been largely enforced by school and police authorities.

Fourth.—As a result of the agitation concerning the milk supply there has been a large increase of those who have inquired at the health department concerning the condition of their milk, and this, the authorities claim, is giving them a powerful lever in influencing the milkmen to improve the quality and cleanliness of their milk.

Fifth.—In accordance with the recommendations of the survey, a central organization has been formed which will co-ordinate the work of all charities and betterment organizations of the city, and which will form a central council which will carry on such investigations as the past survey, and help to enforce any movement for betterment of conditions in the city by the influence of a large number of representative organizations.

Sixth.—The study of housing conditions revealed badly overcrowded buildings and violations of the sanitary code. To correct this evil, the mayor has promised an inspector of tenements.

Seventh.—The conditions revealed by the study of foreign population have commanded the attention of a number of people. Steps are now being taken through the North American Civic League for Immigrants and a local organization to provide means for dealing properly with these people, and on the petition of the survey committee the Board of Education has appointed a com-



SOME OF SYRACUSE'S NEWER CITIZENS.

Two Turks and a Greek.

mittee to find what further work the schools can do for the foreign population.

Eighth.—Other matters, such as the movement for one day of rest in seven, have been committed to other organizations which will push them at the proper time.

Ninth.—Another valuable result of the social survey was the collection of a large body of facts concerning social conditions in the city. Various civic organizations have already found the reports of service to them.

Tenth.—As a result of the social survey an investigation of the city departments by experts from the New York Bureau of Municipal Research has been undertaken and valuable suggestions made to the city officials for the conduct of certain departments. This work is being done through the Associated Charities.

Probably the most valuable results are those which cannot be directly catalogued, but there has been a general awakening of the city to interest in its social and moral betterment.

In the light of this showing, in the view of the Syracuse *Post-Standard*, the wisdom of expending \$1,200 on the survey will not be seriously questioned. Immediately following the publication of the report, the *Post-Standard*, among other appreciative paragraphs, said, editorially:

Mr. Howland, chairman of the central

committee on the social survey of this city, is right. The results of that exploration of the city's needs was worth the \$1,200 that was paid for it. "Know-your-city" week did not, to be sure, teach all of us or any of us really to know our city. Few, however, of the newspaper reading population escaped without learning some things which the public must know before improvement could set in. A general awakening, the *Post-Standard* believes, has taken place. Public interest in social and moral betterment for Syracuse is stronger than it was. The city owes a debt far greater than can be expressed in the sum of \$1,200 to Mr. Howland and the others who brought about the social survey.

PSYCHOLOGY IN A JUVENILE COURT

Believing that if the state is to be intelligent in its treatment of boys and girls who are going wrong it must procure accurate analyses of the social, mental, and physical factors contributing to each child's waywardness, the Juvenile Court of Seattle, Washington, has added to itself a department of research. What was accomplished during its first six months is told by Dr. Lilburn Merrill, director of the department. It is interesting to note by way of preface that A. W. Frater, judge of the court, regards the department as one of his most valuable and practical aids in administering delinquency cases. He writes:

It is our purpose [in the new department], so far as possible, to have every delinquent child, who may be brought into court, first placed under observation in this department. When possible or convenient, the examination is made in the presence of his parent or guardian. Here he is studied sympathetically from the viewpoint of the physician and psychologist who have specialized in the care of this class of children, and a written report of the social, physical and mental factors which may have contributed to the child's delinquency is presented to us when the case comes on for hearing. This report is available to the parents, who will thus be apprised of any existing physical or mental defects. Corrective treatment is provided, so far as possible, for every case.

Director Merrill has been closely allied with juvenile courts and child-welfare work for ten years. In his report he states two objects with which the department will be concerned during the coming year:

First, a survey of community conditions contributory to the development of juvenile delinquency, so that we may minimize such social factors.

Second, a preliminary consultation with every child who is brought into court, and an intensive individual study of those who are actual or potential recidivists. This we shall attempt to do, so far as we may, by a study of the child's

1. Family history,
2. Developmental history,
3. Physical condition,
4. Mental condition.

For the purpose of this research the consultation room provided for the department has been supplied with suitable instruments of precision for making neurological tests and measuring vision and audition. Fortunately, much of the material we are using is inexpensive, and the cost of the entire equipment need not exceed one hundred dollars.

Aside from the use of these few instruments, the study of the children is made by ordinary diagnostic methods.

The most encouraging feature is the uniform appreciation expressed by the parents of 200 children who have already passed through our hands. An anxious father or mother is not slow in appreciating that we are making a sincere attempt to assist in the diagnosis and treatment of his child who is going wrong. And in several cases we have been gratified in obtaining satisfactory results which could not have been had but for the assistance which this department provides.

EDITORIAL GRIST

THE ILLINOIS TEN-HOUR LAW

EDITH WYATT

Vice-President of the Consumers'
League of Illinois

For over two years it has been illegal in Illinois factories, laundries, and mechanical establishments to employ women for more than ten hours in the twenty-four hours of any one day.

The law of 1909 on this subject was extended during the session of 1911 at Springfield to include the women at work in all public institutions, all public utility business, for all common carriers or express, transportation, telegraph or telephone services, and in all places of amusements, mercantile establishments, restaurants and hotels.

The amendment has met with practically no opposition from employers en-

gaged in any of these trades, except from hotel owners. A hotel proprietor of Charleston, Ill., on being fined through the state inspector's office for illegally employing three women workers in his establishment—a kitchen worker, a housekeeper, and a stenographer—for more than ten hours in one day, appealed the decision against him to the State Supreme Court.

The case has been regarded as a test of the state's right to protect the labor of our women workers in other trades than those of factories, laundries, and mechanical establishments.

The State Supreme Court, on June 21, handed down an opinion sustaining the amended ten-hour law.

What relief this decision brings to those very hotel workers, whose right to legal protection from labor in excess of ten hours a day formed the cause of the suit in question, may be understood from these reports.

BRIEF OF GRIFFIN AND YANKWICH IN THE SUPREME COURT OF CALIFORNIA.

The work of waitresses is arduous; the waitresses are compelled not only to stand on their feet most of the time, but to walk. It has been estimated that a waitress working ten hours a day walks twenty miles.

REPORT OF THE JUVENILE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION CONCERNING HOUSEWORK IN CHICAGO HOTELS.

She (the chambermaid) has thirty rooms to take care of and she says when she goes to take the car at night to go home she is so tired she can hardly stand on her feet.

The . . . housekeeper, a woman of 52 or 53 years of age . . . worked from 8 in the morning until well into the night, and says when she goes to bed . . . she sometimes feels as though she didn't care what happened.

One of the chambermaids told me that their rooms were "pretty good" . . . the girls tell me that they are so tired when they go to their rooms, that they really don't care very much so long as they have a bed to rest on.

REPORT OF THE JUVENILE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION CONCERNING THE WORK OF KITCHEN AND SCRUB GIRLS IN CHICAGO HOTELS.

The kitchen is in the basement, and the ventilation seems to be no better than in the ordinary basement kitchen. The steward says it is no place for an American girl to work. . . . that the hotel can get all the

Polish and Bohemian help they want and at less wages. The girls seem all tired out.

These (kitchen and cleaning girls) are Polish and some of them appear to be very young. One of the scrub girls . . . told me she was so tired from the backache that at times she could scarcely stand straight.

The kitchen and scrub girls . . . work the full ten hours, and before the ten-hour law went into effect, the assistant housekeeper informed me that a good many girls worked from fourteen to sixteen hours per day, and that some of them, especially in the warm weather, were completely worn out.

THE CASE FOR THE POLISH GIRLS, MONOGRAPH BY GRACE ABBOTT, DIRECTOR OF THE LEAGUE FOR THE PROTECTION OF IMMIGRANTS.

Marja, who had done farm work at home, came to Chicago in March, 1910, and secured work in a hotel, scrubbing for twelve hours. The change from outdoor work to the long hours of hard work on her hands and knees, hard on all the girls, was too much for Marja. She was taken home sick and dizzy one day, and lost six weeks of work. In May, 1911, she was still working twelve hours a day in a restaurant, although she had been subject to headaches ever since her illness.

Clara was twenty-one when she gave up farm work in Galicia for restaurant work in Chicago. At her first place her hands and arms became swollen and inflamed. The doctor said it was caused by the washing powder that was used in the dish water. She recovered, but was at home unable to work for three months. When visited last May, she was working twelve hours a day for seven days in the week.

Clara's case is typical of many others. Very strong washing powders are used both for cleaning and dish water. Sometimes the inflammation it causes does not prove so serious as in her case, and in others worse. In the case of one girl in whom the Immigrants' Protective League was interested, the inflammation developed into eczema and she never recovered her former earning capacity.

Last year the Immigrants' Protective League visited 429 Polish girls who went into hotel work immediately after their arrival in Chicago. . . . The league's visitors try to connect them with night schools, and the various other Americanizing agencies in the neighborhoods. But little or no progress can be made when their work leaves them too tired for anything except bed. There is a popular belief that these Polish girls, because they are large and strong, can do work under which others would give way. But the belief is based on ignorance of what it costs the Polish girl to do this work. The outdoor life which she has led at home has been no preparation for the dull monotony of twelve hours at dish washing in a kitchen.

These reports express chiefly the fatigue of scrub girls, housekeepers, cham-

bermaids, and waitresses employed in hotels and restaurants. The summary of the findings of the Immigrants' Protective League concerning the effect of long hours on the welfare of 429 restaurant and hotel workers is quoted, however, not only for its attestation to the heaviness of the tasks incident to these occupations for women, but also for its account of the extended fast from pleasure such hours represent in these young women's lives.

The recent establishment of the ten hour law's protection over many added thousands of our women workers is founded legally upon our right to safeguard public health both in the present and for the future.

We are glad indeed of the re-establishment of this right. But besides this, commonly and humanly, we are glad of the confirmation of the new law for the myriad girls of our own and other lands who are earning their living by scrubbing, by serving, behind the counters and over the tills and ledgers in Illinois; we are glad of the just decision in their behalf, not alone because of the health of these girls; valuable though health be, nor alone because of their usefulness in any way in the present or future, great and beautiful though that usefulness may be, but because every one of these girls has a right to her own joy. Maybe what everyone on earth needs most is simply more happiness; and it is because the confirmation of the new law affords to workers at least a little more leisure for this that we hope it will be maintained in its full powers.

THE FEDERAL WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT

WILLIAM J. KERBY

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The federal workmen's compensation bill ought to become a law. It has passed the Senate. It ought to be passed by the House. It ought to be enacted as a step toward social justice to the laboring class and as the most efficacious means of testing the validity of the opposition to it which has arisen in certain sections. The step that the bill

contemplates is a step that must be taken in the interests of social and moral progress. There is no other measure in view which seems to promise more. The instinct for justice in the American people will not permit the present system to remain unchanged, if, instead of promoting the interests of justice, it injures them. At any rate, the harassing injustice, the ineffectiveness and the wastefulness of the system under which at present accidents to interstate employes are compensated, must be brought to an end.¹

Some of the opposition to this bill rests on gratuitous and dismal prophecy. Prophets are ordinarily not good statesmen, and the zone in which good statesmen prophesy is extremely limited. Some of the opposition rests on a sentimental reluctance to place in advance a money valuation on the mutilation of the members of the human body. This consideration is neither new nor valid nor important. We have never been able to avoid doing that in some way or other. It is difficult to see how we can avoid it.

Some of the opposition rests on the interests of those who find personal liability litigation an important source of revenue. Some of the opposition rests on a fallacious comparison between maximum damages, occasionally though rarely recovered, on the one hand, and the seemingly low promised average compensation provided for under the bill. Some of the opposition rests on a desire for delay in the hope of finding out how similar bills will operate in different states. Some of the opposition, paradoxical as it may seem, rests on the claim that railroad men's rights of compensation for injuries have never before been half as good as they are now and hence it is well to await developments.

The attempt to pass this bill is a phase in the benevolent revolution through which society is going in its endeavor to alleviate the condition of the laboring class and lift the heavy burden of in-

¹Persons desiring to see this bill pass the House should write at once to their congressmen, calling on them to work for the enactment of the Brantley workmen's compensation bill, its number being H. R. 20,487.

dustrial risk from the shoulders of workmen. If this bill is a step toward promptness and definiteness in relief, toward the substitution of automatically determined compensation for the uncertain outcome of suits at law, toward early adjustment of claims and the elimination of the wastes of litigation which benefit neither employer nor employe, it ought to be enacted. If it draws within the scope of its benevolent action, practically a whole laboring class in interstate commerce instead of a few—possibly 20 per cent of injury cases—giving to the remaining 80 per cent a standing in court which at present they do not enjoy, it deserves support. If it eliminates the adverse verdicts which hinder a large percentage of the actionable cases from recovering anything, it deserves support. If it substitutes the needs of the sufferers as the basis of action instead of the fault of the employer as the basis of action, it deserves support. If it clarifies in the minds of the American public the principle that an industry itself and not the laborers ought to carry the inevitable industrial risks to life and efficiency, it ought to be supported.

If the scale of compensation appears low when compared with the exceptional high damages occasionally secured, it seems encouraging, if not ideal, when compared with the enormous number of cases which obtain no standing in court and with the other cases which lose at trial. Furthermore, when compared with the net amounts which reach the injured laborer or his dependents after the expenses of law-suits are paid, the scale appears to be much more reasonable than its opponents would have us believe. If the predictions made by the adversaries of this bill should be verified, they will undoubtedly operate to bring about such modifications as will satisfy approximately the standards of social justice which we are attempting to work out in our civilization. The recent action of the Harrisburg convention of locomotive engineers endorsing the bill ought to carry weight. The commission which recommended it originally deserves confidence. The National Civic Federation and the American Association for Labor

Legislation which are promoting it deserve confidence. The men and the women active in the field of philanthropy who are working for the passage of the bill merit confidence.

The House of Representatives ought to pass the bill. It goes without saying that if we are inspired by ideals of humanity and of social justice and if we recoil from the injustice to which we are attempting to put an end, the bill ought to include alien laborers and their dependents without question.

A COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

JOHN B. CLARK

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for International Peace

The most critical issues pending in modern states are those between employers and employed, and in our own country they are coming to have an overshadowing importance. This is because the nation is democratic and is becoming more and more industrial, and the demand is insistently made that the voting power be used to improve the laborer's economic status.

How much a government can do in promoting the settlement of the wages problem can be known only after rather long experimenting, but it is clear that, in any case, the problem must be settled by some action on the part of the people. If the manner of settlement is right, we can count on prosperity, peace, and at least an approach to contentment; if it is wrong, there will be embitterment and serious peril; while so long as there is no settlement at all industry will go haltingly, classes will be increasingly antagonistic, and the government will have no basis for a permanent policy. Law-making will yield to whatever pressure is for the moment the strongest.

No one can guarantee that a commission will be able to answer, once for all, the questions that chiefly perplex us; but it should be able to do much in that direction, and at least put us in the way of getting the answers we seek. Some of the most essential facts are not now

known. No one can positively tell how great the income is which has to be divided between employers and employed. Statistics of income have never been made complete, but a commission can make the most of what figures there are and it can obtain more. Moreover, testing, collecting, and arranging figures will be a service of the highest value, and a commission which has the confidence of the public will be able to prepare statistical material which is fit to be the basis of public and private action.

Some facts which are needed have to do with the difficulties inherent in the industrial system, and others with experiments already tried for dealing with them. There is a long chapter of attempts made in our own states and in foreign countries to make employer and men more like partners and less like enemies. It is necessary to know how much each one of those efforts has accomplished.

The supreme question is a moral one. Is labor generally getting its due? A belief in some quarters that it is not explains the embitterment of the once cordial relations of employer and employe. If there is any way of knowing in what part of the system labor gets all that is due to it and in what parts it gets less, and if there is any way of ascertaining what preventable causes stand in the way of justice, that discovery should be rated as in the first rank of discoveries making for the improvement of mankind. A belief that the laborer is wronged and that he will never get justice without a revolution accounts for the growth of the dangerous parties which constitute the extreme left of the labor movement. A belief that much can be done without revolution—that reforms will work well and revolution extremely ill for the workers themselves—accounts for the earnest constructive work to which a great majority of citizens are committed. We need therefore an authorized list of such reforms as can claim immediate support.

There are many things we need to be sure of in connection with the policy of reform. Some efforts to change the terms of distribution in favor of the workers react badly on the amount to be

divided. Strikes and lockouts do so, and so does the policy which organized labor sometimes adopts of reducing its own efficiency—the so-called “ca’ canny” of the English trade unionist. Different in its working, but closely connected with these measures on the part of the workers, is the employer’s effort to reduce the output of his own mills and of other mills of like kind for the sake of exacting higher prices from the community. If we can stop all such efforts, how much will society gain and what part of the gain will fall to the laborer? Of course there will be more to be divided, but how can we cause the excess to be shared fairly?

In so far as the laborers’ plan of limiting the number of pieces they can turn out is concerned, that appears, on its face, to be an absurdity. How can any one expect to make his wages greater by making his product smaller? And yet this plan of action has some motive. There must be a way in which, during a limited time and for a limited number of persons, it may do something which, in their view, is rational. The whole evolution that has led to such tactics should be examined and, in the light of history, statistics, and economic principles, a reasonable plan of action should be determined.

Even the basic question of the justice and the utility of the organization of labor is here and there called in question. This means more than the rightfulness of particular things that trade unionists do; it concerns the principle of trade unionism, rather than the practices which have grown up under it. If there were any real doubt as to the necessity and the justice of organizing laborers for collective action, that question would easily take the first rank, in importance. There is no real uncertainty, however, as to this fundamental point, but there is actual danger that, in taking ground against the violent measures of some unions, even reasonable men may range themselves against the principle of union; and they will do so more and more as the opinion gains ground that strikes are useless without violence.

Can labor get on without actual

strikes? How far can strikes, when they occur, succeed without violence? Is there any danger that a rigorous enforcement of law, without tribunals of arbitration for the settlement of wage questions, will leave laborers helpless in their employer's hands? On the other hand, is there danger that no enforcement or a lax enforcement of the law for protecting persons and property would make the employer comparatively helpless and invite anarchy in every great industrial center?

Sad indeed would be a state in which peaceful strikes would lead to starving the workers and violent ones would destroy the social order. Verily, it is a choice between the devil and the deep sea! But fortunately there is a third alternative. Successful arbitration may both preserve order and do justice. Recent history records a long series of possible measures aiming to secure the laborer against exploiting and the employer and the non-union worker from the various forms of sabotage. There are conciliation, arbitration by committees created by the contestants each for a particular dispute, and arbitration by permanent tribunals. There is adjudication having no coercive power, and taking place only as a tribunal is invoked by one or both contestants, and there is the same kind of adjudication which acts on its own initiative, though still without power to enforce its decisions. There are tribunals that have full coercive power, since they can fortify their decisions by fines or other penalties for those who refuse to accept them. There is a plan which requires no formal coercion, but invokes a very real power when it publishes a decision. It investigates the claims of workmen, announces a just rate of pay, and merely relies on a stern repression of disorder in case the rate is refused. Workers who then refuse a really just rate are not able to carry their point by "slugging" the men who accept it.

There is much more to be investigated and it is clear that the field of inquiry is enormously large. That many studies and fruitful ones have been made in this domain, is no reason for opposing the

creation of a commission. It can serve as a competent jury to weigh the arguments of those who have already put their conclusions on record. The mass of literature on this subject is so vast that no one reads the whole of it, and many valuable parts of it reach very few persons. If a commission makes the most of the studies of the past, if it summarizes conclusions and weighs the arguments in favor of them, its reports should be very illuminating to the general public. Even a small measure of success in so vast an undertaking would be a sufficient reward for the labor and the outlay it would cost. It might easily open a vista leading to a state of future peace, comfort, and justice, gained without an overthrow of the social order followed by a more than doubtful effort to build a new one.

CHANGING THE LIFE IN THE FORECASTLE

GEORGE McPHERSON HUNTER

Since May 18¹ the report of Senator Smith on the loss of the Titanic has been published, and a minority of the committee on merchants marine and fisheries has presented a report on the Wilson bill to improve the conditions of sea life. The language of the minority report is severe and vigorous and is an arraignment of Congress for "stupidity, lack of intelligence or patriotism" in driving the American ship from the ocean. The report of the committeemen who object to the bill is hortatory in tone and faulty in argument, charging it with being "but a proposal for Congress to legislate exclusively for the supposed benefit of foreign seamen."

Recent and calamitous events would seem to make it necessary for America to say something about the conditions on ships visiting American ports, especially English vessels, and we are convinced that international agreements will have to be made concerning safety on ocean-going passenger ships. Nations assume the right to protect themselves from the

¹See THE SURVEY of that date for Mr. Hunter's first editorial on the Wilson bill.

spread of diseases by inspecting and quarantining foreign vessels. Were it not for the foreign vessels trading to America, crimping would cease. When the sailor has no money the crimps let him alone. "Where the carcass is, there will the eagles be."

The Wilson bill will, moreover, do much to remedy many of the moral evils in a sailor's life, and for this reason alone deserves to be passed. For it gives him the right to a fair proportion of his wages, when he asks for it. Advance wages, or allotments, may be benevolent in their intentions, but they are injurious in their workings. To be suddenly thrust on the water-front with an accumulated pay and a deferred thirst, or to possess the power to sign wages away before they are earned, the right to pawn himself for food and wages, is giving hostages to the sailor's enemies. On this point the law says:

A seaman may make an allotment of any portion of his wages which he may earn to his grandparents, parents, wife, sister, or children, except when he is engaged in the trade between the ports of the United States, or in trade between the ports of the United States and the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, West Indies, and Mexico.

A seaman may make an allotment not exceeding one month's pay to an original creditor in payment of any just debt for board or clothing when engaged in a vessel bound from a port on the Atlantic to a port on the Pacific, or *vice versa*; or in a vessel engaged in foreign trade, except trade between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, or Newfoundland, or the West Indies, or the Republic of Mexico.

Any person who pays wages to a seaman in advance of the time when they are earned, except as provided for above, makes himself liable to a penalty of a fine not less than four times of the amount of wages so advanced or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

It has recently been held by the United States District Court for the western district of Washington that the *above law as to advances and allotments of wages applies in the case of American citizens sailing out of American ports on foreign vessels.*

The human side of the Wilson bill is interesting. It deserves support because it attempts to make ship life better by giving a fair division of watches, more air space, proper washing accommodations, bath rooms, in short, an approxi-

mation to some of the things provided for workers in factories. It seeks to project human conditions into the fore-castle, and to balance the difference between "fatigue and efficiency." It would compel some ship-owners to treat their seamen as they treat their ship and machinery. In machine construction there is what is known as the breaking strain and the working strain. The seamen's bill is at least an honest attempt to provide that the stress put on the human machine shall not be a breaking but a working strain.

At the hearings on the bill it was urged that seamen do not appreciate baths and lavatories, and prefer to wash in a bucket and destroy the plumbing. My experience with probably the hardest class of men afloat, the Liverpool firemen, is quite the opposite. The American Seamen's Institute in New York is furnished like a first-class club and in three years, with an average attendance of 900 men per day and 178 lodging at night, we have had nothing destroyed or stolen except soap—sailors have no conscience about soap. The popularity of the building is due to *cleanliness, baths, and the honor system.* We treat men like men, and *expect* the best behavior. We get what we expect.

The efficiency tests of the seamen's bill are valuable and needed, for it has been too commonly urged that the introduction of steam has banished the necessity for seamen, a grave and dangerous error, and in harmony with the assertion that the hazards of the sea were eliminated by steam.

Skill is demanded of policemen. The easy-going, seemingly idle representative of the law has perhaps little apparent call for skill and training, but below his blue coat he has resources ready to be used when the occasion demands. In a measure, the "cop" illustrates the sailor's position. The ordinary routine of neither city life, nor steamship life calls for anything extraordinary. But the out of the ordinary—riot, fire, burglary—happen in city life. So, the out of the ordinary—collisions, fire, stress of weather—happen at sea. Policemen and seamen are trained for emergencies.



SOME OF THE SINGLE FAMILY HOUSES.

THE YOUNGSTOWN HOUSING EXPERIMENT

J. M. HANSON

GENERAL SECRETARY CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY, YOUNGSTOWN, O.

A city which, during the past decade has enjoyed an increase of 325 per cent in its industrial output, has a strong claim to be considered important in trade circles, even if it does not yet rank as one of our larger cities in population. To match this expansion industrially, Youngstown, O., can boast of an increase in population during the same ten years of 76 per cent and this growth is being fully maintained. Its iron and steel tonnage has become so great that Youngstown is now named with Pittsburgh in trade quotations on billets and rolling mill products.

Situated midway between Pittsburgh and Cleveland in the Mahoning valley, with good trunk line railway facilities, Youngstown has the service of the large city and the added advantage of cheaper factory sites. The coke from Pennsylvania and the iron ore from the lake docks meet here and furnish employment to some 15,000 men in the furnaces, mills, and shops. Many other industries, diversified in character, have located here. These give employment to all classes of labor and swell the monthly payrolls to over \$2,000,000.

It follows inevitably that this rap-

idly growing factory center, with its large foreign population, has a serious housing problem. Although for several years Youngstown has not seen many days when about 500 houses were not under way, the supply has never equaled the demand. This is especially true of the houses which rent for modest sums, since, when there is a good demand for houses, the investor prefers to deal with higher class tenants. This scarcity of low-rent houses with the consequent increase in rents in the poorer districts has fostered congestion. Particularly is this true of the down-town business district, where the old residences, which were moved to make room for business blocks, have been placed upon the rear of the lots, in some sections covering the entire area except for the winding paths and driveways between. Here the foreigners are so crowded that there are two or three families where there should be but one. Sometimes a single family has a score or more of boarders who occupy the beds in double shift.

These conditions were realized in a general way but what to do about it, no one seemed to know. As soon as the Charity Organization Society be-

gan work, over three years ago, an attempt was made by it to focus attention upon the subject and its relations to problems of charity and correction. A careful study was made of the most congested district and startling facts were published about the number of families there which lived in a single room, and about filthy privies, many of which were used in common by several families. It was pointed out that the rents charged were, per room, as much or even more than is asked for good, sanitary houses upon improved streets in respectable districts. This condition of high rents afforded a strong argument for the plan proposed as a step toward the solution of the problem, viz.: the building of small, cheap-rent houses as a business enterprise, except that the philanthropic side should be recognized and the dividends limited to 5 per cent. The history of the "philanthropy and 5 per cent" building movement was outlined and the general success of similar building ventures was shown together with the great good that would result from such an investment. For one year this agitation was kept up and a



REAR VIEW OF TWO FAMILY HOUSES.

thorough canvass was conducted by a committee of business men. A stock subscription paper was then opened and the people generally, as far as they were able, subscribed. In the late fall of 1909 the Modern Homes Company was incorporated with an authorized capital stock of \$100,000. The charter was broad, permitting the company to engage in the general real estate business as well as to contract and build and deal in building materials. It was decided that the company would do its own building in order to save the contractor's profits and to insure the very highest grade of construction. A man was secured as manager, who, as superintendent of a rolling mill, was accustomed to organizing and directing workmen. He was sent to other cities to study similar building projects and to investigate materials and forms of construction. After several weeks of investigation, active building operations were begun about the first of May, 1910.

The site chosen was adjacent to a rolling mill and other industrial plants but, lying to the westward and windward, was comparatively free from smoke and dust. This tract con-



YOUNGSTOWN'S SUBSTITUTE FOR SQUALID TENEMENTS.



MODERN HOMES COMPANY HOUSES FACING PARK.

taining about seven acres is cut by a street near one end, but the larger portion is covered with a good stand of large oak trees. Through the center a park of about three acres was laid out and the houses were placed so as to face upon the park with the driveways in the rear.

The material adopted was the Pauley square concrete tile. The advantages which led to the use of this material were that no expensive equipment was required, such as moulds, hoists, etc.; a large percentage of the wall is hollow, insuring dryness and economy of material; the tile are quickly handled, and plaster and grout can be applied directly to the wall with a perfect bond.

Six weeks after building operations were begun, tenants began to move in. Six masons completed the walls, including chimneys, of three four-roomed houses a week. The roofers, carpenters, plasterers, plumbers, and painters followed in succession and the tenants moved in as soon as the last workman left. Six months after operations were begun a dividend had been earned, and 1 1-4 per cent quarterly has been paid regularly since. The park has been improved and cared for. Sand boxes are provided for the small tots. The larger children go to a municipal playground nearby. Receptacles are provided for all rubbish which is removed by the company. A social worker is employed as rent collector who keeps in close friendly touch with the tenants and is an important factor in the scheme.

During the first year sixty-six houses and apartments were erected. Forty-nine of these were detached four and five-room houses, and seventeen were three-room apartments in two "terraces." Also a store and meat market

for the convenience of the tenants were built, though they are not operated by the company. All the houses and apartments contain bath rooms, laundry, with hot water equipment, and fixtures for lighting and heating with natural gas. A number of houses were also built for other parties who desired "Modern Homes Company standards." In the spring of 1911 the capital stock was increased to \$500,000, and nineteen modern houses of a better grade were built on lots 40 by 125 feet, which will be sold on easy monthly payments. About the same number will be erected during 1912, depending upon the sale of stock. These houses are located across the street from the park, but since the company owns the land on both sides, the street and lots will be developed in the park scheme and will be separated from contiguous property by an eight-foot trellis covered with hardy vines.

The first tract of land, approximately seven acres, cost about \$15,000, and the later purchase of lots 40 by 125 feet about \$550 per lot. The "terrace" construction, exclusive of land, came to \$1,000 for each apartment, while the detached houses with modern improvements, including furnaces, cost \$1,500, and the six-room houses, fully modern, including mantel and gas grate in the parlor, \$2,200. All have slate roofs and porches front and rear, with cement floors and steps. They are grouted and the casings and doors painted a dark green to harmonize with the trees. The rents in the terrace are \$10 and \$12 per month; the detached houses \$15, \$18, and \$20.

The company has considered building an apartment that could be rented

for \$6 to \$8 per month, but found that standards would have to be lowered if 5 per cent dividends were paid. The conclusion was that, if a sufficient number of houses were provided at from \$10 to \$15, many families now inhabiting the cheaper quarters would move to the better houses and make room for those who could not pay so much. This has actually happened. Some of the families renting the \$10 apartments came from unsanitary, cheap-rent houses and bad environments. After a few months in the terrace apartments, several of these families moved into the better and larger detached houses and some are now even applying for the still better houses with individual yards. Besides

demonstrating the theory that people will respond to a good environment and raise their standards of living, the company has proved that as a rule a good house will be appreciated and kept in good condition.

While the work of this company has not yet been extensive enough to affect appreciably the congestion of the poorer districts, it has called attention to the need and so has stimulated the building of cheap-rent houses. It has also done much to establish better standards in buildings and has influenced rental rates. It is the purpose of the company to push its work as fast as its funds will permit and build these "garden villages" in other parts of the city adjacent to the different mills.

NOT BULLETS BUT PAINT¹

EDWARD EWING PRATT

A battleship in dry dock—stripped of her finery, dirty and unkempt, her engines motionless, her decks deserted—seems singularly futile and harmless as she leans weakly against the props which are placed along her sides. Laborers in overalls and jumpers, with dinner pails in hand, throng across the runway and disappear into a gaping, ugly turret. In spite of the seeming weakness and harmlessness of the inert monster, and in spite of the throng of plodding mechanics and laborers who have taken the places of the smartly and nattily dressed sailors and marines, the battleship remains a destroyer of health and life. True, it is not easily discovered: the dismantled ship does not blaze forth and thunder out its message of injury and death. The danger is an insidious one, deliberately, gradually, slowly preying upon and eating out the health and life of its victim. The source of the danger is lead—not as bullets or cannon-balls, but lead in the apparently harmless form of a preservative and cleanser—lead paint.

On September 1, 1911, there went into effect in New York state the law compelling physicians to report occupational diseases, such as lead poisoning, mercurial poisoning, arsenical poisoning, anthrax, and caisson illness. Under this law, late in the year, a Brooklyn physician reported the case of one William O'Connell. Lead poisoning was the physician's diagnosis accompanied by the bare statement that he was employed in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. In order to get the facts of the case, it was necessary to see O'Connell, to find out what he had been doing, and how seriously he had been poisoned. The address given was in a distant but populous section of Brooklyn, in one of the three-story six-family fire-traps so common in that region. In answer to my knock, a cheery "Come in!" sounded from within. The apartment which opened to view was plain, but clean and wholesome looking. O'Connell was alone,—a man below medium stature, thin and emaciated, his clothes sagging about him as he stood up. The hand which he held out was half closed and felt cold and singularly soft. It rested inert in my grip and there was no answering tension. As he spoke, his

¹This article is based upon a report to the New York State Factory Investigating Commission. The commission has not seen fit to use it. The facts are such that its importance cannot be gainsaid.

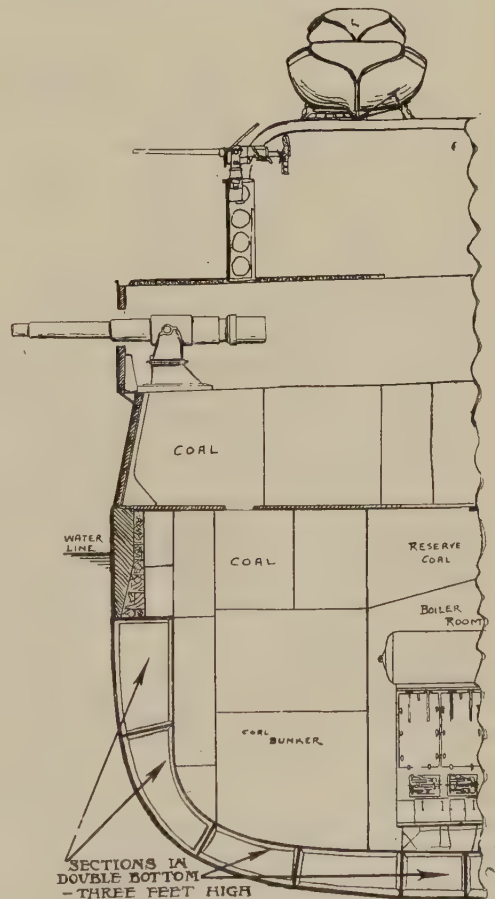
teeth showed. They were decayed and falling out.

In answer to my questions, he told of his experience in the Navy Yard. About four and one-half years ago (October, 1907) O'Connell found employment at the yard as a laborer. He worked eight hours per day, and earned \$12 per week. He was put to work at "scaling" in the double bottoms of the battleships. In two months he began to feel the effects of his work; he was troubled with nausea, constipation, and chronic loss of appetite. Within a year, he was taken with a severe attack of lead poisoning and almost lost the use of his arms. He was out of work for four months, one month of which was spent in the hospital. He then returned to work at the Navy Yard, was given outside work, and improved rapidly. A month later, however, he was laid off owing to slack work and was unemployed for four months. At the end of this time he was called back and sent to work again in the double bottoms. He protested to the foreman, and was told that if he didn't want to do that, he couldn't have work. He took the job. Who wouldn't after four months of idleness? He went back to scaling and to an absolute certainty of renewed poisoning. Within two months he was again taken with a severe attack, and at the end of September, 1911, quit his job. Since then he has been without work (now June, 1912), and there is little likelihood that he will be able to work in the near future, as he has almost completely lost the use of his right hand, which is paralyzed.¹

In the midst of our interview Mrs. O'Connell came in. We were just discussing cleanliness as a preventive of lead poisoning. "No woman ever took better care of a husband than I did of that man," she declared, and O'Connell nodded his head vigorously in approval. "I kept telling him to wash, and to keep clean," (which is more than the foreman or superintendent had done). "I made him change his underclothes twice every week, and I washed him a pair of overalls every solitary week; and do you know I always found a sort of red mud

in the bottom of my wash tubs? It looked just like the red paint that I found in his clothes and in our bedroom."

The morning was already far gone, when all the formalities demanded by governmental red tape had been complied with, and I was started on an inspection of the double bottoms, where the men were "scaling." My guide led me quickly to the dry docks where a big monitor was docked. We entered the turret, from which a big gun projected, and passed on over debris of various kinds into a room evidently used as a sort of storage, where some coats and dinner pails were hanging. All about us there was a most unearthly din; it sounded as if a battery of automatic guns were playing on the steel sides of the ship. The foreman, bellowed in my ear that I had a hard trip



SECTION OF A BATTLESHIP SHOWING DOUBLE BOTTOM.

¹O'Connell has applied to the government for compensation, but his misfortune is not an "injury," and hence his application for compensation has been denied.

before me and a dirty one. A dilapidated suit of overalls was dug up from somewhere, I was given a candle, and followed the foreman into the hold. First through the engine room we went and down several flights of stairs, then through a long passageway, and down more steps, and through more passages. The whole place seemed like a disorganized maze of pipes, rods, wires, boilers, and machinery of various sorts until we were down to the very keel of the ship.

Most battleships nowadays are provided with double bottoms—a space of from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet between the inner and outer shell. This space is divided into small compartments usually not more than four or five feet square. Down into the double bottoms we went, squeezing ourselves through a little manhole. Once in, we crawled slowly along, on hands and knees, following the light of the candle held by the man ahead. We worked our way through several small manholes, until we reached a compartment where a man was “scaling.” An electric light attached to a moveable wire lighted the compartment. The workman was crouched forward on his knees, and was operating a compressed air chisel, called a “hammer,” scraping off the paint. This paint, which is sometimes a quarter of an inch thick and is composed of almost pure red oxide of lead, rose from the point of contact, and the dangerous dust filled the air. Oftentimes, several men work in one small compartment, and it is said that the dust sometimes becomes so thick that it is almost impossible to see an electric light two feet away. The only provision made for the men is that, in summer, fresh air is blown into the compartments. Refreshing as it is, it stirs up the dust and thus adds to the danger of the work.

When we emerged from the double bottoms, the din throughout the ship had ceased. Already it was the noon hour. On returning to the storage room, we found the men sitting about eating their lunches. Only one man had taken the trouble to get a bucket of water in which to wash his hands. The others, covered as they were with dirt, their hands red with the poisonous lead oxide,

ate in apparent indifference. No conveniences are furnished them, no washing facilities, no warm food, and worst of all no instructions concerning the desperately dangerous character of their work and how to guard and protect themselves. As we talked, man after man told of the attacks of lead poisoning that they themselves or their fellow workmen had had.

Counting O’Connell, and two cases furnished by the medical officer of the yard, I found twenty men who had suffered from lead poisoning, caused by work in the double bottoms. One or two of these men had lost no time; most of them had been so seriously affected that they were compelled to cease work for periods varying from a few days to as long as eleven months. Two cases were fatal.

The mere statement of these facts, however, does not convey any idea of the true situation. Almost half of the men on this job have been leaded and many of them are at present in a critical state of ill-health.

The conditions are bad indeed; not only because of the very dangerous material with which the men are working, but also, on account of the place where the work must be done, the long periods of exposure, the lack of instructions, and the lack of any compensation for idleness caused directly by a disease due to the employment.¹

It would not be worth our while to discuss this subject if lead poisoning were an absolutely necessary accompaniment to the maintenance and operation of battleships, which, of course we must have—at least, so we are told. The tragedy of the whole situation is that lead poisoning is unnecessary, is preventable, and with the proper care, its worst consequences may be entirely forestalled. If the authorities of the Brooklyn Navy Yard had been on the alert, if the post medical officer had been “on the job,” not more than one case of lead poisoning, and that the first one, need ever have occurred.

The one sure, safe, and sane method

¹Not long after this inspection a conference was held at the navy yard and the facts were brought to the attention of the commandant.

of preventing lead poisoning is to entirely do away with the use of lead paints. France has recognized this need and within two years' time will have entirely done away with the use of lead in its paint compositions.

There are other methods, which if honestly carried out will prevent any serious consequences from lead poisoning, either in this particular work or in other work where lead is used:

(1) A monthly physical examination of all the men, and the removal from that work of any men who show symptoms of poisoning.

(2) An effective and localized system of dust removal.

(3) The provision of respirators and the enforcement of their use.

(4) The provision of washing facilities including hot water, soap, towels,

and shower baths, and the enforcement of their use.

(5) Personal instructions and posted instructions concerning the dangers of the work and how to guard against them.

(6) The shifting of the men from the dangerous job to other work of a less dangerous character.

This is not merely the problem of a small group of men in a single navy yard. The same conditions probably exist in all our navy yards. On board ship, men are continuously employed at this work, who are undoubtedly seriously affected. In view of the many industrial occupations in which men come in contact with lead in one or another of its dangerous forms, the United States government should take the lead, and set an example by eliminating such poisoning from among its employees.

THE LEGAL AFTERMATH OF THE LAWRENCE STRIKE

JAMES P. HEATON

"Ettor and Giovanitti are in jail, doomed to pass the rest of their natural lives behind prison walls if the money powers have their say and their way.

"Why and what for?

"They were true to their fellow workers! True to them in devotion in the hours of strife and struggle for more bread, more of the comforts of life!

"And that is their only crime! That is what they are in jail for."—*From a statement of the Textile Strikers' Defense Committee.*

The genuine belief of mill operatives in Lawrence that Ettor and Giovanitti, the leaders for the first fortnight of the surprising industrial rebellion in that New England factory town, are in prison "on a trumped-up charge of murder," is reflected in this declaration of the mill workers. This feeling is not confined to those who are direct partisans nor to people whose judgment might be discounted because of unfamiliarity with American institutions and judicial procedure. It is shared by attorneys, newspaper men, ministers, and students of public affairs.

The courts of Massachusetts have an earned reputation for probity and judicial acumen. Most critics feel that

any possible veering from exact and scrupulously even-handed justice in the legal proceedings growing out of the Lawrence strike will eventually be rectified. To understand how a large body of working people have had their faith shaken requires consideration of a number of strands of incident growing out of the strike.

Besides Ettor and Giovanitti, Joseph Caruso, Salvatore Bruno, and Orlando Antonio, are today imprisoned, while Salvatore Scuito has been indicted but not yet apprehended. Bruno and Antonio have been convicted of assault with intent to murder and sentenced by the Superior Court of Essex County to not less than five nor more than seven years. Orlando Antonio was convicted for shooting during a disturbance at one of the mills. A revolver was found near him where witnesses said he threw it, but other witnesses said the shot did not come from his direction. Bruno was convicted for firing at the police. The police testified that no one was near

but Bruno and themselves. Bruno, who was not a striker, was so frightfully mangled about the face that the next day in the police court friends did not recognize him. Behind the spot where Bruno stood were the marks of several shots fired by the police but back of the officers no bullet holes were found. In fact, they were standing in front of glass windows which remained unbroken. That Bruno did fire a pistol is admitted. His claim is that he aimed in the air.

THE MURDER CASES

Joseph Caruso is held in the Lawrence jail as a principal in the murder of Anna Lopizzo who was killed during a clash between strikers and policemen. The state's claim, so far as it is known, is that Caruso aided Scuito who, it is alleged, did the actual shooting. The more important case of Ettor and Giovanitti, whose trial, originally set for May 27, was postponed at the request of counsel for the defense, involves far-reaching issues as to strike leadership and responsibility. The prisoners, who are charged with being accessories to the murder, were not present when Anna Lopizzo was shot. The commonwealth contended at their arraignment before Police Magistrate Mahoney, in Lawrence, February 9, that the defendants had spread a propaganda of violence. It was this propaganda, said the district attorney, which inspired the person actually guilty of the murder to fire at the police. According to the state's witnesses the shot missed its mark and killed the woman. Witnesses for the defense, mostly strikers, declared that Policeman Benoit fired the fatal bullet, and that at least one other officer also used his revolver. The police absolutely denied that they did any firing. Because it was dark it was difficult for outsiders to see just what happened. At the autopsy the bullet proved to be a revolver shot of thirty-eight caliber. The official Lawrence police arm is a thirty-two. Two policemen testified under cross-examination that they owned thirty-eight caliber revolvers, but said they did not carry them while on duty.

The first point, then, which the state

must prove, is that strikers or their sympathizers fired the shot; the second that there is a convincing connection between their acts and those of the strike leaders. In such a period of excitement and with the babel of tongues spoken in Lawrence, state and defense alike had difficulty in marshalling oral evidence which would leave no measure of doubt in the mind of a disinterested observer. The arraignment of Ettor and Giovanitti lasted eight days in February, while the strike was still on, but while the grand jury was not in session, and took the form of a thorough trial of the facts before the magistrate.

District Attorney Henry C. Atwill laid stress upon the street car riots in January, when windows were broken by the throwing of pieces of ice, while several trolley cars had their poles removed. From one or two cars, passengers were dragged out. The disturbance occurred early one morning while the strikers were holding a parade. Few of the leaders were there, but Ettor was seen shortly before and again after the stopping of the cars. The state claimed that this was a demonstration planned by Ettor as part of a policy of violence. In rebuttal, witnesses testified that he helped that very morning to break up a block of people on the sidewalk, thus aiding the police in keeping the crowd moving. A member of the militia likewise said that Ettor had shown himself willing to carry out suggestions from Colonel Sweetzer who was in command of the state troops sent to Lawrence to preserve order.

VIOLENCE IN WORD AND DEED

As evidence and proof of a propaganda of violence the state introduced testimony concerning speeches made by Ettor and Giovanitti. Two sentences upon which great emphasis was laid were a statement that Lawrence would be an unhappy city and that the strikers would keep the gun shops busy. By the first of these, according to the defense, Ettor referred to an impending strike of the power house employes, which would have left Lawrence in darkness and without street car service. As answer to the other implication, the defense contended that Ettor was speak-

ing about a committee appointed by the strikers to interview the city authorities about gun permits. A number of revolver permits had been granted to special policemen and mill representatives. The strikers claimed that, as a protest, they wished to apply for permits themselves, without expecting that their request would be granted but with the idea that such wholesale applications would show the danger in issuing permits to private individuals on either side, to carry deadly weapons at such a time of industrial conflict.

Three more radical statements were imputed to Ettor and Giovanitti in the testimony of the state's witnesses. It was charged that Ettor, after he had been told that federal troops were to be sent to quell the strike, said: "We will win if they raise scaffolds on every street." Two detectives in the service of the Callahan agency declared that Giovanitti told his listeners to sleep in the daytime and prowl around at night like wild animals. These witnesses admitted that they had been commissioned to find evidence against the strikers, and that they had destroyed their notes of the speeches to keep them from the lawyers for the defense. The speech was given in Italian and one of these two witnesses showed considerable hesitancy in giving the Italian of the statement charged to the strike leader. Neither was thoroughly acquainted with Italian. The versions of the speech given varied greatly. A witness for the state testified that Giovanitti declared the strikers would "bust the heads of scabs." This was afterward denied by a fellow striker.

I. W. W. DOCTRINE

Such charges and countercharges and, as a matter of fact, such acts however discountenanced are not unfamiliar to strikes as we have known them in the past in America. What lifted them, in the minds of authorities and of outside local public opinion, into something of menacing significance, is the fact that this strike was led by the (Chicago) Industrial Workers of the World. In the preamble of the constitution of the I. W. W. the direct assertion is made that the "struggle must go on between the

working class and the employing class until the workers take possession of the earth and accomplish the abolition of the wage system." Such a propaganda coupled with the antagonism of the old line unions to the new was calculated to impress Lawrence with the difference between this and previous textile strikes of workers outside the I. W. W. Haywood, who had arrived in Lawrence shortly before Ettor's arrest, was known as one of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners who were acquitted on the charge of blowing up Governor Steunenberg. Ettor was a leader in the McKees Rocks strike. In the I. W. W., Its History, Structure, and Methods, an official publication, Vincent St. John, the secretary, says:

"The question of 'right' and 'wrong' does not concern us. . . . Failing to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and 'sabotage' is used. . . . Interference by the government is resented by open violation of the government's orders, going to jail en masse, causing expense to the taxpayers. . . . The strike committee [at McKees Rocks, Pa.] . . . served notice upon the commander of the cossacks (Pennsylvania State Constabulary) that for every striker killed or injured by the cossacks the life of a cossack would be exacted in return. . . . The strikers kept their word."

The state tried to bring home to the leaders in Lawrence some of the more extreme doctrines advocated in the official literature published by the I. W. W. To this end the district attorney introduced a letter from St. John to Haywood which was found with four others addressed to Haywood in Ettor's pockets and which at the time of his arrest the latter endeavored to turn over to Yates to deliver to Haywood. In this letter St. John urged that the strikers should break into jail and make the county feed them. The other four letters to Haywood were unopened. No one for the state would swear that the letter offered in evidence was opened when Ettor was arrested. One witness said that the letter was open the following morning when he first saw it.

The state's contention was that the violence could not have broken out of its own accord but must have been prearranged by the leaders. It should be

noted, however, that grave disorder, if not the worst, occurred spontaneously on the first day, before Ettor and Giovanitti had arrived. If the strike leaders had deliberately planned to use violence as part of their tactics, say their sympathizers, it would have been easy to have picked off single policemen on dark nights. Neither policemen nor militiamen suffered any major injury throughout the long and at times tense struggle.

The prosecution charged that the strike leaders were purposely absent from scenes of violence in order to escape responsibility. The district attorney said to Yates, financial secretary of the strike fund, who was called to the stand during the Ettor trial:

"Did you know that the parade was to be held?"

"Sure."

"Were you in bed when the other boys were in the streets in the cold?"

"Yes."

An objection to this cross-examination was overruled.

A reading of the court report of the Ettor arraignment makes it obvious that the state conceived that the out-of-town strike leaders could have been impelled only by mercenary motives. It refused to concede as a possibility that men might be moved to come to Lawrence by a feeling of class consciousness to fight what they deemed injustice. This spirit was reflected in the district attorney's summing up in the following sentences:

I want to be frank in saying to this court that perhaps I am a little prejudiced. I can't help being. I cannot look with complacency upon all these labor buzzards gathering here in stricken Lawrence from all parts of the country for the purpose, as I claim, of spreading their specious doctrines among the toiling masses, advancing that organization which they are depending upon for a living and advancing the circulation of the periodicals which they edit and from which they gain their livelihood. . . . Massachusetts has no need of these social vultures.

Joseph Caruso, who was not mentioned in any way in the police court proceedings as principal, was brought into the case during the sitting of the Grand Jury in April. The indictment proceedings were of course secret so that the nature of the state's evidence against him is

unknown. During the arraignment of Ettor and Giovanitti two months before any principal was arrested, the witnesses for the state said that the shot which killed Mrs. Lopizzo was fired by a man in a brown overcoat, who is now said by the state to be Salvatore Scuito. Shortly after the Lawrence strike broke out the textile operatives in Lowell also stopped work. The Lawrence leaders who went to Lowell complain that a man, whom they do not own as one of themselves but who corresponded, they say, to the principal in the brown overcoat described at the arraignment of Ettor, caused them trouble and anxiety there by egging the strikers on to violence. They assert that the police refused to arrest him although he was pointed out while actively at work.

THE CONSPIRACY CASES

Once the strike was over, an entirely new group of cases came up which to the minds of the workers are cut from the same cloth, in that the basis of the indictments is to hold the strike leaders responsible for acts with which they may or may not have been directly connected. These include William D. Haywood, leader of the strike after Ettor's arrest; William E. Trautman, formerly of the brewers' union; Ettore Giannini, Edmund Rossoni, and Gildo Mazzarella, leaders of the Italian strikers; James P. Thompson, general organizer of the I. W. W.; William Yates, a New Bedford textile worker; and Thomas Holliday, a textile worker in Lawrence. All are held for conspiracy to intimidate the workers in the various mills. A separate indictment was returned against these men for each mill affected. Haywood and one or two others have not been in Massachusetts since the indictments were returned. Unlike Ettor and Giovanitti, the others have been admitted to bail.

There are indications that part of the case against them will be an attempt to prove that at secret meetings plans were made of a criminal character. With the exception of Holliday, those indicted were not residents of Lawrence before the strike. For reasons not clear to the strikers several other influential leaders including Edward Riley, a local textile

worker, the chairman of the committee of ten which met the representatives of the employers to settle the strike, were not included. Most of those named in the indictments were the leading speakers from outside of Lawrence who were blamed during the strike for inflaming their hearers.

That such a charge should have been brought against them has in the past month led to unrest among the regular mill workers. They understood, whether rightly or wrongly, that at the close of the strike the case against Ettor and Giovanitti was not to be pressed so far as the mill owners had any influence,—and in this connection, it should be borne in mind that, to the minds of the rank and file of the workers, the civil authorities were identified throughout the strike with the interests of the employers. Apart from the question of ethical or legal propriety of any such understanding, the statements of the committee of ten to the strikers were specific with respect to the fact that such assurances were given. As a result the workers charge bad faith. They feel that the real object of the proceedings is to “get” William Haywood, and for this belief they have some provocation in an incident connected with the arrest during the strike of twenty-two persons for molesting and insulting the militia while on duty. Chapter 604 of the Acts of 1908 provides that any person interfering with a parade, drill, or meeting, may be immediately “put under guard and kept at the discretion of the commanding officer until the drill, parade or meeting is concluded,” or the commander may commit the person to the civil authorities. Under this section there were those who wished to hold “Big Bill” Haywood for speeches delivered in Lowell and Somerville. In these the strike leader made caustic remarks about the soldiers which it was argued could be construed as interfering with the duty of the militia at Lawrence. When it was decided after consultation that such an interpretation was far fetched, a high officer of the militia, Judge A. C. H. Douglas Campbell, attempted to have the legislature pass an amendment to the

militia law while the strike was on, making such an arrest possible.

RESPONSIBILITY OF STRIKE LEADERS

The theory underlying the prosecution of Ettor and Giovanitti and the group of ten labor leaders later indicted, is well expressed in *State vs. Cahill*, an Iowa case quoted in the proceedings against Ettor, which declares that when there is a conspiracy to accomplish an unlawful purpose, as the forcible driving out of newly employed miners by old miners in a strike, and the means to be used are not sufficiently agreed on or understood, each conspirator becomes responsible for the means used by any co-conspirator, and when a homicide is thus committed, each is responsible for it the same as if done by him.

But further than this the charges raised a number of questions. One is in the words of a commentator in one of the New York dailies: “If strike leaders can be indicted and convicted of being accessories to murder and of conspiracy to intimidate, whenever in the course of a clash between strikers and policemen somebody is killed,” may that not be tantamount to declaring that “strikes, as in the ordinary course of human nature they manifest themselves in times of excitement, are in themselves criminal?”

Only once or twice has any attempt been made in the United States—the Molly McGuire cases in Pennsylvania and the Haymarket rioters in Chicago—to hold labor leaders as accessories to murder, in deaths which have occurred in the confusion and rancor provoked by strikes. Strike leaders, in the view of this writer, should be held to a strict accounting for disorder directly of their making, but if our courts are to take judicial notice of indirect responsibility, he asks whether the logical development of this practice would not “require the indictment in some cases of mill owners who maintain industrial conditions which result in strikes?”

WHEN THE SHOE IS ON THE OTHER FOOT

One fact which has tended to make the strikers question the impartiality of the public authorities is that while they

have been zealous to pursue investigation to the point of indicting strikers for indirect responsibility for violence, disorder, and deaths, no action whatever has been taken to throw light upon the death of a Syrian, named Ramy, from a bayonet thrust. Officers of the militia have even said that it was not certain that the gash was inflicted by a bayonet and have intimated that Ramy died from the shallow knife thrust of a striker. There is little doubt, however, that it was a bayonet wound since a number of witnesses saw the act. Some of these are willing to swear that at the time Ramy was wounded, he along with others ordered to move on, was walking and running down the street away from the militia. The cut was on his side below the arm and toward the back. The military authorities made an inquiry but refused to give the name of the soldier implicated. It was within the power of the civil authorities also to have made an investigation. In the case of every accidental or violent death in Massachusetts, an autopsy is required. If the accident occurred on a railway an inquest must be held. In other cases the inquest is at the option of the local magistrate. If such an inquest, which would not necessarily have carried any implication of guilt, had been made, it is probable that the strikers would have had more faith in the impartiality of the city authorities. Even if it was not strictly necessary to make such an investigation it might have been wise public policy to do so.

Workmen also have strong provocation for believing that they see evidence of partiality in the final outcome of the case against School Committeeman Breen, the son of an ex-mayor of Lawrence. In the early days of the strike Lawrence was horrified at the discovery of plants of dynamite. People were quick to assume that the strikers were responsible. The bottom dropped out of this assumption when Breen, a local undertaker and political handy man, was arrested. Breen was convicted in May. In contrast to the five-year terms for the strikers, Bruno and Antonio, Breen was not given a prison sentence. He was fined \$500, paid it, and is still

a school committeeman, although the Lawrence papers, backed by the central labor union and a number of the ministers, are calling for his resignation. The *Boston Herald*, a conservative paper, editorially asked in June:

Isn't the Essex County prosecution ever going to dig a little deeper than Breen in the Lawrence case? Who was behind him, and why? The I. W. W. is fond of attacking the courts as minions of the "masters." Members of the revolutionary organization are not alone in insisting that Breen was but a tool. The case hasn't been closed to the complete credit of the authorities.

THE CHILDREN'S CASES

A strange legal tangent to the strike grew out of the children's cases. The I. W. W. introduced the innovation imported from France and Italy of sending strikers' children to be cared for away from the scene of conflict. On February 24 about thirty children together with their parents were held at the Lawrence railroad station as they were about to leave for Philadelphia. The process under which the police acted was one inherited through the probate court from the old ecclesiastical tribunals of England, which formerly had special charge of the welfare of children. Commonly, in cases where the moral welfare of children is thought to be endangered, the police judge issues a citation requiring the parents to appear and show cause why the children should not be taken from them. Summary arrests have been rare. In this case the police acted on the report that some of the parents were sending their children away because of intimidation, without discrimination as to the varying circumstances and conditions in different families. There is no doubt that at the time public opinion in Lawrence, outside of the strikers, favored the action of the police both as guarding the children and because citizens felt that their going would give Lawrence a "black-eye" as it implied that the city could not care for its own. There is a feeling today, however, that the police, partly in answer to public demand, overstepped their powers. It has been said that the children and their parents were not arrested, but since they were taken from the

railway station in a patrol wagon, many might find it hard to see in what way actual arrest would differ. At the court the children were committed to the care of the probation officer for juveniles, until the following juvenile court day. Most of them were returned immediately to their parents' custody. The fact that, except in two instances, the cases against the parents after investigation were not even brought to trial, would seem to indicate that there was not much ground for stopping the children on their way to Philadelphia. Testimony was brought out, however, to show that Pearl and Willie Brown were sent to New York in another detachment of children without the authority of their parents and that they were brought back by their father. Summary restriction of the liberty of parents to send their children out of town because their purpose is disapproved or because the authorities feel that it is not necessary encroaches upon the natural rights of parents to control them.

THE RIOT CASES

Still another large group of cases produced by the strike arose from arrests for rioting. In a single day, during the strike, thirty-four defendants were arrested and without discrimination sentenced by the police magistrate to a year each in the House of Correction. All were required to give \$800 bail pending appeal. While the strike was on a few were found guilty before the February term of the Superior Court, and were given sentences, but the verdicts against the rest were afterwards reduced in most cases to fines of \$15 or \$20. The number of one-year sentences to the House of Correction imposed by Magistrate Mahoney in this one day exceeds the record of the Superior Court of the county for an entire term. Since there were also other cases considered on the same day, only from five to ten minutes could have been given to each. The haste, the heavy bail, and the long sentences all seem to have the ear-marks of disciplinary strike measures, rather than judicial decisions on the merits of the case.

Besides these major groups of cases, there were a large number of miscel-

laneous arrests of strikers for carrying dangerous weapons, intimidation, molesting of the soldiers, disturbance of the peace, assault and violation of the city ordinances. Among these was the arrest at twelve o'clock at night of the two Steinheil girls and their married sister, Mrs. Annie Welzenbach, for intimidation. The unmarried girls were fifteen and eighteen years old. To justify these midnight arrests, the police say that they had no chance to make them during the day time without creating a disturbance among bystanders. This explanation is seriously questioned because the picketing was done mainly early in the morning and again in the evening when workers were going to and from the mills. At other times the strikers usually went to their homes. The cases resulted in convictions in the police court where all three women were fined. All were appealed and in the Superior Court, after the trial of Annie Welzenbach was nearly finished, the district attorney took the case from the jury, refusing to ask for a conviction. The other two cases were dismissed.

MORAL INTIMIDATION

A decision of a most sweeping character was rendered by Judge Brown in a Lawrence case. He ruled that intimidation might be moral as well as physical. He stated as a guide to determining whether there was intimidation that words like "Don't go to work," innocent of any special threat, when spoken by an individual, might become actionable when that same person belonged to a labor union. The exact words of the ruling cannot be obtained since there was no stenographer at the trial, but a wide acceptance of this extemporized ruling would make strike picketing by union members absolutely impossible.

Since the conclusion of the strike on March 30, the unrest in the textile industry has spread and the strike leaders charge that the attitude of the Lawrence authorities is typical of their experiences throughout New England. By summary action the police of Manchester, N. H., have forbidden them to talk in that city, and the I. W. W. at present

is obliged to hold meetings in West Manchester, across the river. A few Sundays ago in Wakefield, Mass., the workers arranged for a meeting in a hall which they had hired. When it was known who were to speak, the owner of the building revoked the permission to use it and the strikers were told that they could not even conduct an outdoor meeting. After most of them had scattered, a few met at the house of one of their number. Even this meeting, held within a private dwelling, was dispersed by the police who invaded the home, historically considered in English and American law as the poor man's castle. There have been symptoms of a similar attitude on the part of the authorities of Clinton, Mass.

RECAPITULATION

Such, stated objectively, is the general range of legal proceedings growing out of the Lawrence strike. In judging of them, it should be remembered that many of them hinge on emergent decisions made during a period of industrial tension. Upon authorities of town and state and court rested the responsibility for social control, and what might have happened at Lawrence had they acted differently is a matter of conjecture. On the other hand such an outsider's statement cannot fail to throw light on the present widespread mistrust of their courts by the textile workers of Massachusetts. In the children's cases, in the arrest of young working women at midnight, in the thirty men sentenced to a year's imprisonment in a single day, they have seen all the force of government applied in an impetuous way calculated to injure their cause, only to

be later reconsidered and modified. In the attempt to apply the militia law to Haywood, in the arrest of the ten strike leaders for conspiracy to intimidate and of Ettor and Giovanitti as accessories to murder in all cases on the presumption that strike leaders are responsible for whatever their followers may do, they have seen the law stretched to bring the strike leaders within its discipline. In contrast with this energy toward their fellows, they have seen the state, which sent Bruno and Antonio to prison for five years, let off Breen with a fine, and fail to unearth his conspirators, if any; they have seen the bayoneting of a Syrian boy left a needlessly unfathomed mystery. It is facts such as these which indicate that the governmental fabric of New England is jeopardized not only by the gospel of social revolution preached by some of its labor leaders, but by a disregard of inherent principles of fair play and even-handedness to all comers in the instinctive recoil of the dominant element in the commonwealth against what they regard as crime and sedition.

It is facts such as these which have led many citizens of Massachusetts to fear that public opinion in Essex County is so prejudicial to Ettor and Giovanitti as to make it difficult to secure for them a strictly fair trial. It is conditions such as these which test the efficiency of our legal system in times of unusual stress. The conduct of these cases may go far to win the respect, if not friendship, of the mill workers of New England, or the outcome may plant and spread the seeds of distrust in the honesty of American justice.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION¹

JULIAN W. MACK

Judge of the Court of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

The change in the attitude of society toward the dependent classes is well portrayed by the difference in the program of the national conference at its session in Cleveland in 1880 and at the session of 1912. Then we were concerned with the problem of how best to alleviate suffering, to cure the ills that by common belief many of our fellow-citizens are inevitably doomed to bear. The discussions on public charities were as to their administration rather than as to their scope. At that time, the state was more concerned with correction than with charities. Lady Bountiful typified in a large measure the generally prevailing method of private philanthropy. That the poor would always be with us was a dogma of social service as well as of religion.

The road we have traveled in thirty-two years has been a long one, but the pace has been that of the automobile and the flying-machine. During the past decade, we have all been afire with enthusiasm born of the newer and nobler thought that prevention is better than cure. Preventive philanthropy became the dominant note in our proceedings. The causes of dependency and delinquency were sought for with the aid of the scientists. The discovery that their roots were to be found not only and not primarily in the individual, but in society itself, gave greater hope to the thoughtful, that with a stronger and more united effort of all of the forces working for good in the community, the next generation might be saved from the destructive and insidious diseases and wrongs to which mankind had for ages been heir, and from the effects of which the poorest and the weakest of its members had naturally been the greatest sufferers.

The golden age of childhood had arrived. However we might deal with the adult victim of social wrongs, to the child

we were determined to accord the birth-right of every human being—the opportunity for the development of its highest powers. To prevent it from engaging too early and in too dangerous occupations, to substitute the school for the factory, to save it from the brutal and criminalizing treatment that still marked the prevailing method of dealing with the adult offender, these were the movements that enlisted the co-operation of enlightened philanthropists and resulted in the enactment of anti-child labor, compulsory education, and juvenile court laws.

But even today, we are only at the threshold of the halls of hope. In some states, the smallest of the children are still permitted to work. In none of them are the child labor laws up to the standard deemed necessary by the National Child Labor Committee and approved by the Commissioners on Uniform State Legislation. Nowhere is the financial provision as yet adequate for a proper enforcement of the law. The little merchant of the street still plies his trade, generally unlicensed and uncontrolled, too often even at the early age of six and eight.

We are but beginning to grapple with the difficult task of determining what to do with the untrained boys and girls of fourteen to sixteen years.

During the past year, bitter assaults have been leveled against juvenile probation and the juvenile court in the very city of its origin, and that, despite the general acclaim, both here and abroad, with which this children's Magna Charta has been received. The splendid report of the Hotchkiss Committee, while demonstrating what its friends have ever asserted, that the juvenile court cannot be a cure-all, while pointing out its deficiencies, while suggesting many desirable improvements, has clearly and effectively established its supremacy over the old-time methods of dealing with juvenile offenders. The substitution of

¹For general report of conference see page 519 of this issue.

love and sympathy and understanding for punishment, of probation for imprisonment, of the industrial school for the reformatory and penitentiary, is such a great step forward in our civilization that no temporary setbacks whether due to the failure to accomplish the impossible or to the reactionary opposition of baffled politicians, can stay its triumphal onward march.

For some years, however, we have been passing beyond the age of mere preventive work. Eradication of evil is not enough. Constructive philanthropy demands that it be replaced by the positive good. Childhood needs protection against the dangers of an evil birth, not merely by preventing marriage of the unfit (though this alone requires a great extension of the custodial care and the treatment of the weak-minded, the insane, the epileptic and the habitual criminal) but also by shielding the mother from unnecessary work for a sufficient period before and after birth, and by requiring a better education of midwives. Infant mortality is to be reduced and the age of babyhood made safer, not alone by preventing the sale of impure milk and adulterated food, but by teaching the mothers the great value of natural feeding.

The child's right to a healthy, normal family life is to be met, not merely by forbidding child labor and by destroying the pest-breeding hovels of the slums, but also by maintaining the integrity of the family through freeing the wage-earner from unnecessary and avoidable industrial accidents and diseases threatening his premature death, through making it possible for the widowed mother to remain at home and devote herself to the nurture and training of her children.

The child's right to an education is not satisfied by an adherence to the old-time curriculum suited, if at all, to but few of the more fortunate of the pupils, but requires the introduction into the public school system of manual and industrial training, of continuation and vacation and open air classes, of the visiting teacher and the newer methods of individualization to the end that each child's true vocation may, if possible, be found and

that it may be fitted spiritually, morally, mentally, and physically to unfold all of its latent resources. No longer should we wait for the child to go wrong or to be orphaned and to be sent to one of the excellent industrial schools maintained for delinquent and dependent children, in order that it may receive the education fitting it for its life work; no longer should we delay until the child gets into the juvenile court before giving it a thorough examination to discover and to repair decayed teeth, adenoid growths, impaired eyesight and hearing, and other latent defects. Constructive philanthropy insists that the child, compelled to go to school, shall be in every way fitted to pursue its studies. The physician and the nurse in the school-room, far from lessening the parental responsibility, will enable the state to know wherein the parents have neglected or failed in their duties, and will afford a safe legal basis for the enforcement thereof.

The child's right to play should not be limited to the opportunities of the street: it needs the supervised playground, the athletic field, the gymnasium, and the swimming-pool.

To close indecent dance-halls, to suppress improper shows whether in the larger or in the nickel theatres, and to destroy other places wherein vice disguised in gaudy and, to the untutored, highly attractive garbs and colors, beckons youth to its destruction, will not suffice. Through church and settlement, school centers and municipal halls, our young people must be given the opportunity to satisfy decently, beautifully, sanely, their ever insistent and justifiable cry for recreation, joy, and happiness.

Adolescents must be guarded from the dangers of that period, not only by the development and strengthening of character through the teachings of religion and morality, but also by wise and careful instruction in the mysteries of life itself and in the terrible dangers both to the guilty and to the innocent that follow in the wake of sexual abuse and wrongs.

Young girls are to be saved from a life worse than death, not only by the abso-

lute suppression of the white slave traffic and commercialized vice through the united efforts of private organizations, the municipality, the state, and the nation, but also by the active sympathetic interest of the good women in the lives of the strangers who, from country towns and foreign lands, flock to our large cities, ignorant of their dangers, free from the conserving influence of family and friends. No one has pointed out more clearly than Jane Addams in her most recent and timely book, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*, what these perils are, and in how large a measure society and not the individual is responsible therefor. Mindful, however, of her closing words, that "as the sense of justice fast widens to encircle all human relations it must at last reach the women who have so long been judged without a hearing," let us open again the doors of hope to these despairing victims of man's wrong and society's neglect.

Constructive and preventive charity, public and private, thus working together, will bring the child to man's estate stronger and purer, trained in hand and mind and soul to fight the battles of life. That much of this must be done by the state is fully recognized even by the strongest individualists, for few will any longer deny the ultimate obligation of the state toward its wards—the children. And perhaps the most significant event for us during the past year has been the final recognition by the federal government that it, too, has a duty towards the children of the nation, limited in its scope, it is true, but nevertheless of great importance. Well may we rejoice in the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau and in the appointment as its first chief of one who now is, and for many years past has been, an active participant in our labors, an able and energetic member of the Illinois State Board of Charities, the efficient organizer of some of the most valuable research work undertaken by the Russell Sage Foundation, supremely active in securing the first juvenile court law, friend of all in distress, the wise, broad-minded woman—Julia Lathrop.

Turning from the children to the adults, we note a similar progress in the

field both of charity and correction. Today we are not only endeavoring to ascertain and to eradicate the social causes of poverty, distress, and disease so as to safeguard future generations, but in dealing with their present victims, we aim at a complete rehabilitation. While tactful, thorough, and devoted personal service is always essential to arouse the latent powers of self-reliance, fear of pauperization no longer blinds us to the need of giving, and giving adequately, whenever the circumstances call for material assistance. In the new Court of Domestic Relations the state is lending effective aid towards the preservation of the home by dealing with the family as a unit.

Our criminal law and procedure and our prison administration have not kept pace with the social progress of the age. The substitution in several cities of a central municipal court with its branches for the old-time local police courts, and the creation of the night court in New York are steps in the right direction. Public interpreters for the foreigners and public defenders for the accused, especially in the minor criminal courts, are as important as the public prosecutor. That poverty alone and the consequent inability to pay a fine in cash and at once, should send men to prison, will surely not be tolerated much longer. Adult probation coupled with the obligation to make restitution in periodical installments, either to the person wronged or by way of a fine to the state, or both, is in a few progressive states saving many a first offender from the terrible stigma of a prison career. If reformation is to displace punishment as the chief aim of imprisonment, the spirit of the prisoner must not be crushed out. Convict labor ought never to be a source of profit to the state; by devoting his enforced earnings over and above the cost of his maintenance directly, and not by way of charity, to the care of his family, the convict's feeling of responsibility for their maintenance will be preserved.

Many of the sessions of this conference will again be occupied with the study of newer plans and methods in charitable and correctional work. And though, through our inherited philosophy that all

men are born free and equal, with its assumed corollary that legal and political equality is a sufficient safeguard against wrong, the active interference of the state for the prevention and correction of social evils, has in the past been unduly limited, today, after the struggle of life has demonstrated the falsity of this *laissez faire* doctrine, public philanthropy, ameliorative, preventive and constructive, is actively aiding in the task long performed by private charity alone; and for generations to come, whatever the future of our political development may be, the work of charity will remain a function as well of the state as of the individual.

But in the past few years, a voice, never silent in the history of the world, has been growing deeper and louder, the voice of man calling unto men, not for alms, not for charity, but for justice; and this body, though it remain a National Conference of Charities and Correction, will more and more in the course of time become a national conference for the consideration of those measures which, in dealings between individuals and between the individual and the state, will accord to each man that justice which is his due. Not that we should for a moment replace love with justice, not that we should banish mercy and compassion, not that we should emphasize rights and minimize duties; on the contrary, true social justice implies love, compassion, and personal service. It demands, however, that society in its organized capacity shall secure each individual in the full enjoyment of all those fundamental rights without which no human being can fulfill his God-given destiny. As we advance in civilization, they will increase in number and broaden in extent. In our day, a minimum in addition to those of the children already enumerated, and those guaranteed in all our constitutions, is the right to work and to secure the just fruits of one's labor, and therefore to protection against unemployment and against a wage less than sufficient to maintain the family in decency according to the prevailing standards of a free and prosperous people; the right to life itself, and therefore to protection so far as is humanly possible, against overfatigue and other industrial

poisons and accidents; the right to reasonable hours for self-improvement and the upbuilding of the family, and therefore to protection against exploitation, the seven day work, and unduly long hours of labor; the right to old age, reasonably free from care and anxiety, and therefore the opportunity for adequate insurance against everything that threatens to impoverish or imperil the family, the corner-stone of our civilization.

In accordance with the Anglo-Saxon spirit, we have struggled and we are struggling to attain these ends, so far as possible, through private initiative, through the sense of responsibility of men in their individual relations to each other, and only ultimately and as a last resort, through the state. As evidencing a newly aroused feeling of private responsibility, and as tending to create a better relation between employer and employe, the extension of their welfare work and the creation of pension funds by many large corporations, the immediate response of the Pullman Company to the suggestion by a single stockholder of the need of greater medical supervision and care, and the recommendations of the stockholders' committee of the United States Steel Corporation, especially if they shall be promptly put into effect, are most significant.

The actual and the threatened strikes of the past year have brought us face to face with fresh perils to the common weal, resulting from our newer industrial conditions, which, particularly in view of the growing need of protecting the rights of the public at large, often the greatest sufferer, would seem to make some form of state intervention inevitable. Whether this shall be by mediation and conciliation, through an extension of the scope of the Erdmann act, under the operation of which railroad strikes have for some years been well-nigh averted, or through legislation along the lines of the Canadian Industrial Disputes Act, or by the more stringent methods of compulsory arbitration, is one of the most serious and difficult questions of the day. It is therefore greatly to be hoped that Congress will act favorably on the President's message recommending, in response to an address draft-

ed and signed by many of the leaders of this conference, the creation of a federal commission on industrial relations, to study and to report as to how industrial conflicts may best be avoided and, when this is impossible, how they may be quickly settled without violence and disruption of business, but with due regard to the real interests and just claims both of the immediate parties and of the state.

That the influx of vast numbers of diverse races brings with it peculiar difficulties unknown to other nations is not to be denied. Are we however in such danger therefrom that we must close the gates of our country to honest, thrifty, characterful people of the old world, who, like our forefathers, come to the Promised Land seeking for themselves and their children a refuge from religious, political, or even economic oppression? Shall we depart from our settled policy of regulation and inaugurate an era of restriction, requiring of the sturdy peasants of Europe, as a condition of their admission that they shall have acquired the power to read and to write, though their mother land has denied them the opportunity therefor? Aye, more, shall we as a nation, for the first time, deliver up political refugees guilty of no crimes in this land of liberty? If it were conceivable that the best interests of the people of the United States could require such legislation, no claims of humanity at large should prevent its adoption. But if, as many of us think, this country needs for the fulfilment of its true destiny the fresh assimilable blood of many nations; if, as many of us believe, a nation of great material prosperity can best avert the ever threatening danger of the loss of its ideals by drawing into its citizenship the poets, the thinkers, the prophets, the seers, and the martyrs of other peoples, then assuredly the day of more restrictive immigration laws has not yet come.

But whatever our views on this question, there can be no difference of opinion as to our duty towards those immigrants who meet our requirements and enter our portals. Upon our treatment

of them will depend their future usefulness. If we permit them, in their ignorance of our language and our customs, to become the victims of the forces of vice and crime that in all our larger cities are lying in wait for them, we shall quickly reap the harvest of our folly.

The real immigration problems are those of distribution and protection. Sectarian organizations have for many years aided newcomers to leave the crowded cities of the East for the towns and the farms of the South and West, and recently have diverted a part of the stream of immigration from Ellis Island to Galveston. To the extent of the very limited means placed at its disposal, the Division of Information in the Federal Immigration Bureau has likewise assisted in this work. Within the past few months a non-sectarian immigration distribution league has been started with the co-operation of many of the governors and other leading citizens from all sections of the country.

In addition to many sectarian and strictly national societies, the North American Civic League for Immigrants, the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago, and kindred organizations are the great non-sectarian forces of private philanthropy working for the immigrant's protection. In most of our large cities special night schools are, in a measure, doing for the adult immigrant what the public school everywhere is doing for his children. New York has set an example for the other states, in her recent establishment of a state immigration bureau, even though she has not yet given it the financial support that it so well deserves. And if Congress will enact a measure now pending before it, extending the care and protection of the federal government beyond Ellis Island, by properly supervising the immigrant trains and by establishing immigrant stations in Chicago and other interior centers, the united action of private organizations, the municipality, the state and the nation will indeed lighten the pathway of the newcomers and guide them more safely toward their goal of American citizenship.

Legislation must take note of the changes in our industrial life. The

judge-made principles of our common law of master and servant, however suited they may have been to an earlier economic age, no longer embody the true spirit of social justice of the twentieth century. Private property and human life are each to be protected to the fullest extent, but if the welfare of the state and the people thereof requires that the financial burdens resulting from the inevitable accidents and occupational diseases of our present industrial system shall be borne by the business rather than by the worker, legislation along these lines must in one way or the other be made possible. This country will assuredly lose its supremacy, if the hands of the present generation are to be so effectively tied by a dead past that it cannot, at the proper time, emulate European countries in their social legislation.

Whatever justification there may be for the criticism of certain judicial decisions in a few states, no careful student of the work of our courts can fail to recognize that most judges and most courts, following the splendid lead of the Supreme Court of the United States, are as keenly desirous as are social workers to learn such facts bearing upon our changed conditions, as have been gathered together in Miss Goldmark's great work on *Fatigue and Efficiency*, and to utilize them, so far as they may be applicable, in the solution of legal problems.

When ignorance, indifference, or private greed menaces the welfare of the state or its citizens, we no longer hesitate to demand that legislation which to our forefathers would have appeared highly paternalistic. And if the evil is nation-wide, the remedy must be national in its scope, even though, to the extreme adherent of states' rights, we may seem to be wandering far from the path trodden by the great founders a century and a quarter ago. The phosphorous match bill just enacted by Congress may mark a step forward in federal legislation, but it is a step in the right direction, to safeguard human life.

Potent, however, as is the force of law, organized society can but voice the desires of its members. Social advance is dependent upon individual progress. Until the spirit of love for our fellowmen, regardless of race, color, or

creed, shall fill the world, making real in our lives and in our deeds the actuality of human brotherhood deduced from that common fatherhood to which all of us, though in different ways, ultimately subscribe; until the great mass of the people shall be filled with the sense of their obligation to strive mightily for the betterment of their fellowmen through service, social justice can never be attained. And therefore no event of the past year has been so full of promise for the future as the great Men and Religion Forward Movement. It has emphasized more strongly perhaps than ever before in the history of the Protestant evangelical churches that, to quote a follower of the Hebrew prophets, Claude G. Montefiore, the goal of religion consists "in social betterment as well as in individual purification"; that it is concerned "with the things about which the hearts of men are palpitating *now*, the things which make them suffer, and the things which might make them suffer less," as well as with "the private relations of the individual soul with God."

In this conference are gathered together men and women of all religions, men and women who subscribe to no specific creed. Whatever our differences may be, we shall all agree with Montefiore that, "while religion is more than good air, good water, good food, good wages, in its social fullness, it is not less." However strong may be the emphasis that has heretofore been laid upon social service as a religious duty, surely the bonds of human brotherhood would be strengthened and the cause of social justice advanced, if a broader Forward Movement, limited not to men, and not to the followers of a single religion, were, by the united action of such representatives of all faiths as are gathered here tonight, carried into every city, village, and hamlet of our land. We should not then have to await another Titanic disaster to find all men, regardless of race and creed, rank and station, riches and poverty, standing together upon a common platform of genuine democracy, vying with each other in upholding the noblest traditions of the race, sacrificing even life itself in the service of the weakest and the poorest of their fellows.

A PLATFORM OF INDUSTRIAL MINIMUMS

The platform of industrial minimums put forward at Cleveland in June was not hastily drafted. For three years the committee on standards of living and labor of the National Conference of Charities and Correction had been giving up its section meetings to the discussion of the major headings—wages, hours, safety and health, housing, term of working life, compensation and insurance. For twelve months the members of the committee, representatives of the leading national organizations and movements in social and industrial reform, had been drawing its planks. The National Conference passed no resolutions and it was only after an all day session that those present adjourned as a section meeting, reconvened as citizens, and with only minor textual changes put forth the platform as presented by the chairman of the committee, Owen R. Lovejoy.

Three major principles were laid down by the committee which will be seen to run through each of the six headings:

First, that the public element in industry gives the community a right to complete knowledge of the facts of work;

Second, on the basis of these facts and with the recent discoveries of physicians and neurologists, engineers and economists, the public can formulate minimum occupational standards below which, demonstrably, work is prosecuted only at a human deficit;

Third, the platform holds that all industrial conditions which fall below such standards should come within the scope of governmental action and control in the same way that subnormal sanitary conditions are subject to public regulations, because such conditions threaten the general welfare.

The standards follow.

WAGES

1. **A LIVING WAGE.** A living wage for all who devote their time and energy to industrial occupations. The monetary equivalent of a living wage varies according to local conditions, but must include enough to secure the elements of a normal standard of living; to provide for education and recreation; to care for immature members of the family; to maintain the family during periods of sickness; and to permit of reasonable saving for old age.

2. **MINIMUM WAGE COMMISSIONS.** Many industrial occupations, especially where women, children, and immigrant men are employed, do not pay wages to maintain a normal standard of living. Minimum wage commissions should therefore be established in each state to inquire into wages paid in various industries, and to determine the standard which the public will sanction as the minimum.

3. **WAGE PUBLICITY.** Properly constituted authorities should be empowered to require all employers to file with them for public purposes such wage scales, and other data as the public element in industry demands. The movement for honest weights and measures has its counterpart in industry. All tallies, scales, and check systems should be open to public inspection and inspection of committees of the workers concerned. Changes in wage rates, systems of dockage, bonuses, and all other modifications of the wage contract should be posted, and wages should be paid in cash at least every two weeks.

HOURS

1. **EIGHT-HOUR DAY.** The establishment of the eight-hour day for all men employed in continuous industries, and as a maximum for women and minors in all industries.

2. **SIX-DAY WEEK.** The work period lim-

ited to six days in each week; and a period of rest of forty consecutive hours in each week.

3. **NIGHT WORK.** Night work for minors entirely prohibited; an uninterrupted period of at least eight hours night rest for all women; and night work for men minimized wherever possible.

SAFETY AND HEALTH

1. **INVESTIGATION.** An investigation by the federal government of all industries, on the plan pursued in the present investigation of mining, with a view to establishing standards of sanitation and safety and a basis for compensation for injury. This should include a scientific study and report upon fire-escapes, safety-appliances, sanitary conditions, and the effects of ventilation, dust, poisons, heat, cold, compressed air, steam, glare, darkness, speed, and noise.

2. **PROHIBITION OF POISONS.** Prohibition of manufacture or sale of poisonous articles dangerous to life of worker, whenever harmless substitutes are possible, on the principle already established by Congress in relation to poisonous phosphorus matches.

3. **REGULATION ACCORDING TO HAZARD.** In trades and occupations offering a menace to life, limb, or health, the employment of women and minors regulated according to the degree of hazard. No minor under 18 employed in any dangerous occupation, or in occupations which involve danger to fellow workmen or require use of explosives, poisonous gases, or other injurious ingredients. Unskilled craftsmen who do not read and understand the English language forbidden to handle dangerous machinery or processes known to be extra hazardous.

4. **STANDARDIZED INSPECTION.** Inspection of mines and work places standardized either by interstate agreement or by establishing of a

government standard. All deaths, injuries, and diseases due to industrial operations to be reported to public authorities as required in accident laws of Minnesota, and with respect to some trade diseases in New York.

HOUSING

1. **THE RIGHT TO A HOME.** Social welfare demands for every family a safe and sanitary home; healthful surroundings; ample and pure running water inside the house; modern and sanitary toilet conveniences for its exclusive use, located inside the building; adequate sunlight and ventilation; reasonable fire protection; privacy; rooms of sufficient size and number to decently house the members of the family; freedom from dampness; prompt, adequate collection of all waste materials. These fundamental requirements for normal living should be obtainable by every family, reasonably accessible from place of employment, at a rental not to exceed 20 per cent of the family income.

2. **TAXES.** To protect wage earners from exorbitant rents and to secure for them that increased municipal service demanded by the massing together of people in thickly settled industrial communities, a greater share of taxes to be transferred from dwellings to land held for speculative purposes the value of which is enhanced by the very congestion of these industrial populations.

3. **HOME WORK.** Factory production to be carried on in factories. Whenever work is given out to homes, abuses are sure to creep in which cannot be controlled by any known system of inspection or supervision.

4. **TENEMENT MANUFACTURE.** Tenement house manufacture is known to be a serious menace to the health, education, and economic independence of thousands of people in large cities. It subjects children to injurious industrial burdens and cannot be successfully regulated by inspection or other official supervision. Public welfare, therefore, demands for city tenements the entire prohibition of manufacture of articles of commerce in rooms occupied for dwelling purposes.

5. **LABOR COLONIES.** In temporary construction camps and labor colonies, definite standards to provide against over-crowding, and for ventilation, water supply, sanitation, to be written into the contract specifications, as now provided in the New York law.

TERM OF WORKING LIFE

Society may reasonably demand from every normal individual his self-support during a certain period of life. This period should be bounded by a minimum age, to protect against premature labor, and a maximum age beyond which the wage earner should find himself economically independent of daily labor. Adoption of the following standards will promote this end.

1. **EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN.** Prohibition of all wage-earning occupations for children under 16 years of age.

2. **EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.** Prohibition of

employment of women in manufacturing, commerce, or other trades where work compels standing constantly. Also prohibition for a period of at least eight weeks at time of child birth.

3. **INTERMITTENT EMPLOYMENT.** Any industrial occupation subject to rush periods and out-of-work seasons to be considered abnormal, and subject to government review and regulation. Official investigation of such intermittent employment and other forms of unemployment as a basis for better distribution of immigrants, for guiding seasonal laborers from trade to trade, and other methods for lessening these evils.

4. **THE UNEMPLOYABLE.** The restrictions upon employers set forth in this platform will lead them to refuse to engage any who fall below a grade of industrial efficiency which renders their work profitable. An increased army of industrial outcasts will be thrown upon society to be cared for in public labor colonies or by various relief agencies. This condition will in turn necessitate a minimum standard of preparation, including at least sufficient educational opportunity to abolish illiteracy among all minors and to train every worker to some form of industrial efficiency.

COMPENSATION OR INSURANCE

COMPENSATION DEMANDED. Both social and individual welfare require some effective system of compensation for the heavy loss now sustained by industrial workers as a result of unavoidable accidents, industrial diseases, sickness, invalidism, involuntary unemployment, and old age.

1. **ACCIDENTS.** Equitable standards of compensation must be determined by extensive experience, but there is already ample precedent for immediate adoption as a minimum the equivalent of four years' wages in compensation for accidents resulting fatally. Compensation for accidents resulting in permanent disability should not be less than 65 per cent. of the annual wage for a period of 15 years.

2. **TRADE DISEASES.** For diseases clearly caused by nature and conditions of the industry, the same compensation as for accidents.

3. **OLD AGE.** Service pensions or old age insurance whenever instituted so protected that the person who withdraws or is discharged from the employment of a given company does not forfeit his equity in the same.

4. **UNEMPLOYMENT.** Unemployment of able-bodied adult men under 65 years of age is abnormal and wasteful, and is as proper a subject for recognition by the public authorities as contagious disease or other abnormal conditions which menace the public well being. The demand or insurance against unemployment increases with the increasing specialization in industry. The development of state, municipal, and private agencies to insure against unemployment in European countries affords ample information for the guidance of such enterprises in America.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

WINTHROP D. LANE

Cleveland has a way of revivifying one's faith in the city as the "hope of democracy." Fifteen hundred members of the National Conference of Charities and Correction last month caught something from its spirit in helping to expand the range and democratic emphasis of their own body.

In return, the conference, by its vital facts and living aims, brought conviction where none had existed and put sparks into Cleveland's imagination. It brought the broad spirit of social progress and nation-building outlined by Judge Mack in his presidential address. In its serious discussion and occasional clashes over such questions as immigration restriction, eugenics, the control of commercialized prostitution, and pensions to parents, the conference showed the nature of problems whose solution rests, more than upon others, upon the institution managers, the case-workers, the public officials, the settlement leaders and all who make up this assemblage. And not only in discussion, but in a coherent program for industry, which social workers put forward not as a conference but as individuals, a contribution was made to nation, state, and city. City of industries, as Cleveland is, she furnished a fitting background for the positive pronouncements of this platform.

When Moses Cleaveland, prospecting

for the Connecticut Land Company, laid out a town in 1796 on the site of a trading post where the Cuyahoga river empties into Lake Erie he did not plan for six hundred thousand people. Doubtless Moses is not to be blamed for this, for thirty-four years later, when he was twenty-four years dead, the spot had attracted only 1,076 permanent residents. Moses could not have foreseen the cutting of a canal through to the Ohio river and

the harbor improvements which made his forest clearing a lake outlet for the mineral and agricultural products of a new civilization. He could not have foretold the slow net-working of the Middle West by railroads, nor could he have prophesied the discovery of the world's richest iron mines where Lake Superior juts back into the continent. Hence he little realized that when the ore from this region, winding its water route to the Atlantic seaboard, met the coal

and oil from Pennsylvania and Ohio, the place of contact would be big with the possibilities of industry and commerce.

Yet this, in essence, is the story of Cleveland's growth; the strategy of nature tells the tale. To be sure, Cleveland is the largest market for fresh-water fish in America, and is the headquarters of the greatest shoddy mills in the country; but these are mere incidents in her expansion. Industries, like people, are



FRANK TUCKER
President of the 1913 National Conference of Charities and Correction.

gregarious, and where raw materials are easily assembled finished products are usually near by.

On the human side, Cleveland's development repeated the world-old story of unguided, uninterrupted, unimaginate herding. There was work to do and people came to do it. Doubling and tripling of population within a decade is easy when new land is to be settled, but between 1830 and 1840 Cleveland, guarding the commercial highway of a new and productive territory, quintupled her population. By 1850 she had 17,000 people, and then came the railroads. When the Civil War broke out she was 45,000 strong. Cleveland flourished during the Civil War, for the federal government needed iron products and clothing, and Cleveland could make them. By 1880 she was the eleventh city in the United States. With the opening of the Superior ore fields the Cleveland of today laid her foundations. In the decade since 1900 she showed a greater percentage of increase than any other of our first eight cities, and was the only one to overtake another in the race toward the top of the population column. With 560,000 in 1910, Cleveland became the sixth city in the United States.

But mere figures do not convey the full picture of her human growth. Twelve years ago three-fourths of Cleveland's people were foreign-born, or the children of foreign parents. One-third were themselves immigrants. Of these, Germans were predominant, with Bohemians and Irish next. To-day Poles and Hungarians have thrown their racial admixtures into the melting-pot. Bohemian, Hungarian, and German daily newspapers are published.

It was this city which contributed to the National Conference last month the largest audience which it has ever known. It was the press of this city which, at a time when the political grist was the most plentiful in the history of parties, opened its columns to a greater quantity of conference news than any papers ever had done before. But it was not only the Cleveland of oil refineries, of steel specialties, and of automobile parts that did this. It was the Cleveland of three-cent street-car fares and of the lowest

death rate among the large American cities. It was the Cleveland which boasts a larger home use of its public libraries than Chicago and a larger per capita circulation than Boston or New York, Philadelphia or Cincinnati. It was the Cleveland that has already expended \$12,000,000 on a "group plan" of public buildings which when completed will cost upwards of \$25,000,000. It was the Cleveland which insists that more of its residents own their own homes than is the case in any other city of equal size. It was, finally, the Cleveland which claims a greater amount of intelligent acquaintance with civic affairs among its citizens than can be found elsewhere in the United States. The tent meetings during the traction campaigns a few years ago were great schools of public questions, and night after night the people listened to presentations of the law and the facts, transfused with the vision of the city that was to be. At the mayor's luncheon, held under the auspices of the conference committee on standards of living and labor, when the spirit of the late Tom L. Johnson, mayor and man, was vivified by his successor and associate, Newton D. Baker, this story was told:

A man once came to Mr. Baker and said: "My town is going to have a street railway fight. I want to know all about Cleveland's."

"I shall be only too glad to tell you all I know," said Mr. Baker, "but unfortunately I have appointments until one o'clock. Will you come back then?"

"How can I most profitably put in the two hours until that time?" asked the stranger.

The answer was: "Go out on the public square, sit down by the most unlikely man you can find—the one who looks most as if he didn't know the difference between a franchise and a double track. Ask that man to tell you about Cleveland's street railway fight, and when you come back I will tell you whatever you haven't been able to learn from him."

The man came back at the end of two hours. "I needn't keep my appointment here," he said. "I found an old chap whose feet were out of his shoes, whose

elbows were out of his shirt sleeves, and who looked as if he had just sobered up for the first time in a month—in short, I found the unlikeliest looking individual at large. I put one question to him and he started right in at the beginning and filled in all the details and brought me down to date. There's nothing for you to tell me unless you know what's *going* to happen. He hasn't been let in on that."

This coming together of the expert and the man in the street, which has been characteristic of the militant city movements of the past decade, is scarcely less true of the fields of social concern treated by the National Conference. It would be impossible to interest an entire city in the book-keeping of a car-barn as such, but when this is lifted into a place in the city's program of achievement, then the capacity of the people to study and understand is well-nigh limitless.

In this day of the birth of new politics, old shibboleths are giving way to new visions, and no man can tell where the method ceases and the end begins. So long as men are striving toward accepted goals and the objects of endeavor are matters of common agreement, stress is laid upon technique; at such a time procedure and method are all-important. But when there is groping for new aims, and the design is not clearly outlined, interest stretches out to other phases of activity, and emphasis is laid upon ultimate purposes. The trend then becomes more absorbing than the manner; the seer is more listened to than the technician.

So it is that in the programs of the National Conference of Charities and Correction there has been a shifting away from the old discussion of technique as such; social work has been gathered up into sheafs of social proposals which have seemed to the older members to crowd out the legitimate business of the conference as a professional gathering, but which, once they have laid hold of the imagination, have gained a hearing from great groups of active citizens whose interest the old-time discussions failed to elicit.

In its earliest days the conference

amounted to little more than a conclave of state boards of charities. Later city and town associated charities were included, but throughout this period and indeed until quite recently it dealt largely with the needy and defective classes. Its questions were: What shall we do with the insane, the blind, the chronic poor? It discussed the technique of state care and of workhouse management. Its ultimate considera-



JULIAN W. MACK
President of the 1912 National Conference of Charities and Correction.

tion was the misfit, the subnormal in society. Today many of these topics still remain, for they are still live, but it is significant that the various groups dealing professionally with specialized problems have been organizing independent though closely affiliated bodies, through which they can get down to hard pan in their own fields while the attention of the main conference, less encumbered by shop talk, can devote itself to issues challenging public opinion. Thus seven years ago the agencies dealing with dependent, delinquent, and neglected children crystalized in this way, and not a

few of the other meetings which are reviewed on later pages have in a sense been carved out of the parent body. Last year the societies for organizing charity, whose problems of procedure and method formerly loomed large on the conference programs, launched a new body for the more adequate discussion of their affairs. This year the state boards, the oldest and perhaps the most reluctant group to accept the new situation, followed their example. New topics have crowded out the old debates; a broadened emphasis has brought new subjects to the foreground. It is as if the conference had asked itself: How far shall our deliberations center on helping the poor, succoring the needy, protecting the defective, and how far shall they deal with the creation of better conditions of life and labor for the whole people? Citizenship, wholeness, growth are words replacing custody, defectiveness, and special treatment.

Glance at the titles of the standing committees which blocked out discussion at the conference of 1902: state supervision and administration of charities and correction; the feeble-minded and epileptic; the insane; hospitals, dispensaries and nursing; tuberculosis; destitute and neglected children; juvenile delinquents; needy families in their homes; the treatment of criminals; politics and charity; neighborhood and civic improvement. Seven out of eleven deal with special classes of defectives, dependents, or delinquents. Two covered a part of the field now covered by the single committee on children; two more a part of that covered at Cleveland by the committee on courts and prisons. Nowhere were the problems of industry touched upon, nowhere was mention made of any of those forces seeking to eliminate venereal taint from future generations. Only in the title of the last committee is there a glimpse at those wider-reaching movements which include, not this or that special division of the subnormal, but humanity at large, in its normal phases and accustomed haunts.

The conference seems to have said to itself: We are almost 2,000 strong. We are of every shade of opinion and activ-

ity. At our annual meetings we speak directly to the populace of a whole city. Through our delegates we speak to distant sections of the country and through the press we have the ear of a nation. We must teach the things which are of first importance, the things which concern the common citizenship. We must begin with the normal, and treat those conditions of life in which average manhood, womanhood, and childhood shall be spent. If the man who devotes eleven months every year to the relief of family need, or to immigrant colonization, or to shortening the hours of industry, will come to this conference we will send him away with a new vision of our combined aims and a fresh perspective of his own task. These aims are not of interest to specialists alone. They need the intelligence and the conscience of all mankind.

How, except as a result of some such change as the one here described, can explanation be made of the committee on standards of living and labor which devoted this, its third year, to the formulation of a social platform for industry,¹ on the ground that industry "must submit to such public regulation as will make it a means of life and health, not of death or inefficiency." Copies of this social program were sent to the Republican and Democratic conventions, where efforts were made to have them incorporated in the party platforms. Women's clubs, church conferences, federations of labor, and associations of manufacturers will be urged to agitate them, with the ultimate aim federal and state legislation to put them into effect.

In its treatment of immigration the conference showed a further determination to shape the conditions of life for masses of people. As usual, debate centered on the precise angle at which our national portals should be allowed to swing. There was disagreement in the committee, but a listener could gain no other impression than that a majority, favored a wide open door, with a literary stairway leading to the threshold. The immigration problem thus

¹See page 517 of this number of THE SURVEY.

trenched, not only on the field of industry but on that of racial selection, in which also this year's discussions were distinctive. With the accumulation of facts concerning sex hygiene which has gone on so rapidly during recent years, and with the clearer perception of society's obligation to protect itself and posterity from the blight of suicidal vice, a practice has sprung up in some of our colleges of gathering together the male freshmen and putting them through a rigorous two hours' instruction in the causes and effects of venereal contagion. In Cleveland the scene of this clinic was transferred and the class became 2,000 men and women who sat silent for an hour while the veil was lifted from the mystery of sex relations and the physical aftermath of libertinism was stated in terms of race ruin. One of the instructors was a woman, Prof. Jessie Phelps, who told her mixed audience in Cleveland what she is constantly telling mixed audiences of prospective teachers in the state normal school at Ypsilanti, Mich.

Under the auspices of the same committee which arranged this program, the conference listened for the first time to a scientific outlining of the basis and program of eugenics. "Elimination of the inherently unfit and anti-social element of society, with propagation of the higher and better strains of human life" were declared by Bleeker Van Wagener, president of the American Breeders' Association, to be the aims which eugenics sets before us, "and to the study of causes and effects, of methods and means, we are now called." "The only way to secure innate capacity is to breed it," held Dr. C. B. Davenport, who continued:

Here is where the problem of the eugenicist comes in—elimination of the worst by segregation during the reproductive period; instruction to the middle class, how to marry so as to avoid reproducing specific weaknesses; encouragement to those carrying the best solid traits to leave a large progeny in order that the number of those carrying these traits, which are so valuable to the nation, may be increased to the utmost.

This encouragement, he argued, might take various forms, such as reduction of the income and inheritance taxes in pro-

portion to the number of surviving children.

Not only the sober facts of work and the sobering responsibilities of parentage, but the joy and meaning of play found ample expression at Cleveland. Speakers who discussed recreation before the conference held briefs for all America. Dancing was held up as an absolute necessity for youth, coupled with emphatic assurance that there can be decent dance halls. In presenting the report of his committee, Joseph Lee of Boston said that the world has been successively gripped by periods of rhythmic madness. Greece at one time went mad with music. The Dark Ages quenched her fire only to see it rekindled in the Renaissance; and Puritanism put out the light only to have it flame forth again in the twentieth century. Today all phases of life in America reflect it. "The rhythmic madness," he said,

is not confined to dancing proper, or improper. Our popular songs are all dance music and are kept running in our heads so that we waltz through our sermons, write prescriptions in three-four time, and add up columns to the music of the "grizzly bear." The failure of Mr. Taft to capture the popular imagination is traceable to the deficient sense of rhythm. The people are all dancing to the Roosevelt ragtime, the Bryan lyric waltz and the La Follette dithyramb. Even our politics now are set to music.

Too simple rhythm is what is driving us mad. That is the great danger in our dance halls and in the arts, in fact. Simple rhythm acts as a narcotic, an anesthetic, relaxing the conventional inhibitions, putting conscience to sleep. Safety is in the active, the creative, in the effort more worthily to present an ideal of beauty.

One way to keep boys good is the promotion of romance. Girls already are sufficiently romantic, but boys should read Scott and Lorna Doone while still young enough to take them seriously. Romance and chivalry will do more for boys than much chastisement.

The reviews of the section meetings which follow bring to the surface many another of the major matters discussed at Cleveland which gave further evidence of its shifting emphasis from the technical to the universal, from special classes to primary groups, from defectiveness and delinquency to normal

growth. With these, commonwealths, even more than cities, have concern, and Ohio, as well as Cleveland, had much to offer in the way of inspiration and leadership. If tradition were looked to for sanction, no better auspices could be asked than those of the old ordinance governing this very territory which decreed that "religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." What is the conference but a means of education? But to come down to current times it is astonishing to note in how many instances Ohio's Constitutional Convention, which adjourned but a few weeks before the conference members invaded the state, anticipated the demands which they were to make in Cleveland. To list only those

which have been mentioned approvingly from the conference platforms, we find the convention empowering the legislature to regulate the hours of labor, establish a minimum wage scale, and provide for the protection of the life, safety, comfort, and health of employes; making eight hours a day's work and forty-eight hours a week's work on all public works; empowering the legislature to enact a compulsory compensation law for injured employes and those disabled by occupational diseases; prohibiting contract labor in penal institutions and providing that all goods made there by the state shall be marked "prison made"; and altering court procedure with a view to the more perfect fitting and higher speeding of the wheels of justice.

No wonder Father Kerby called the conference a "continuing constitutional convention."

COMMITTEES OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

IMMIGRATION

WILLIAM JAY SCHIEFFELIN

Chairman

The report of the immigration committee urged measures for distributing and assimilating immigrants, and while it favored barring the unfit at ports of embarkation and more thorough inspection at ports of entry, it did not recommend the restrictive measures now before Congress. On this question the committee was divided, one part supporting the literacy test and the other maintaining that the present law is adequate if properly enforced.

The recommendations upon which the committee united were as follows:

Every effort possible should be made by private individuals and associations, and so far as possible by the public school authorities, to further the rapid assimilation of immigrants by teaching them English, the elements of citizenship, and so far as practicable other needed subjects closely related to their work. Particularly should this be done in the construction camps and the so-called immigrant colonies in our city and industrial districts, and especially by extending to them sympathetic greeting, void of any trace of race prejudice.

In order to relieve, so far as possible, congestion in many of our industrial centers, it is urged that the powers of the division of information in the United States Bureau of Immigration be extended as suggested by the immigration commission so that as full infor-

mation as possible be furnished the immigrants regarding opportunities for work, and especially for the purchase of land suitable to their needs.

That there be established, also, further immigration stations at Chicago and other interior points.

That there should be the closest co-operation with state immigration bureaus, which should on their part act in harmony with private companies who wish to aid in the settlement of lands by the immigrants, such state bureaus taking an active part in such work so as to prevent fraudulent or harsh treatment of the immigrants.

That in order to prevent undue hardships at our ports of entry, as well as more successfully to exclude such undesirable immigrants as criminals and persons of immoral character, our medical inspection at foreign ports be made more rigid and that the federal government station abroad agents to prevent the sailing of criminals and persons coming for immoral purposes.

That the medical force at our ports of entry be decidedly strengthened, experts in mental diseases and other obscure diseases being furnished at the larger ports.

That the boards of inquiry be further improved and manned with the most efficient, sympathetic, and judicially minded men possible.

That the steerage accommodations in all steamers be raised under legal inspection to the standard of the better ships.

That competent government officials, both men and women, accompany the steerage pas-



Photo by Moffett, Chicago.

1. Charles W. Birtwell, chairman committee on sex hygiene; 2. William Jay Schieffelin, chairman committee on immigration; 3. Sherman C. Kingsley, chairman committee on children; 4. Owen R. Lovejoy, chairman committee on standards of living and labor.

sengers, and that the regulations provided for steamers from foreign ports be extended as far as is in any way practicable to coastwise steamers.

That in order to enforce more rigidly the provisions regarding criminals and women imported for immoral purposes, the time for deportation of girls thus imported be extended until they can give evidence against the criminals.

That the statement made by ill-informed persons regarding the undue proportion of criminals and paupers among immigrants is a mistake and has aroused unwarranted hostility, the report of the immigration commission showing that it is impossible to prove that the proportion of criminals in the country has been increased by immigration.

That the application of any religious or political test, exclusive of illegal, immoral beliefs and practices, is unjust and unwise, and that in consequence the so-called Root amendment to the Dillingham bill should not become a law.

Several members of the committee who favor the literacy test supported such a measure on purely economic grounds, urging that the continued influx of immigrants will neutralize the measures for distribution, and that the migratory immigrants threaten American standards of living.

Other members of the committee opposed any further test for admission saying that the immigrants now arriving do not threaten our political, social, or economic well-being, and that foreign-born laborers have demonstrated their ability to follow wise leadership and improve their standards of living—citing the anthracite coal miners and the cloak-makers in New York as convincing examples of this contention.

A portion of the paper of Prof. Edward A. Steiner on the church in relation to the immigrant was read, and then Dr. Kate Waller Barrett made an eloquent plea for immigrant girls and for effective measures to protect them and punish those who abuse them.

Hugo Eugene Varga in the course of a paper on wife desertion among Austrians

and Hungarians proposed legislation to minimize this evil. Umberto Coletti supported his plea. N. A. Erikson cited successful examples of immigrant colonization and urged that far more assistance be given immigrants to settle on the land. Mr. Coletti spoke of the successful Italian colonies and Julia Felsenthal and the chairman also spoke in behalf of co-operation among the foreign farmers in disposing of their products. A letter was read from A. W. Clark advocating a national effort to distribute immigrants in the country.

SEX HYGIENE

CHARLES W. BIRTWELL

Chairman

After a dark picture by George L. Jones of the Baltimore Children's Aid Society of the ways in which sex problems are encountered in social work, the committee on sex hygiene passed with a sense of relief to the hopeful constructive program of sex education. "The most effective form of sex education," said Ira S. Wile, M.D., of New York, "is one which consists of individual teaching where the information may be graded to the intelligence of the child, and where it is possible to draw from the child some idea of his own sex knowledge and experience." Dr. Wile placed at the head of all preventive agencies the "training of parents to give their children the sex education that has been traditionally denied them." He joined in the demand that sex education should be interwoven with nature study, botany, biology, ethics, literature, and other studies, as a normal part of education.

"The first essential," Dr. Evangeline Young said, "in the equipment of one who would give instruction in sex is a wholesome and unembarrassed attitude of mind toward the entire subject of the origin of life and the processes accompanying it." Again, "we should remember this one thing above all others, that curiosity or interest in matters of sex and the origin of life must never be confused with the child's own sex development." That

"a child inquires, point-blank, in regard to some sex fact," is no sign of evil thought. It is the "sophisticated adult" whose mental attitude is at fault.

The investigation of "Venereal Diseases in Children," undertaken for the Massachusetts Society for Sex Education was presented by Dr. William P. Lucas of the Harvard Medical School and physician in charge of the children's department of the Boston Dispensary. From ten sources, chiefly hospitals, no school records being available, Dr. Lucas collected 2,369 cases of venereal diseases among children for the past ten years, 1,384 of gonorrhoea, 885 of congenital syphilis. His investigation revealed varied sources of gonococcus infection. The report as to curative measures was unpromising. "Our efforts," Dr. Lucas said, "will have to be exerted mainly in preventive lines" through "education of the physician, of the school teacher, of the school nurses; and a complete physical examination with a view to finding out the sources of infection in every school, and so treating or quarantining such cases that they are no longer sources of infection."

Gratifying, indeed, was the report by Clifford G. Roe, of Chicago, general counsel and executive secretary of the American Vigilance Association, of the concerted action of civilized nations against international traffic in vice, the part our own federal government is taking against interstate vice, the new expedients and laws, as for instance, the "Iowa Injunction Law," and above all the wonderful present trend of opinion from the old hopelessness and acquiescence to the belief that, with "moral codes and customs changing through education and enlightenment, by persistent effort commercialized vice can be annihilated." During the discussion of eugenics Dr. Henry H. Goddard, of the Vineland, New Jersey, Training School, ventured the belief that 50 per cent of prostitutes are feeble-minded, which Dean Sumner in the evening preferred to raise to 80 per cent. Not only the negative but the positive side of eugenics was brought out. "Strains," said Prof. R. M. Yerkes, of Harvard University, "good or bad, breed true." He preferred to call eugenics an art rather than a science, and furnished the brief definition: "The systematic effort to improve the nature of man."

At the final session Dr. George W. Goler, health officer of Rochester, N. Y., and Dr. Foster Kennedy, lecturer on neurology in Cornell University Medical College, suggested the vital part the medical profession and the hospitals must take in any effectual movement for sex education and hygiene. Attention was naturally paid to the necessity of making venereal diseases reportable.

The most striking event in the series of meetings on this subject was the address of Prof. Jessie Phelps of the State Normal School at Ypsilanti, Mich. Her subject was The Normal School in Sex Education. Speaking from notes, she told definitely of her subjects and methods with her normal school class in sex education and hygiene. Never have I seen a more attentive audience, free

from all suggestion of excitement, as if experiencing with genuine satisfaction the treatment of a traditionally embarrassing subject with a frankness matched only by the delicacy of presentation and the wholesomeness of the personality of the speaker. It was as if the audience saw here finally a reason for great hope in spite of the tragic facts our meetings had brought out. They gave Professor Phelps nothing less than an ovation.

Dean Walter T. Sumner followed with an address on Some Aspects of Progress in Sex Problems. He gave ugly facts from the report of the Chicago Vice Commission of which he was chairman, and in his vigorous treatment of sex problems spoke of various important social measures, including the health certificate at marriage with which his name is peculiarly identified.

STANDARDS OF LIVING AND LABOR

A. J. McKELWAY

Secretary, Southern States, National Child Labor Committee

The platform of social standards for industry presented by this committee, of which Owen R. Lovejoy was chairman, is printed on page 517 of this issue.

At the first section meeting the hazards of labor were discussed. J. W. Paul, head of the mine rescue work of the federal Bureau of Mines, outlined its work. The writer showed that the fight for better child labor legislative standards is all but won, and that the problem next to be tackled is the administration and enforcement of the law.

In the discussion that followed, Dr. John Hayner of California, who has made exhaustive studies of coal mining accidents in America and Europe for state and federal governments, declared that the Bureau of Mines is greatly hampered in its work by the restriction placed upon its activities in the act creating it. He asked the aid of patriotic Americans in the passage of amendments now pending, especially that relating to publicity with respect to the causes of mine disasters.

The report of the chairman of the committee was distributed in printed form. Mr. Lovejoy's address was impressive and illuminating, and met with an appreciative reception from his audience. In his search for the causes of the evils so fearlessly described, his statements were so carefully framed as to minimize controversial opposition.

The chairman was followed by an incisive address by Mrs. Florence Kelley on minimum wage boards, showing the progress made in this field.

George R. Lunn, the Socialist mayor of Schenectady, spoke on the eight-hour day in all industries. The request of some members of the conference last year to have their points of view presented by Socialists, single taxers and so on, was met by arranging for speakers of these persuasions under the standards of living and labor program. Mayor

Lunn's address would have been more instructive if he had given some concrete information concerning the adoption of the eight-hour day where it has already been granted, and its reasonableness in other industries, presuming upon the intelligence of the conference as to understanding the Socialist point of view. But the familiar *Carthago delenda est* had to be sounded throughout.

The second section meeting of this committee discussed the topic Distribution of Industry in Relation to Congestion, Rent, and Taxes. Louis F. Post of Chicago, editor of *The Public*, the chief organ of the single tax doctrine, read an exhaustive statement of the need and feasibility of this reform.

At the mayors' luncheon Mayor Newton D. Baker made exactly the appeal to civic patriotism that was needed to show the hopefulness of the whole program on the standards of living and labor.

The platform on standards of living and labor was presented at an all day session beginning with a general presentation of the idea of an "industrial minimum" by Paul U. Kellogg and followed by the discussion of wages by the Rev. John A. Ryan, St. Paul, and Rabbi Rudolph Coffee of Pittsburgh; of family budgets by Margaret F. Byington, author of *Homestead*, the *Households of a Milltown*; of congestion and taxation by Benjamin C. Marsh; home work by Pauline Goldmark of the New York Bureau of Social Research; industrial diseases by John B. Andrews; control of sanitary standards by Julius Henry Cohen, the board of control of the suit and cloak manufacturers' association, and of child labor by Edward N. Clopper of Cincinnati and Richard K. Conant of Boston. Harry Thomas, president of the Ohio Federation of Labor, broached the general subject of unemployment insurance.

In the afternoon the section adjourned, continuing as an independent meeting under the auspices of the National Child Labor Committee at which the program presented by the committee was adopted with one or two textual changes. A minority report presented by Mr. Marsh calling for "the gradual untaxing of building and the laying of the tax burden upon the land values" was not adopted.

CHILDREN

SHERMAN C. KINGSLEY

Chairman

In his review of important developments in the social field, Julian W. Mack stated that the most significant event of the year was the recognition by the federal government of its duty to children, as shown by the establishment of the national Children's Bureau. It was, therefore, especially fortunate that the committee on children was able to secure as speakers for its general session: Julia C. Lathrop, recently appointed director of the bureau, who described her new work as "an expression of the nation's sense of justice, the greatest and most complete expression of

the democratic ideal that every child shall have a chance"; Jane Addams, who pointed out the fact that normal homes will be benefited by the standardization of the work of child-caring agencies; and A. J. McKelway, who told of the campaign for the establishment of the bureau and voiced the feeling of the entire audience when he said: "We hope the new bureau will grow into a department of human welfare." The chairman of the committee, Sherman C. Kingsley, enumerated some questions of child care still awaiting an answer. With the population of the country fast changing from rural to urban centers, the problem of rearing children in untried city environments is becoming acute. Not a single state in the union can tell accurately the number of its positively dependent, delinquent and defective children and few can estimate them. A definite state and local program based upon knowledge of actual conditions would help to clarify and harmonize the child welfare work of the entire nation.

The various section meetings of the committee further emphasized this idea. James A. Garfield, speaking on a program of action for a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, conceived the true function of these societies to be an intermediary agency between the charity associations and the courts.

Wilbur C. Phillips presented a carefully developed program for infant welfare which has been successful in Milwaukee. The idea is to divide the community by population into units small enough to be easily handled and to make each unit a center of municipal activity in caring for mothers and babies. "The actual cash loss," said Mr. Phillips, "represented by one dead baby would care for twenty babies for one year."

Perhaps the most interesting session of the conference was the spirited discussion on the funds to parents' act which lasted four hours and ended only when the lights went out. Judge Merritt W. Pinckney of the Chicago Juvenile Court defended the spirit of the law and felt that, "properly safeguarded and administered, it would be a benefit to the community." Frederic Almv based his objection to the law on his belief that the public would not stand for fit salaries for the relief workers and it would therefore be impossible to secure adequate administration of the funds. "Home-made children," he said, "undoubtedly give the best results. The institution child must go, but until we can have skilled social engineers to harness the forces of public relief, I am opposed to the public pension method of keeping the child at home." Homer Folks said the attempt to secure adequate relief from private sources, which he considered preferable to public relief, had never been intelligently tried on a large scale. If, after trial, the relief still proved inadequate, he believed that a grant from the public funds would be a lesser evil than the break-up of the family. Other arguments advanced were that in the Chicago experiment the established agency, the court, had not been relied upon, but had been supplemented by the

advisory committee; that the number of children removed from their homes because of poverty alone was overestimated; that old age insurance and working-men's compensation acts would go far toward removing the causes of dependent widowhood; that the administration of relief was not the function of a judicial body; that experiences with a similar law in Milwaukee and St. Louis have proved the possibility of securing public officials capable of doing efficient work.

The Monday section meeting heard the place of the school in a community program for child welfare set forth by William A. Wirt, who as superintendent practices in the schools of Gary, Ind., what he preaches to the educational systems of the country. Hearty applause greeted his description of the school plant, open eight hours a day and six days a week where the curriculum is subordinated to the child and trains for actual life. Dr. Helen T. Wooley explained the work in vocational guidance by which Cincinnati is trying to bridge over the years between fourteen and sixteen, and train for paying employment after that time. "The work certificate," said Philip Davis of Boston, "should not be a divorce from the school system but a marriage certificate."

The chairman of the committee, in opening the Wednesday session, reported on the findings of a questionnaire which the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund sent to each state in the union, asking for the number of children in institutions, public and private, the number uncared-for, the state agencies for children's work, the most pressing needs in the children's field, and suggestions for a state program for the promotion of child welfare. Thirty-six states responded, showing an amazing amount of work still to be done and an utter lack of co-ordinated effort. Roger N. Baldwin then described the methods by which St. Louis is trying to remedy this condition. A central council composed of representatives from the various church, labor, school, charitable, political and commercial groups passes on any problem that concerns the city as a whole and can be divided into committee groups for discussion of questions that affect only a few of the agencies. Further functions are to settle disputes, to prevent duplication, to set high standards, to express the collective opinion of the component bodies in legislative form and thus to shape the community consciousness in terms of orderly progress.

HOUSING AND RECREATION

JOSEPH LEE

Chairman

The section meeting Friday morning was (actually) upon the skittishness of the working girl, her independence and horror of being patronized, and how, in view of this, to

get team play into her life. Diana used to do it by giving hunting parties. The Amazons and suffragettes have done it by getting up tribal war—the girls against the boys. How shall *we* do it? Jean Hamilton told of how the working girls' clubs do it, accenting the importance of *real* independence, including finance. George D. Chamberlain spoke of boys' clubs with their occasional parties. Mrs. Robert A. Woods told how women's trade unions provide a new loyalty. Frances G. Curtis suggested the possibilities of discipline and team work in athletics and Robert A. Woods spoke of the need of neighborhood organization as a second line of defense where the family fails.

At the general meeting Friday evening Joseph Lee maintained that the vertigo, dancing-dervish effects of rhythm, as seen in political and religious orgies and to some extent in dance halls, are to be corrected by the cultivation of the arts that rhythm underlies, including dancing, even coquetry being preferable to no art at all. Mrs. Charles H. Israel, field secretary on commercial recreation of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, told how dance halls may be made decent where public opinion is concretely brought to bear on them. Frank L. Boyden's address on what a country school has done was itself a good example of recreation. He kept the audience so limp with laughing that they may not have realized that he was describing the utter capture of a country town, including every individual boy and girl of high school age, and the management of their social life, by an old New England academy under his direction.

At the section meeting Monday morning Beulah Kennard gave a most interesting address on the eternal feminine and how the shifting social status of women has complicated its operation. Woman represents the conservative element—the unchanging demands of race life and race perpetuation. The new demand that she shall be also an individual, with direct personal relations to political and industrial life—the new freedom—if rightly recognized and given scope, will not destroy her aboriginal character but will make her more of a person, as righteousness is more than innocence.

In the discussion Frances G. Curtis spoke of the ideals of girls from fourteen to sixteen and the importance of providing the right personality to embody them and relieve the matinee idol. Mrs. White of Elizabeth Peabody House, Boston, spoke of the way working girls have been led to put their idealism into neighborhood improvement in the West End. Jean Hamilton said that if we would make our civic purposes thoroughly clear the girls would help. The advantage of trade education, including continuation schools for the dangerous years from fourteen to sixteen, was spoken of. The mobilizing of the mothers, using outside the home the mothering power no longer fully utilized inside, was variously suggested.



1. H. C. Bowman, chairman committee on public supervision and administration; 2. Bailey B. Burritt, chairman committee on courts and prisons; 3. Joseph Lee, chairman committee on housing and recreation; 4. Jane Addams, president National Federation of Settlements.

MEDICAL AND SOCIAL WORK

LUCY WRIGHT

General Superintendent Massachusetts
Commission for the Blind

The interdependence of medical and social work was cordially and practically recognized at Cleveland, both by physicians and social workers. There were many evidences that even if, as Alice L. Higgins says, the language of social workers is sometimes mysterious to physicians in words of two syllables and that of physicians mysterious to social workers in words of six syllables, each came very near in this conference to an understanding of the workings of the other's mind.

The discussion on the relation between medical and social work occupied itself largely with the various forms of the "day's work" in cities where medical-social workers are now on duty—New York, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Boston, and others. A most significant report was that of the weekly social conference following the medical clinic at Indiana University, where under the supervision of a member of the sociology department, medical students do the follow up work in the home, for patients selected for social care. The announcement of the second-year course in medical-social service at the Boston School for Social Workers came as a substantial contribution toward the great need for trained workers in this field, where the demand so far exceeds the supply.

Dr. C. Morton Smith of Boston cordially recognized the place of the social worker in the clinic which battles with syphilis. This was an illustration of the message for which the social worker must ever turn to the physician. He gave warning and encouragement on the treatment of syphilis. He reported that at least 45 per cent of syphilis cases are due to inheritance and innocent infection, and that it is needlessly and unfairly handicapping to work against this disease to class it as venereal. He spoke encouragingly as to the chances in life for syphilitic children if properly and promptly treated. Dr. Smith's paper was itself evidence that there are common fields of service for medical and social work

in which both not only serve but together create new methods of attack.

The keen analysis and substantial plans for work and study outlined by Dr. Michael M. Davis, Jr., were a most important contribution to the coming "day's work." Dr. Davis outlined a plan for surveying, and testing the value of, medical-social work at hospitals and dispensaries and brought out clearly the point often overlooked, but really one of the chief distinctions of this division of social work, that here we find a point of contact with a large group of human beings, above the bread-line and not otherwise known to social agencies.

Mary E. Richmond pointed out that medical-social workers were present at the conference in some such proportion as eighty to seven hundred or more, and urged upon the seven hundred that they try to get the point of view of the medical-social worker and modify their own ways rather than go home to create necessarily new agencies.

"Hands and heads were made before agencies!"

At the general session, the common fields of service which concern both groups were outlined by Dr. Alexander Miller in his chairman's report. The work of his committee had been divided into seven sections and the chairman of each section had summarized in writing the relation between medical and social work as illustrated in the field best known to him. The following were the seven subdivisions: medical and social aspects of infant mortality; certain important social diseases; interdependence of medical and social work in hospital social service; prevention of blindness and conservation of eyesight; insanity and epilepsy; occupational diseases; visiting nursing.

At this meeting, the audience found themselves, following Dr. Miller's paper, with a convenient printed outline of Dr. Cabot's address, as follows:

EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF HOSPITAL-SOCIAL WORK.

1. THE EDUCATION GOTTEN IN THIS WORK DIFFERS FROM MOST EDUCATION IN THAT: Every one is both teacher and taught; Teaching is mostly by demonstration and practice; Two professions are teaching each other.

2. **DOCTORS LEARN FROM SOCIAL WORKERS:** That the patient is a family symptom, a trade symptom, etc.; That good treatment involves knowledge of patient's finances, customs, prejudices, etc.; That health may not be the most important consideration; That manner is as important as matter in advice to patients; That cases are not closed when they disappear from clinics.

3. **SOCIAL WORKERS LEARN FROM DOCTORS:** A higher ideal of the function of records; The importance of prognosis as a basis for all social plans; An intenser concentration and self-control; How to think with ideas as tools; The ramifications of insanity, neurasthenia and sex.

4. **DOCTORS AND SOCIAL WORKERS LEARN FROM PATIENTS:** That nobility when unconscious is raised to the 4th power.

5. **PATIENTS LEARN FROM SOCIAL WORKERS AND DOCTORS:** That not all well-dressed people are snobs and vampires.

6. **ALL LEARN FROM SUCCESS:** That 100 per cent philanthropy is a magnificent and most precarious adventure.

7. **ALL LEARN FROM FAILURE:** That the only certain satisfaction in social work is the sentimental and mystical relations which outlive the collapse of medical and social theories.

The climax of this group of meetings came in Dr. Cabot's interpretation of the Educational Aspects of Hospital Social work. He defined the relation as one between *professions*—between peers. It is a clarifying statement and a generous one, and one social workers must try to live up to. Dr. Cabot supplements it by a definition that may raise a new set of questions, but will help clear up any remaining haze and discomfort that may surround the relation between social and medical workers when they meet. He says that the physician and nurse are fitted by experience and training to look after the physical needs while the subject matter for social workers is *character*.

COURTS AND PRISONS

JOSEPH T. WILLIAMS

Criminal Courts Committee, New York
Charity Organization Society

The committee on courts and prisons discussed five topics: social problems and the courts; women offenders; non-support cases and domestic relations courts; farm colonies for the treatment of offenders; and prison labor. Throughout the meetings one sentiment was overwhelmingly in evidence—that the spirit most desired in courts and prisons is not vindictive justice but rather belief in the redeeming qualities in men and women.

The chairman, Bailey B. Burritt, in discussing Socialization of the Courts, interpreted the criminal court as not limited to the legal function of punishing offenders and enforcing the law. The courts, he said, should include a careful survey of the social conditions which cause crime and an understanding of the motives of individual offenders with a view to their reformation. He referred to the movement of socializing the courts as part of the larger welfare movement which has already affected the church, the school, and the whole range of communal undertakings. Every case which comes before the magistrate is not only a legal but a *social* problem. The question whether our courts will adapt themselves

to new social and economic demands and be influenced by the ideas of progressive social philosophy was optimistically discussed by Prof. Roscoe Pound of Harvard University. Dr. William Healy, director of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute of Chicago made a strong plea for the scientific study of methods of treating law breakers. As things are now, he said, millions are devoted to stopping crime but not one public penny for finding out how to do it well.

Katherine B. Davis, superintendent of the New York State Reformatory for Women, outlined the plan for a scientific study and classification, before sentence, of women convicted in New York city, which was described in a recent issue of *THE SURVEY*.¹ Following Dr. Davis, Jane Addams, Maud Miner, and Chief Magistrate McAdoo of New York agreed that there should be a careful sorting-out process after conviction, and fitting institutions or other means making for reformation be provided according to the results of such examination.

The value to the courts of co-operation with private welfare societies was emphasized. Magistrate Howard P. Nash of Brooklyn, N. Y., emphasized the need of adequate preliminary investigations before cases came to trial in these courts. Judge Nash said that eventually an adequate number of well-trained investigators in the public service would attend to the preliminary investigating, but for the present this work can best be done by private relief societies. Minnie E. Low, superintendent of the Bureau of Personal Service of Chicago, described the operation of the Chicago Domestic Relations Court. Of about 6,000 cases during the first year of this court, nearly half were settled outside of court through the medium of philanthropic agencies to which the cases had been referred by an officer of the court, known as the social secretary. Preventive efforts in keeping potential litigants out of court has been the greatest triumph there. Judge S. M. Black of the Juvenile Court of Columbus, Ohio, said that a large percentage of the boys and girls who appear as delinquents in the juvenile court come from homes divided or which have been abandoned by the father. According to the Columbus system deserters are committed to the workhouse and forty cents per day is allowed for the support of the family which in many cases means more than if the man is left at large.

That the bad time unsanitary prison cell with its dreary repressive life for the prisoner is being succeeded by something vastly better, was made plain at a meeting held at the City Farms, a tract of about 2,000 acres twelve miles outside Cleveland on beautiful undulating hills. Harris R. Cooley, director of the farms, said that the plan had proved a great success. It had shown that outdoor life under open skies in healthy surroundings is not only an effective remedy for tuberculosis and insanity, but also for vice and crime.

¹See *THE SURVEY*, May 18, page 285.

J. T. Gilmour, warden of Central Prison, Toronto, told of a similar experiment in Toronto.

The discussion on prison labor centered on the question of providing fitting work for prisoners. The contract labor system received special attention. Milton Goodman, president of the Reliance Manufacturing Company, Chicago, defended contract labor on the ground that it saved expense to the state and kept the prisoner from idleness. Thomas R. Slicer, chairman of the National Committee on Prison Labor, declared the contract system vicious. Salvation for the prisoner is in effective work, but the profits of his labor should go to his dependent family and to himself. John P. Frey, editor of the *National Molders' Journal*, said that trade unions are strongly opposed to the contract system but that they do want the prisoner to be kept at a kind of work which has a training value. John J. Sonstebly of Chicago, attorney for the United Garment Workers of America, declared that the contract labor system is merely a scheme for private gain.

FAMILIES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

WILLIAM J. KERBY

Chairman

In his report as chairman of the committee on families and neighborhoods Dr. Kerby laid emphasis on the nature of the National Conference, which he called practically a constitution-making body. He put forth the idea that all political and industrial constitutions fail for certain classes and that a conference such as this is in fact engaged in developing a supplementary constitution which will adjust policies and develop principles and modify institutions in a way to secure normal elementary rights and decent opportunity to the helpless social classes.

The committee favored the creation of a standard program of fundamental topics for this committee to cover in a period of years. It favored active co-operation with organized labor in all fields where it comes into contact with relief agencies, but in particular it favored co-operation in meeting the problem of wife-desertion. The labor union was represented as being in position to render direct and efficient service in the matter through its records and its press. The committee favored the earliest possible utilization of the United States Postal Savings Bank for the development of thrift among partially dependent families and it favored the development of a series of leaflets to be used systematically when dealing with the poor in order to instruct them more reliably against their own ignorance, lack of foresight and carelessness. The committee voted adversely on the proposal to develop social activities other than medical in hospitals, particularly in smaller cities. The chairman expressed himself as strongly favoring the plan under specific limitations. He alluded to Providence Hospital

in Washington where remarkably vigorous and many-sided social activities are conducted in addition to medical charities.

Charles F. Weller took up in great detail the problem of preserving the individuality of the family. He called attention to the mistakes by which relief agencies defeat their own purposes at times and suggested that every care be taken to build up normal social relations between the poor and those who assist them. He advised too that the poor be organized among themselves in their own interest. James F. Jackson championed the interests of the family and the maintenance of its integrity. He brought out the fact that many state institutions make the mistake of dealing with the individual as an individual, failing to see him and to deal with him as a member of a family.

Rev. C. N. Pond, in discussing a state program of charity reviewed sympathetically the relations among all agencies of relief and brought out a spiritual interpretation of charity as the fundamental bond of unity among these agencies.

Mary Goodwillie argued for the development of a high type of worker to specialize in case work. She found that lack of means and the relatively small number of those capable of giving such training, are difficulties in the way of this. The great need of endowment to further such training was pointed out.

After a review of the well-known facts concerning burial among the poor, Rev. Quincy L. Dowd, of Roscoe, Ill., advocated the thorough investigation of cemetery affairs generally and the education of the public in matters of burial and cremation. He urged efforts to get back to simplicity and common sense in burial matters; legislative control of the undertaking business with publicity schedules, municipal cemeteries and city crematories and the creation of a bureau of burial affairs in municipal government.

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, president of the Federation of Day Nurseries, expressed herself in favor of the pensioning of dependent mothers. She stated that the friendly visitor and the trained nurse must be found in the equipment of any satisfactory day nursery. In many cases, she said, children are taken even when both parents are working, if conditions appear to make that necessary. It is her belief that the higher standards which the child unconsciously absorbs in the day nursery, react on the home and on the mother with excellent results in home management.

Mrs. William E. Gallagher, chairman of the St. Mary's Day Nursery of Chicago, described the conditions which hamper the poor in all of their trade relations. She pointed out the danger of taking the every-day buying out of the hands of the poor and also the cost in mistakes, in time and in money of permitting them to do their own purchasing. This led to the natural conclusion that educational work of a high order must be done among the poor in order to meet this situation. The

speaker commended highly the reports of the Conferences of Sealers of Weights and Measures which show the range and extent of the frauds of trade which, while perpetrated on society at large, are particularly severe on the poor. The work of the visiting nurse in educating the poor along these lines was strongly commended.

PUBLIC SUPERVISION AND ADMINISTRATION

H. C. BOWMAN

Chairman

The report of the committee discussed to what extent state boards should administer and manage state institutions; and to what extent the state should supervise and control private institutions. It was stated that the time has passed when the supervisory powers of boards of charities and the administrative powers of boards of control can be discussed with profit, and that the time has come when institutional officials, like all other departments of government, must realize that they must get closer to the people; that the system which covers the field and accomplishes results is the best system for a state, regardless of the name; that institutional people too often forget the very purpose for which their institution was created and the thing runs along rather for its own benefit than for that of its patrons or the state; that the duties of state boards should cover both the business side and the professional side of state institutions, and that there must be perfect fealty of the board to the state and a corresponding loyalty of the institution to the board. It was declared that the superintendent is the agent and executive officer of the board, and the board is entitled to the same faithful service from a superintendent as the superintendent is entitled to from each employee.

The report held that all private charitable institutions and associations should be under state supervision whether receiving state aid or not. The question of who supports them was held to be of very little importance, but the public is interested in knowing that the function assumed by private groups is properly performed. Almost every project of public benefit it was declared has some element of peculiar personal profit to individuals, and hardly any attempt along the line of a private purpose is without some colorable pretext of public good. Individuals are eager to earn an easy living by starting orphanages or home-finding societies or rescue homes and using the greater part of the money collected to maintain themselves.

The position was taken that private charitable institutions and associations should be required to incorporate and have a board of substantial business and professional men or women, and then should be supervised by the state board. The best way to secure state supervision of private charities was said to be

similar to those now followed in California and Kansas. The Kansas law covers the field better than the law of any other state. It is made a crime punishable by a fine of not less than \$10, nor more than \$1,000, for any person to solicit funds in more than one county in the state, for charitable purposes without first obtaining a certificate from the state board of control.

Charles F. F. Campbell, executive agent of the Ohio State Commission for the Blind, in the course of a talk on the care and prevention of blindness, used stereopticon views to illustrate conditions and results. Referring to the fact that 40 per cent of the blind in this country are needlessly blind he said that states need not build great institutions and work shops for the blind. What is needed is individual assistance in the way of furnishing a small amount of capital to start them in business or to aid in securing them suitable employment in factories and other lines of business where the blind can make honest livings and be self-respecting.

In discussing the problem of dependent and neglected children, as seen from the point of view of state supervision, C. E. Faulkner superintendent of the Washburn Memorial Orphan's Home, Minneapolis, Minn., declared that when the causes which undermine the integrity and comfort of family life are discovered no greater power can be summoned to the aid of the state in their prevention than the law of natural affection. Children, he said, should be allowed the duty as well as the pleasure of sharing in the effort to protect and rehabilitate the family life. The state should use all the means at its command to preserve the integrity of the family and promote the welfare of the child. Public and private institutions have the same goal, the welfare of the child. The morals of public guardianship demand that wards of the state shall have equal opportunity in fitting themselves for special vocations with children who have the advantages of manual training in the public schools.

W. A. Gates, secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of California, showed the necessity of a uniform law dealing with the deportation of insane persons, paupers and others from one state to another.

The essentials of the uniform law are a uniform period of residence in the state and a provision that all deportation should be by state authority, not by that of counties or municipalities. A year, said Mr. Gates, is probably the most satisfactory period. Probably more states have adopted that period than any other. A man moving from Massachusetts to Minnesota, he continued, gains a legal settlement in one year's residence, and then loses his residence in Massachusetts. If he then comes to want he is a charge upon Minnesota and cannot be returned to Massachusetts. If a man moves from Minnesota to Massachusetts he must remain five years to gain a legal settlement, and if he comes to want at any time within five years he can be sent back to the state whence he came.



1. Brother Barnabas, president National Conference on Education of Dependent, Truant, Backward and Delinquent Children; 2. Lee K. Frankel, president National Conference of Jewish Charities; 3. Thomas Chew, president Federated Boy's Clubs; 4. Robert W. Hebbard, president National Association of Public Relief Officials.

THE OTHER CLEVELAND CONFERENCES

THE JEWISH CHARITIES

LOUIS H. LEVIN

Secretary

The Seventh Biennial Conference of Jewish Charities had a larger attendance than any of its predecessors. At the session which concerned itself with desertion, the committee on desertion, of which Morris D. Waldman of New York is chairman, presented its report. Morris M. Goldstein, director of the National Desertion Bureau gave a description of the operation of the bureau during the fourteen months of its existence. This was a convincing demonstration that an active campaign against desertion along the intelligent lines laid down by the bureau can control the evil. The mere fact that of 869 deserters reported to the bureau from all parts of this country, exclusive of a few from Europe and one even from Asia, 561 were located by the bureau, indicates how efficient have been its methods.

It should be remembered that in all these cases the whereabouts of the deserter was unknown when the case was brought to the bureau, and in some instances he had disappeared five years or longer ago. But locating the husband is only the beginning of the job; disposing of the case by reconciliation, arranging for support or criminal prosecution is even more important and quite as difficult. The results obtained are impressive. In 181 cases reconciliation has been effected, and in forty-five cases it is pending; arrangement for support has been made in 145 cases with ten more to hear from; twenty have been arrested, and twenty-eight may have to be brought before the criminal court; the applicants themselves were left to dispose of thirty-four cases in which the husbands had been located; twenty-five were found in foreign countries and could not be reached; in twelve cases a technicality of law defeated the plans of the bureau. On the other hand, in twenty-one cases the applicant was considered to be so much at fault that further work on the case

was abandoned; thirteen proved to be cases of collusive desertion; in ten the applicant refused to prosecute; in six the sickness of the man made further action undesirable. But eleven cases of the 561 located remain to be taken up.

The record made in disposing of these troublesome cases was of such an extraordinary nature as to win for the bureau the hearty support of the conference. The work heretofore done was made possible by a generous gift of \$5,000 from the New York Foundation for the purpose of trying out the bureau, and the conference undertook to raise \$7,000 a year for the next two years for its support and the extension of its work. Besides the results achieved in disposing of cases where desertion had already taken place, the deterrent effect of the bureau's activities can be seen in the dropping of the number of new cases of desertion brought to the attention of the United Hebrew Charities of New York from 144 in the year preceding the establishment of the bureau to ninety-nine during the year it was in operation.

A paper prepared by a committee, of which Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil of Columbia University was chairman and Henrietta Szold of New York, secretary, dealt with an investigation of the Palestinian charities which was undertaken at the suggestion of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. This conference called attention to the numerous appeals for help from that country in behalf of associations and organizations, the value of whose work is unknown to the great mass of contributors. For the first time, perhaps, the charities of an oriental country have been investigated from the modern point of view. It was found that besides organizations run by private persons, sometimes partly in their own interest, there exist others whose management and equipment meet every requirement of a modern charity-worker in America. This report placed utter condemnation on the begging letter, which is one of the natural products of the Holy Land, and spoke no less positively in regard to institutions the

character of whose work earned the committee's disapproval.

A plan for pensioning social workers was elaborated by Prof. H. L. Sabsovich of New York. Professor Sabsovich showed what astonishing purchases in the way of annuity and insurance can be made for comparatively small sums, once administration expenses are eliminated. It would not be surprising if social workers, non-Jewish as well as Jewish, were to take this paper as a basis for establishing a pension system which would not only operate to their own advantage, but would also show the way to a sound pension system for many other groups.

A change was made in the constitution by which the president of the section of social workers becomes an additional vice-president of the National Conference of Jewish Charities. The officers elected were: Cyrus L. Sulzberger, New York, president; Charles Eiseman, Cleveland, Aaron Cohen, Pittsburgh, and Morris D. Waldman, New York, vice-presidents; Bernard Greensfelder, St. Louis, treasurer; Louis H. Levin, Baltimore, secretary. Morris D. Waldman of New York was chosen president of the section of social workers.

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS

ELEANOR H. WOODS

South End House, Boston

Three sessions of settlement workers held at Cleveland last month drew over a hundred persons directly connected with settlements from New Orleans to Toronto and from Boston to Honolulu. The program dealt with the opportunity of the settlement both in its more wide-reaching influences and in its work of concrete analysis and attack upon specific problems. Both in the discussion of an address by Robert A. Woods on Organizing the Broader Influences of Settlements as well as in that following the report on the problem of the adolescent girl, two main aspects of settlement work were reaffirmed as fundamental and the essentials of the original settlement impulse.

Graham Taylor, on the one hand, insisted upon the necessity to the broader aspects of settlement influence of a careful knowledge of the territorial community in which the settlement is placed. Without such acquaintance the fulcrum is lost. It is gained by participation in local affairs, both political and social, without partisanship. The *raison d'être* of the settlement, found in re-attaching the individual, family, neighborhood, or district to a normal share in the life of the city and nation, necessarily leads the settlement resident to work on broader lines in the larger community. In this field, he finds it is absolutely essential to reach back to his local experience.

The other aspect of the settlement relation is that of sympathetic interpretation to the

larger world of these facts gained in the more intimate acquaintance of the neighborhood. Jane Addams referred to this function as one upon which the hopes of the first settlement residents had relied. She felt that the combined study upon a single aspect of our social life by the federation of settlements as carried forward in the report on the problem of the adolescent girl was a substantial and gratifying result in the way of meeting that early expectation. The report, which called forth a valuable discussion, was based upon a thousand replies from various sources to the schedule issued last winter by the National Federation of Settlements. A special report from New York presented by Harriet McD. Daniels gave intensive corroboration to the conclusion to be gathered from the study thus far pursued.

While the report as it stands can be considered only as an incomplete statement devoted mainly to objective conditions, it may be regarded as an important preliminary step to further concentration of interest in measures for constructive and progressive work for girls. It will put the organized service of experience and a thorough analysis of the situation by the settlement workers into use for the whole country.

Indications of concrete results to be gained are the following next steps suggested by those taking part in the study: The multiplication of recreation, both indoor and outdoor, on playgrounds carefully supervised; an increase in opportunities for girls to know older persons of resource and good will who are in contact with the girls' homes, including public school vocational visitors; trade education; propaganda for intelligently interesting girls in labor organizations and industrial conditions; an increase of agencies for the spread of neighborliness in every city and local neighborhood.

These and kindred phases of the subject will be followed during the coming year, with the report on the past year's work as a basis for a still more exhaustive study. Perhaps the most noteworthy contribution of the present report is the definition of a good home collated from the replies returned. "A good home is one in which the father and mother really head the family, are sympathetic with their children, have a real standard of living; live in rooms not badly overcrowded, which permits the girl a certain degree of privacy and allows a night's rest; secures food up to the average; and where there are no boarders. Taking this definition at its lowest terms, the highest percentage of good homes given was 50. The average from all answers was less than 10 per cent."

A contribution of especial importance in the light of this definition was made at the third settlement meeting by Mabel Kittredge of New York, who discussed her experience of the past ten years in establishing house-keeping centers, or model flats for teaching purposes, in tenement house districts.

She pointed to the fact that the work of

the home, lacking competition as it does, provides no other stimulus to efficiency. It is a question of making home management catch up with the increased knowledge provided through science and with the business systems of the store, office, and factory. Some method must be devised by which the practical knowledge of the scientist shall pass into the possession of school girls. The health of the nation really depends upon our discovering the best method.

The housekeeping center trains the natural domestic tastes of children and should be connected with the regular school curriculum. It was brought out by Mrs. White of Boston that these tastes are particularly susceptible of cultivation in the play instinct of small children. The consensus of experience was strongly in favor of introducing housekeeping training into the schools much earlier than the cooking now provided. The lessons should not be dissociated in the child's mind from the aspect of a practical home, and should teach methods of work which mean better health, a minimum of necessary labor, the satisfaction of practical needs with intelligent consideration for the beautiful.

REMEDIAL LOAN ASSOCIATIONS

ARTHUR H. HAM

Russell Sage Foundation

Sixteen of the twenty-five societies now constituting the membership of The National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations were represented at the third annual convention in Cleveland, June 13-14. The reports of the chairman, the secretary, and the writer showed that the past year has in many respects been a remarkable one in the progress of the remedial loan movement. Chief among the developments has been the awakening of a widespread and intelligent interest in the small loans problem on the part of the press, courts, legislatures, and civic and social organizations.

This year has been the first to witness the imprisonment of a usurer in this country. In addition to many convicted and fined, no fewer than six of these gentry have been placed behind prison bars. There have been an unusual number of court decisions that will play an important part in the ultimate success of the campaign against the loan shark. While not a great amount of remedial loan legislation has been enacted, an increasing number of bills introduced contained many of the provisions advocated by the National Federation.

Each member of the federation submitted a brief report of the year's work. These reports in addition to showing a healthy growth of remedial loan work in each city represented, indicated an increased co-operation with relief societies and other social institutions and a better understanding by the local press of the ideals of remedial loan work. One ex-

ception to this rule was shown by the paper read by H. A. Cone, manager of the Provident Loan Society of Detroit. In that city during a campaign of enforcement directed against the loan sharks, the public prosecutor took occasion to criticize the work of the Provident Loan Society and demanded the dismissal of Mr. Cone, the manager. Unfortunately, he presented his charges not to the directors of the society but to the newspapers. The charges were subsequently investigated and found to be baseless, and the directors of the society publicly expressed the utmost confidence in Mr. Cone.

J. T. Exnicios reviewed the history of the attempts in the District of Columbia during the past three years to secure the enactment by Congress of a proper remedial loan law. He showed that in spite of the fact that a bill authorizing the monthly interest charge of 2 per cent has had the support of the district commissioners and many social and civic organizations, Congress is apparently about to enact a law allowing only 1 per cent monthly interest, on the theory that poor borrowers cannot afford to pay more. The failure of Congress to take account of the experiences in many states showing that the business cannot be conducted profitably at 1 per cent Mr. Exnicios attributed to the members' fear of disapproval of their constituents, and stated as his belief that Congress is more likely to follow in the wake of the state in this matter than to enact a law that may serve as a guide for states that have not yet secured adequate remedial loan laws.

Considerable interest centered in the report of the membership committee on the so-called "Norfolk plan." This will be discussed in a later issue of THE SURVEY.

The new members admitted during the year include the Chattel Loan Society of New York, the Utica Provident Loan Association, the Provident Loan Association of Sioux City and the Provident Loan Association of St. Paul. The application of the latter society for admission had hardly been acted upon when the news came of the unfortunate death of the manager, A. W. Gutridge, who had for several years served the Associated Charities of St. Paul as secretary.

FEDERATED BOYS' CLUBS

GEORGE D. CHAMBERLAIN

Executive Secretary

Essentials in Boys' Club Work was the general theme of the sixth annual conference of the Federated Boys' Clubs held in Cleveland last month.

The many classes in handicraft, manual training, electricity, mechanical drawing, etc., with talks on various professions, have all helped superintendents in their efforts to be of practical assistance to their boys.

Joseph Lee, president of the Recreation and Playground Association of America, named several good reasons why we should give

more thought to meeting the Sunday needs of the boy. He believes that boys and young men can do many things on Sunday that are infinitely more harmful, for instance, than playing baseball. He would reserve Sunday morning for church going, but believes that Sunday afternoon should afford opportunity for recreation and quiet sports on the part of the masses who must work through the week days.

The planning of a boys' summer occupation is something which interests an increasing number of workers with boys. The remarkable work done by the Omega Club at Elmira, N. Y., was described by Director Rufus Stanley. Summer has a new meaning for the boys of Elmira and vicinity. They have combined work and play with marked success, and under the leadership of Mr. Stanley have developed qualities of manhood that are at once apparent to the visitor.

A paper on organizations within a boys' club by J. W. Plant, superintendent of the Syracuse Boy's Club, brought out that many workers with boys deprecate the creation of independent local organizations for the many phases of boys' activities. In the case of boys' brigades, Knights of King Arthur, Boy Scouts, Seton Indians and other similar movements, it is thought to be unnecessary to create independent local organizations. The Y. M. C. A., boys' clubs, churches and schools can easily introduce one or all of these into their activities without any machinery other than that of the parent organization. The creation of new local institutions, where work is similar to that already being done, should be discouraged.

In discussing the question of religious teaching in boys' clubs, it was generally agreed that if a boy is taught to be clean in speech and act, and always "on the square" in work and in play, it is as far perhaps as a superintendent is justified in going, in the conduct of a non-sectarian club. Experience had taught some of those present that wherever an attempt has been made by the Y. M. C. A. to operate a non-sectarian club for all classes of boys it has generally failed.

C. J. Atkinson, superintendent of Toronto Boys' Dominion, who has just completed a six weeks' tour of the "states," during which he visited and studied twenty-six boys' clubs, reported a growing interest in the movement.

Mayor Newton D. Baker of Cleveland, who is a lover of boys, said in an address to the conference: "It is manifestly impossible to measure boys by the foot or the yard and fit them into a position on the rule, for example, that two yards of boy make a lawyer. It is a wonderful thing that we can have a corps of experts who can find for the boy his correct place in life."

Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana, who a year ago was president of the Indianapolis boys' club, told the delegates among other things:

"The boys' club movement does not want to abolish the home. Its purposes are in

strict accord with the highest ideals of home. The movement has three sides to it. One side has to do with the relation of the boy to the home. Another side is the relation of the boy to himself, and this is by far the most important side. The third side has to do with the relation of the boy to the state, and this is of moment, for how long can we maintain our ideals of justice, fair dealing and of honesty if year after year more of the oncoming citizens of America shall be permitted to grow up immoral, unacquainted with the great principles of life, and careless or indifferent to the right or the wrong of principles."

THE NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION

ARTHUR W. TOWNE

Secretary

In point both of attendance and interest the annual conference of the National Probation Association in Cleveland reached the high water mark. Boston compared notes with Seattle, and Toronto exchanged experiences with the southern states. The practices which have come into use during the last few years in both juvenile and criminal courts and in the probation service were evaluated, and various improvements and extensions were suggested.

Two important actions were taken. It was felt that the time has come for the National Probation Association, instead of limiting its efforts principally to conducting an annual conference, to undertake more active educational propaganda. Half of the states are without adult probation laws, and in most places where probation is used—whether with juvenile delinquents or adult offenders, a need exists for such information and help as might be furnished by a representative organization carrying on its work all the year round. Accordingly, an executive committee was established and authorized to raise funds and to employ an assistant secretary. Bernard Flexner was elected president and Arthur W. Towne secretary.

The conference also adopted a resolution calling for the enactment by Congress of a probation law for the federal courts.

The report of the committee on juvenile courts and probation was made by Mr. Flexner, and that of the committee on adult probation by Frank E. Wade of Buffalo. After giving a comprehensive review of progress during the past year, Mr. Flexner presented for discussion the gist of a chapter from the handbook which his committee has been preparing for publication by the association. The central thought was that juvenile courts and probation officers should utilize and co-operate with all the preventive and constructive agencies and forces in the community. The influence and effectiveness of a probation officer can be greatly enhanced by the assistance of settlement and charity workers, teachers

July 6, 1912.



*Photo by Holmes
& Bishop, Baltimore.*

1. Ernest P. Bicknell, national director American Red Cross; 2. George S. Addams, president National Probation Association; 3. Rev. Frank Mason North, chairman Commission on Church and Social Service; 4. W. N. Finley, chairman Executive Committee of National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations.

and clergymen, and various other persons. Another desideratum set forth was the greater socialization of the police.

Mr. Wade criticized the action taken by some legislatures in restricting the use of probation to certain classes of offenders. The wiser course, in his judgment, is to leave free range to judicial discretion in selecting the defendants who seem suitable for probationary treatment. He also pointed out defects in the system which prevails in some states of placing adult probationers under the control and supervision of the managers and traveling agents of prisoners and reformatories. Better results are secured, he declared, when the oversight is exercised by resident probation officers.

It was shown that children awaiting trial must not only be spared from the baneful associations and influences of a police station, but also from indiscriminate mingling with older and more hardened juvenile delinquents in juvenile detention homes. One way of accomplishing this was proposed by Probation Officer Roy M. Cushman of the Boston Juvenile Court. Children in that city are frequently boarded out in carefully chosen private families until their cases are disposed of by the court. While this expedient has its advantages, there seemed to be a pretty general consensus of opinion that special detention homes or shelters, when properly administered, are desirable.

SOCIETIES FOR ORGANIZ- ING CHARITY

FRANCIS H. McLEAN

Field Secretary

At the first annual meeting of the National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity Mary E. Richmond presented a highly valuable paper on Schemes Versus Standards. In it the question of the intake of a charity organization society was discussed. Miss Richmond asserted that we must get away

entirely from the old conception of a society as the general investigating agent for the community if we are to advance our standards. We must recognize our task as that of family rehabilitation, and what may grow out of it. The training of workers for other agencies might easily be considered one of the functions of the society as well as demonstration experiments looking to the acceptance of higher standards by other agencies. Except in the matter of the confidential exchange, the society should not be considered the general omnibus. On the side of the community program the ideal was stated to be certainly that of working toward the proper independent organization rather than undertaking it under the committee system. In cities of less than 100,000 the experience of the field workers for the extension of the movement had been that, because of the limitations upon possible funds for social purposes and because of the need of obtaining the best possible grade of trained leadership, it was generally necessary to work on the committee plan, but whenever opportunity came to bring about separate organization advantage of it should be taken. But the responsibility of the society for seeing that the necessary community program was carried out could not be side-stepped, provided only and in all cases that at the bottom of the program was intensive family work.

Alice L. Higgins made a report for the program committee on medical and social co-operation. One of Miss Higgins' strongest appeals was that social workers should recognize that the medical workers had much to teach them even in their own field, and that there had been far too prevalent an idea that contact meant only enlightenment on the medical side. A better understanding was one of the biggest promises of the future in which the social worker would profit at least as much as the medical.

The report of Francis H. McLean, general secretary, indicates that during the eight months beginning October 1, 1911, thirty-two cities had been definitely assisted in organizing, and that twenty-nine were on the way.

Attention was called to the appalling revelations of the field work with reference to the absolute indifference of many communities toward the proper support of properly organized health departments. In some of the far western cities indeed the appropriations to health departments were measured by hundreds instead of thousands of dollars. The public health problem was indeed the most common one facing the societies.

The association has definitely marked out a program which may be expressed in this slogan: "Organization as fast as possible in cities of 10,000 or over, experimental organization in cities of less than 10,000, all expansion to be regulated by adequately holding on to the ground which is gained."

The association created a committee on the problem of the homeless men to formulate a working program for the societies.

A budget of \$15,000 was voted for the second year's work, which means the addition of a third field worker.

THE RED CROSS

ERNEST P. BICKNELL

National Director American
Red Cross

One of the subjects discussed at the meeting of the American Red Cross in Cleveland last month was the work of relief in connection with the Mississippi river flood. Brief reports were given by Ernest P. Bicknell, national director of the Red Cross, who has had charge of the work for the society, and by C. M. Hubbard, one of the special Red Cross representatives who spent some weeks in the flooded district.

Measures adopted by the Red Cross for the relief of survivors of the Titanic wreck were described by W. Frank Persons who is in immediate charge of this work under the direction of the New York Red Cross Emergency Relief Committee.

Jane A. Delano, head of the Red Cross Nursing Service, described the method by which more than 3,000 graduate nurses have enrolled under the Red Cross flag in all parts of the United States. These nurses hold themselves in readiness to respond instantly to the call of the Red Cross in time of war or disaster. Committees in charge of enrolment have been formed in several hundred cities. The promptness with which nurses answer a call was illustrated during the Mexican border troubles in 1911 and during the recent Mississippi flood. In both instances more nurses than were required volunteered and were ready to start to the place where they were needed within a few hours after the notification was received.

A summary of the amount and value of tuberculosis work supported by the sale of Red Cross Christmas seals was given in a brief paper prepared by Philip P. Jacobs, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis.

PUBLIC RELIEF OFFICIALS

Harmonizing in its leading ideas with the work of the committee on public supervision and administration of the National Conference of Charities and Correction the program of the National Association of Public Relief Officials this year presented as its general theme, in the language of tradition, the American poor law. But the well-worn expression went unused, while the association asked itself: What are the common practices in the official relief of poverty in the United States? What does the official group among social reformers propose to do about our growing problem of defectiveness and insanity? What indication of progress is there in the present status of the public almshouse?

In his treatment of the poor laws of the several states, Alfred H. Simpson of the New York State Charities Aid Association characterized these regulations of public relief as being woefully out of date. There is everywhere too ready an agreement that the machinery of relief cannot be improved. A. L. Bowen, secretary of the Illinois Charities Commission, said in discussing rural public relief: "It is peculiar in its organization, peculiar in its administration, peculiar in its isolation in the public mind, and peculiar in the indifference with which taxpayers regard its criminal waste and corrupting influences." Nor did the speakers cease their searching inquiry until they had brought forth bodily the old skeleton of municipal outdoor relief. This was one of the chief surprises of the meetings. Fred R. Johnson, who has recently been called to the superintendence of the department of public charities of Bridgeport, Conn., presented the type of relief work done by such city bureaus as the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare as being entirely practicable and commendable. The argument was substantiated by the testimony of T. J. Edmunds, of the Cincinnati Associated Charities. And Secretary Wilson of the Board of Public Charities of the District of Columbia, confessed frankly that the old subject should be opened afresh, for, he said, "there is no more logic in abandoning public outdoor relief because of bad administration than there would be in abolishing the metropolitan police because of graft in the force."

The new light that has been thrown on the problems of insanity and defectiveness in the last few decades was thought to bring these questions forth as matters of great concern in the development of public policy. In spite of scientific advancement in some sections, Dr. Thomas W. Salmon of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene showed that "every stage in the date of the insane, from 1780 to 1912, is represented at the present time in the treatment and procedure of the different states." Dr. Frank P. Norbury, alienist of the Illinois Board of Administra-

tion, indicated the scientific objective of public administrative work in this field: "To prevent the multiplication of biologically and morally degenerate classes is one of the newer problems given us as a possibility in the ideals, at least, of the new science of eugenics."

The joint session of the association with the conference committee on supervision and administration was given over to discussion of the practical problems of infirmity management. Harris R. Cooley described the Cleveland colony plan. Specific points of good administration were taken up in the light of recent progress made in those directions in four states—California, Indiana, Missouri and Ohio. This section meeting closed, as did the other sessions of the association, with that feeling manifest which was expressed by Robert W. Heberd of the State Board of Charities of New York in his presidential address: "That much of the work of practical charity is poorly done . . . and that it is our duty to understand our problems better and to do our part to bring about the improvements that are necessary . . . are the principal reasons for our existence as a separate and distinct organization."

It was decided to enlarge the scope of the association during the coming year to include all those engaged in charitable and correctional work in an official way. The decision was made on the ground that there is at present no clearing house of information directly relating to official work in this field and that therefore no very effective training school for this class of officials and employees in the public service exists. At the same time it was acknowledged that many very important problems having to do with the improvement of official relief and correction are going undiscussed. The new name, American Association of Officials of Charity and Correction, was therefore adopted and its officers chosen as follows: President, Robert W. Heberd, Albany, N. Y.; Secretary, W. T. Cross, Columbia, Mo.; Treasurer, R. W. Hill, Albany, N. Y.

BACKWARD AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN

E. L. COFFEEN

Secretary

In preparing the program for the Conference on the Education of Backward, Truant, Delinquent and Dependent Children much attention was paid to institutional vocational training and the opportunities of institutions for helping the agricultural movement of the country and the individual study of the child under institutional care and outside of the institution.

The keynote of the conference seemed to center about individual study of the child. President Barnabas and the executive committee succeeded in attracting to the conference men who are leaders in the handling and

study of unfortunate children. Among those who addressed it were A. D. Dean, Department of Education, Albany, N. Y.; F. H. Nibecker of Glen Mills, Pa.; Charles H. Tuck of the Department of Agricultural Extension of Cornell University; E. R. Finch of New York City; Judge Robert J. Wilkin of Brooklyn; C. W. Wilson, Westboro, Mass.; Dr. George N. Parker of New York City; Dr. Martin L. Collins of New York City and C. B. Adams of St. Charles, Ill.

Alexander Johnson, secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and Dr. S. Wolfenstein, superintendent of the Jewish Orphan Asylum of New York gave practical discussions on institutional administration and employees. The question of institutional scholastic training was dealt with by Dr. Bernstein of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Orphan Asylum of New York and O. E. Darnall, superintendent of the National Training School for Boys at Washington, D. C.

J. Prentice Murphy of the Children's Aid Society of Boston and Bradley Hull of Cleveland, Ohio, clarified many of the confused points with reference to the moral and legal aspects of the abandonment and surrender of children.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL SERVICE

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND

Secretary

In a meeting of the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America held at Cleveland, June 13, the following action was taken regarding the work of the commission.

It was decided that the literature of the various denominations of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America should be issued jointly by the commission. The secretaries of the various denominational commissions on the church and social service are to make their work interdenominational, including their secretarial visitation and organization. It was decided to hold a two-days' conference on the church and social service at Chicago in December in connection with the second quadrennial of the Federal Council. The literature committee was authorized to arrange for the publication of several handbooks on social studies to be distributed among the churches to be used by classes in studying the ways in which the church can be of service in all matters of social uplift. It was voted that use should be made of THE SURVEY as a medium for the circulation of social service news, presented from the viewpoint of church workers.

* * *

An episode which was flashed up in the headlines of the Cleveland newspapers was

the introduction of a resolution by Benjamin C. Marsh of New York "requesting the speaker of the House of Representatives and the president of the United States Senate to appoint a joint investigating committee to inquire into the extent to which the charities of the country are interfering with the due course of justice by deceiving the people as to the real causes of poverty and fighting against measures to prevent poverty, and to make such recommendations in the premises as it may see fit."

* * *

Not on the official program but largely attended was a meeting called to consider what common ground there may be between socialism and the social worker.

* * *

At a meeting held in Cleveland, June 17, in the interests of the National Association for

the Advancement of Colored People, Charles Chestnutt, novelist, gave an interesting account of the Negro in Cleveland, showing his favorable civil status. One colored man sat in the last legislature, colored men are on the police force, and several colored men served on the committee appointed by the mayor to represent Cleveland at the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

* * *

Never before did so many speakers at the conference interject side pleas for woman suffrage. Indeed, one afternoon the Colonial Theater was packed from the footlights to the fire escapes with a crowd which had gathered on short notice to hear Judge Mack, Jane Addams, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Owen R. Lovejoy, Maude E. Miner, and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge help along the local efforts to make "Ohio next."

RELIGION IN SOCIAL ACTION

X

ORGANIZED INDUSTRY AND ORGANIZED RELIGION

GRAHAM TAYLOR

A New England mill manager raised the question stated in the title of this article by thinking out loud in the hearing of the writer to this effect: "I am manager of the mill and a member of the church in my town. As mill manager I have the livelihood and workaday lives of over 2,000 men and women employes and their families under my care and influence. As church member I bear my share of responsibility for the spiritual welfare of these and other fellow townfolk. And yet the mill and the church have too little to do with each other to aid me in fulfilling my responsibility in each for the other. Have I not a right to expect my church to help me work for my mill people? Should I not be able to make the mill more helpful to the church than by contributing directly or indirectly toward its financial support?"

Another loyal churchman and generous giver to social and church work for improving living and working conditions found himself in this dilemma. The secretary of the manufacturers' association, to which this employer belongs, attacked the social workers for promoting legislation expensive to the manufacturers. Its promoters defended themselves

and their proposed laws on the ground that existing conditions subverted the aims and success of religious and social work. "I find myself paying two sets of people to undo each other's efforts, while the industrial and religious interests with which I am personally identified are arrayed against each other."

These are concrete statements of the demand for the help, and the protest against the harm, which organized industry and organized religion may be to each other. If, then, as we have seen,¹ industry and religion have so much in common and are so interdependent in fulfilling their essential human functions, should there not be less antagonism, or less of a sense of irrelevancy, and more sympathetic co-operation between the organizations of both? If so, what shall it be? What may religious and industrial organizations do for and with each other?

First of all they may secure and exchange information of the actual conditions under which work is being done and the workers are living in any locality or community. It is the business of the churches, of employing corpora-

¹See THE SURVEY, June 1, 1912, Industry and Religion: Their Common Ground and Interdependence.

tions, and labor unions to know just what these conditions are. It is to the interest of each of these organized interests to be thus informed. Publicity is good public policy. Secretiveness is worse only than ignorance of, or indifference to, the facts. Each interest owes it to itself, and to the other, to know and make known whatever is conditioning life for better or worse. If the churches ignore these facts they stultify their own prayers, preaching, aims, and hopes. If employing industries pay all attention to the material interests of their plants and products and none to the human factors of their problem, they are bringing back upon themselves disasters which their neglect or injustice has brought upon others. If labor organizations heed not the conditions of the trade and market which their employers are facing, as well as the working and living conditions under which they themselves live and work, they are in no position to get or keep their rights to bargain for their members or with their employers.

Labor organizations have been foremost in calling public attention to and demanding the recognition of the conditions against which their members are struggling. Indeed, they are to be credited with forcing the observation of these facts both upon employers and upon political economists. Had they not done so political economy might have continued to be the "dismal science" which so long faced practical conditions with abstract theories; employers would have reckoned less with the cost of living in fixing wages; and legislation would have been slower and feebler in enacting laws against child labor, the overwork of women, unprotected dangerous machinery, and occupational diseases; laws for the minimum wage, industrial insurance, and old age pensions. Employing corporations are following quickly and fully in studying conditions and basing far-reaching and effective policies for preventing injury, assuring safety or insuring against loss, furnishing facilities and comforts, encouraging thrift and community interests, promoting welfare and progress. These things are and can be attained only by industrial organiza-

tions, seldom by individuals, however well disposed. Only organized effort is adequate to produce them. Some of them require the united effort of employers' and employees' organizations working together in effective co-operation. Heavy have been the losses, disastrous the delays due to the refusal of employers and employees to exchange their knowledge of facts. Complaints of the conditions existing at the Chicago Stock Yards were made by their employees, but were unheeded both by the companies and the public, years before the government investigation warned the world against them and inflicted the national scandal and loss. The dynamiting and violence which have inflicted upon organized labor its deepest disgrace and damage might have been prevented had it not been for labor's distrust of all sources of information outside its own ranks.

Is it not possible, yes even probable, that if a third party commanding public confidence were known to be accurately informed of living and working conditions, the other two parties directly at issue would have less occasion for distrusting, misunderstanding, and fighting each other? Would not each of them fear an informed and aroused public opinion more than they do each other? Would they not be more inclined to get together by mutual concession than to stand out against each other in the face of the facts thus firmly held between them by those friendly to both? Is this not the function of religion thus to anticipate and prevent injustice and discontent, misunderstanding and strife? Dramatically did the first of these surveys of industrial conditions make its entrance upon the arena of our contemporary religious life and action. It was after the despairing East London missionaries had raised their "exceeding bitter cry" over the conditions under which lives were lost in that great and terrible city wilderness, that the British Empire and the civilized world were startled by their little pamphlet bearing the arousing title *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*. Amidst the many hysterical responses immediately elic-

ited by it, one man went to work like a master workman. He was Charles Booth, the merchant-man shipper whose ships were carriers of British industries across many seas. He alone set out upon a voyage of discovery to find the facts as to the conditions of life and labor in London. As one after another of his seventeen volumes appeared, during the twenty years of research, such movements as these met the complex situation as it came to be better understood. The social settlements arose. The Salvation Army was marshalled. The London County and other borough and county councils developed their reconstruction work. Garden cities grew. Town-planning evolved from the new science of cities. In great succession the industrial acts of Parliament carried on and out the factory acts of the last century and began to transform and supersede the poor laws of nearly four hundred years. Before the bar of public opinion, Mr. Booth and other inquirers for the facts of social conditions were cited to give the evidence upon which parliamentary elections turned and imperial policies were determined.

In America, the Pittsburgh Survey led the progressive people and agencies of that city to initiate far-reaching movements which are destined to improve the conditions of life and labor. The United States Steel Corporation instituted an inquiry of its own into working conditions in its plants, and its stock-holders endorsed the order to abolish the seven-day week and the recommendations to reduce the twelve-hour day and to guard against over-speeding; accepting more direct responsibility for knowing and improving the sanitary, economic, and social interests and relations of the employees. The local surveys made for the Men and Religion Forward Movement have laid the basis for the churches' new interest in and understanding of their fields; for new enterprise and policies in their work; for new co-operation between themselves and with public and volunteer agencies.

Already the churches of many localities have found that they could achieve

together what they could not have attempted apart. Moreover, the federation of all the churches could fearlessly face local conditions as no group of local churches did, or perhaps could, do. The way in which the issue between the steel workers and churches at South Bethlehem, Pa., over Sunday labor and other maladjustments was handled is in evidence. The declaration of industrial faith and policy by the Federal Council of the United Churches of Christ set a standard for all the churches such as no single church or small group of churches could have set for themselves.

The churches, therefore, can discover the living and working conditions of their own communities for themselves and others. The more they co-operate in so doing the wider, more accurate and authoritative, and the more practically useful will be their surveys of conditions and their efforts to improve them.

The judicial impartiality with which these facts must be gathered and interpreted should also characterize the attitude of the churches toward the organizations of both labor and capital. Inconsistent with this fidelity to fact and judicial judgment is it for churches and ministers to ally themselves with either one, more than the other. Denominational committees or departments should bear a title which includes both. "Industrial" is a better surname for the committee or department than "labor." "Fraternal delegates" are as much needed by employers' associations as by federations of labor. Ministers, who are not craftsmen, have no more claim or right to belong to a labor union than to a manufacturers' association. In either case it is either disingenuous or emptily honorary. The church stands for all, if for any. Its ministry is mediatorial. As such the minister should refuse to be classified, should be a mass-man not a class-man, should stand in between, and by the fatherhood of God declare "All ye are brethren." This intermediary position and attitude of the churches allows of no weak, noncommittal, timidly compromising spirit. It

calls for a stern sense of justice, a squaring to facts, a peace-making, with emphasis upon the making. It means insistence upon fair play, and the free speech and the full hearing of the other side, without which nothing is fair. It sometimes involves a demand for the impartial enforcement of law, and at other times a protest against the abuse of the police power to silence the voice or crush the rights of the weaker, poorer party, or the one taken un-awares or unprepared.

To these ends "free-floor" discussions are sometimes valuable. When and where demanded to give voice to the silenced, to assert and maintain the freedom of speech and the right of public assembly, the church cannot consistently deny the claim of the wronged or the weak. But there are many risks and more hard experiences involved in assuming responsibility for the use and abuse of this *carte blanche* bill of rights. If each one's claim is limited to three minutes, we can all stand anything three minutes, especially if the others must endure the exercise of that liberty by us, the infliction of which we have suffered at their tongue. Even so, discussions which rang with reality at first tend to become spectacular at last. Fearless, frank utterance of sincere conviction plays to the galleries after a while in response to the applause which it elicits from others. It proves to be as difficult to keep all sides on the floor, as to keep one side from monopolizing it. When those who should be participants become spectators; when those who should stand up for their own convictions and answer back those who attack them, only urge the loose talker to be wilder; when the worse such men become the better they are liked for the fun they give the others, then the free-floor becomes a circus-ring, the speakers are clowns, and the chairman, however sacrificial his sincerity may be, becomes a mere ring-master. So whenever the freedom becomes license, and the floor becomes a stage and the speech becomes unreal, stop it. For it has fulfilled its purpose and is now undoing the good

it has done. Good history may be poor policy. Begin over again with a smaller group, all of whose members seek light. Or plan to carry out in action some line of talk that can be translated into deed.

If what was at first taken seriously comes to be facetious and insincere, let it not give room to cynicism. The real struggle goes on as grim, hard, hand to hand, just beyond this mimicry. Doubt not the need of interposition, human and divine.

Here, then, if anywhere, is the world's call for the church's religion of intercession and vicarious sacrifice. If there is a cross, here is where by its sign we conquer or it is conquered. Is there anything more subversive of what religion is bound to do for every man, woman, and child, than to allow the worst passions to be aroused by injustice, than to fail to prevent fratricidal strife, than to stand aside and let organized industry be organized warfare?

Does this ministry of mediation, this attitude of interposition, this intercessional study of concrete situations, general conditions, and authoritative facts, transcend the capacity of the modern church? It surely does surpass the courage and faith, the influence and resources of the divided churches. But it did not when the church was more united. Then it interceded between warring nations and races. Then it interposed its truce between armies in battle array. Then it mediated the very "peace of God" on earth. Even now when the divided churches temporarily unite, much more permanently federate, their cross of self-sacrifice is still the sign by which they conquer. The united religious forces are still adequate to meet and master the situation in almost every community. But their mastery is only that of truth, no longer that of asserted authority. It is the mastery of authoritative facts, patiently, practically, intelligently applied to concrete situations that wins religion's way.

New bases are being laid, new fulcrums are being fixed for the levers of religion's old power in the surveys, the parish policies and the federated efforts

which the churches are making on their local fields and within the denominational and national spheres of action. In the enactment and enforcement of laws the churches should take their full, large share with and through the National Child Labor Committee, the national and local consumers' leagues, the Association for Labor Legislation, and the Woman's Trade Union League. Collectively by parish, denomination, and inter-denominational agitation and education they can watch or initiate, influence and help enact laws for protecting and promoting the interests of working men, women and children. They can, without being partial to mere class interests, unite with employers or with organized labor, either or both, in securing legislation clearly demanded by public welfare. How well worth while it is to promote and join in such co-operative efforts was strikingly demonstrated in the success of four Illinois commissions.

Fire protection of mines from any recurrence of the Cherry mine conflagration and the revision of the mining laws of the state were accomplished by miners, operators, and three representatives of the public, without opposition from the legislature and without hindrance from a large strike in the industry. The law to prevent occupational diseases was formulated and passed in the same way. Labor's representatives on the employers' liability commission proposed this toast to the principal employer serving on the commission:

Here is to Charles Piez! One of the best fellows of our long remembrance; one of the finest of Chicago's citizens; one of the most unselfish of Illinois captains of industry; whose good fellowship has been our good fortune and pleasure; whose sterling citizenship has been our inspiration; whose unselfish, public-spirited service has been the glory of a worthy life. All hail, Charles Piez!

At the final session of the Illinois Industrial Commission for protection from dangerous machinery, the labor members surprised the others by presenting a little souvenir with these generous sentiments:

We believe that the spirit of fairness manifested by the members of the commis-

sion representing the employers emphasizes greatly the value of conference and a discussion of our problems to the end that we may find the common ground upon which both sides may stand without sacrifice of either principle or self-respect.

Appreciative of "those unselfish representatives of the great third interest—the public," the working men added this tribute:

Under less favorable circumstances the duty imposed on this section of the commission would have been to hold the balance of power, to act as mediators in an effort toward harmony. In the presence of such able men much of this spirit of mutual confidence was born—because in the presence of such gentlemen the evil spirits of sharp practice, undue influence or mutual distrust would have fled abashed.

Was not this a coming of "the Kingdom of righteousness, peace and joy in the holy spirit"? Would it not have been the function and glory of the churches to have prompted and promoted such a translation of the faith and hope of the Gospel into the deeds of men and the act of legislature? Could anything but the joint influence of organized industry and organized religion have brought about such a triumph of the spirit of God?

Let the churches organize within their denominations to educate their own fellowship. Let the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of the United Churches of Christ organize, represent, and express their interdenominational attitude and action. Then in the still larger fellowship embracing the Jewish and Roman Catholic faiths, there will be the organized religion to co-operate with the organized industry of the American people for the peace and progress of our great democracy and for the coming of the "Kingdom of the Father."

[THIS IS THE NINTH OF PROFESSOR TAYLOR'S SERIES ON RELIGION IN SOCIAL ACTION, WHICH IS RUNNING PERIODICALLY IN THE SURVEY. PREVIOUS ARTICLES WERE: I. LIFE AND RELIGION, DECEMBER 2; II. THE HUMAN POINT OF VIEW, DECEMBER 16; III. PERSONALITY, A SOCIAL PRODUCT AND FORCE, JANUARY 6; IV. THE CALL AND EQUIPMENT FOR EFFECTIVE SERVICE, JANUARY 20; V. CHANGING CONDITIONS OF A WORKING FAITH, FEBRUARY 3; VI. THE RELIGION OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS, MARCH 2; VII. THE FAMILY: FIELD, FUNCTION AND TRIBUTARY AGENCIES, APRIL 6; VIII. SURVIVAL AND REVIVAL OF NEIGHBORSHIP, MAY 4; IX. INDUSTRY AND RELIGION: THEIR COMMON GROUND AND INTERDEPENDENCE, JUNE 1; THE TITLE OF THE NEXT ARTICLE WILL BE: THE CHURCH AND THE COMMUNITY AS DEPENDENT UPON AND TRIBUTARY TO EACH OTHER.]

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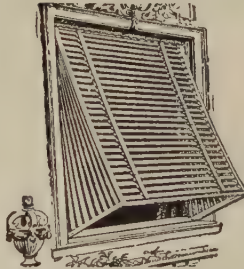
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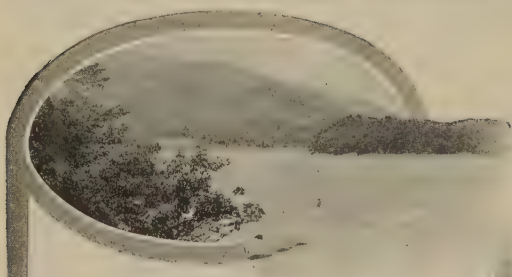
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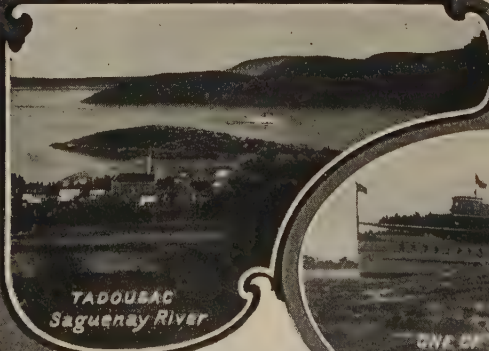
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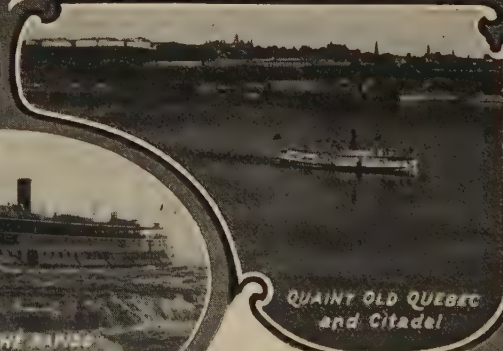
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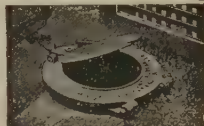
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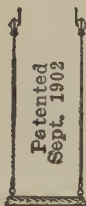
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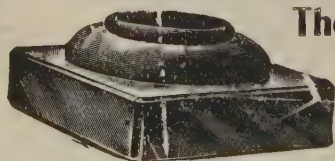
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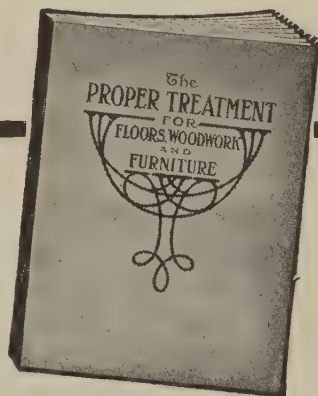
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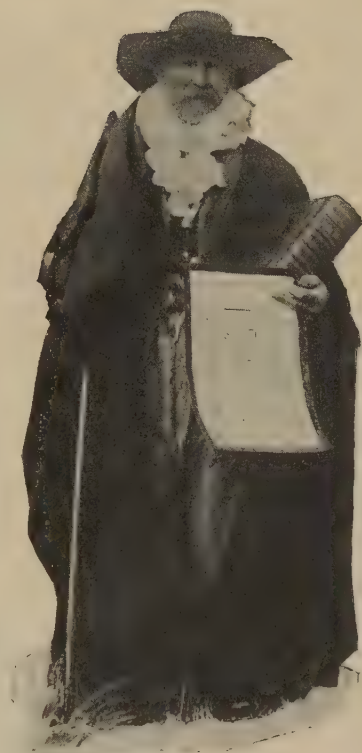
Week of July 13, 1912

THE SURVEY

SOCIAL CHARITABLE CIVIC

DUTCH DAYS ON THE HUDSON

*THE HEALTH LEAGUE OF
CROTON, A NEW YORK
UP-RIVER SUBURB, TURNS
THE PAGEANT IDEA TO
GOOD ACCOUNT.*



THE AANSPRECHER

"Clad in black, with streaming crepe, he passed through the market place announcing the death of an old villager."

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THE PITH OF IT

THE same Hudson which lapped the birch-bark canoes of the first Americans and later was cut by the prows of pioneer Dutchmen, saw old scenes revived recently when something new in historic pageants was unfolded at quaint Croton. Incidentally, ducats were added to the treasury of the local health league. P. 445.

QUITE independently of this affair, a body of people down the river were getting together in the belief that large festivals and pageants in New York ought to be arranged by some single organization of artists, educators, social workers and the like. A committee was appointed to look into the possibilities of such a step. P. 556.

ORDERS have been telegraphed to Atlantic and Gulf ports in this country warning local officials against allowing the spread of bubonic plague from Havana and Porto Rico. Passengers at Havana, it is stated, are being certified individually before they can depart, freight is being inspected and rats are being killed on sight.

WITH both Democratic and Republican parties voicing themselves through their platforms in regard to rural credit societies, the experience of Europe with these agencies takes on new interest. Mr. von Borosini recounts something of their purposes and value. P. 550.

SOME time ago a correspondent asked THE SURVEY what East and West were doing to forestall the social problems bound to come with the opening of the Panama Canal. Mr. McLean answered for the Pacific coast that out there they were fighting for a "better hold upon conditions which now exist." One piece of machinery to this end has been created in Seattle by the formation of a "council of social agencies." P. 546.

IS the truth in a newspaper, and if so, what kind of newspaper? To answer this a conference of journalists will be held at Madison, Wisconsin, July 29—Aug. 1. P. 555.

THE needs of the small farmer in the Mississippi flood region. P. 547.

THE 8-hour bill signed by President Taft is likely to have profound industrial consequences, as it affects all the ramifications of government.

See THE SURVEY for June 8, P. 417.

THE SURVEY

EDWARD T. DEVINE,
EDITOR

GRAHAM TAYLOR, JANE ADDAMS,
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THE COMMON WELFARE

DUTCH DAYS ON THE HUDSON

The critics may quarrel as they will over the use of the word "pageant," but until something better is invented it stands for the living pictures which unfold the history of any community. Such a pageant took place recently at Croton-on-Hudson, New York, under the direction of Mabel Hay Barrows Mussey, who turned from Greek representations, with which her name has been chiefly associated, to depict life as it was when the Dutch, some of whom may have been her own ancestors, made their home on the beautiful wooded banks of the lordly river.

Charming posters in Dutch colors—orange and blue—announced the event and people came from near and far to witness it.

The bit of history selected was from the seventeenth century. It was not an attempt to unroll the entire historic picture of a forgotten past, but to make vivid the life of those far-off days when the old and the new Netherlands were so alike in dress, customs, manners and beliefs. All the music used was of that period and though new words were adapted to the quaint songs, they were the same simple melodies that the Dutch boys and girls, men and maidens, were singing long before the Declaration of Independence rang out upon the world. Scores of those who took part were lineal descendants of those early settlers.

The site chosen for the pageant was ideal. Magnificent trees, under whose shade Horace Greeley used to walk, encircled the natural amphitheater, and

the Hudson with the blue hills beyond gave a wonderful setting.

A windmill, gay with hundreds of brilliant tulips about its gray walls, swung aloft its weird arms, which moved slowly and rhythmically—unaided, it must be confessed, by wind. It was the central feature in the pretty scene. In its lower story dwelt the Miller, his Wife, his Daughter and Ten Children, who took their little porringers and had their bread and milk *al fresco*. A row of picturesque booths, built of weather-beaten boards, housed the butcher, the baker, and other village folk. These lined one side of the Markt place, while close by the basket-maker, the fisherman mending his nets, and the village blacksmith were busy at their tasks. Vendors of simples, ribands, waffles, eggs, thread and needles, and dairy products enticed the passers-by to purchase their wares. Spinning and weaving were carried on by expert hands. The cows went by to pasture and the stately and dignified schoolmaster led his procession of children, walking with folded hands and singing as they went to his leading from the great black letter singing book. Singing also, the village maidens danced over the green as they went out to bleach their linen. A christening, a wedding procession—the bride on a pillion—a dance of the burghers, numerous fascinating



ONE OF THE DANCES.

folk dances, and the always attractive minuet, followed in succession with hardly a halt even for the tolling of the bell and the solemn march of the Aanspreker as, clad in black, with streaming crêpe, he passed through the Markt place announcing the death of an old villager.



ROUND THE OLD WINDMILL.

There comes a sudden interruption to this homely life. The boys who have been flying a kite come rushing down the hill in terror. They have seen the coming of a band of Wilden (Indians) creeping through the forest, single file. But the visit proves a friendly one and the pipe of peace is smoked and gifts exchanged.

Night falls. The kolf (golf) sticks are put away, the booths are closed, the curfew rings, and silence settles on the little Dutch village.

It was a genuine pleasure to see such accuracy of detail in costumes and properties, such smoothness of action, and such lack of self-consciousness, for the actors seemed to ignore the fact that they were being looked at. More than one hundred and fifty of the villagers took part. For music there was a harp, a violin, a clarinet and a cornet.

This pageant was not given for fun, nor for teaching history, though both would have been good excuses, but primarily to interest the community in concerted action for public welfare, and secondly to add a few ducats to the treasury of the Croton Health League which stands for preserving and pro-

moting the health and good times of the people.

STRIKING HANDS FOR A SOCIAL EMERGENCY

Mayor Cotterill, of Seattle, has issued a call for "a council of social agencies." The occasion which he and a committee of representative citizens urge as an imperative demand for such a concerted movement is the impending opening of the Panama Canal. This is expected to stimulate immigration that "will so augment our social difficulties as to create a social emergency." It was therefore put up to these agencies to form some kind of federation which shall serve "as a bureau for the dissemination of social intelligence and as a clearing-house for the interpretation and development of their social work, without disturbing the autonomy of the individual organizations."

Fifty or more agencies engaged in social work responded to the mayor's call and heartily agreed to organize, under the guidance of a committee of twenty-five, twelve of whom were appointed and given authority to name the other thirteen. The twelve first named are:

Matthew B. McBride, for the Roman Catholic churches; Rabbi Samuel Koch, for the Jewish synagogues; Sydney Strong, for the Protestant churches; Frank B. Cooper, for the public schools; J. K. Hart, for the university; Mrs. I. H. Jennings, for the Women's Federated Clubs; Paul K. Mohr, for the labor, and Frank W. Baker, for the commercial organizations; H. H. Gowen, for the charities associations, and J. E. Crichton, for the city board.

This new council of social agencies, it is thought, will be a splendid preparation for next summer's session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. And the National Conference will give the council an auspicious start.

THE FARMS OF THE FLOOD SUFFERS

In all large disasters tales of distress and heroism are apt to overshadow, in the public mind, the less dramatic features of the situation. For this reason most people find that they do not have a clear conception of the routine, if anything so emergent and various can be called routine, followed by administrators of relief. It is especially interesting, therefore, to get a close-range view of some of the methods which the American Red Cross has been adopting in the Mississippi flood region.

The Red Cross has been active in organizing local relief committees throughout the flooded district. This is in accordance with its custom of always endeavoring to make the largest possible use of local interest and initiative. Entirely aside, however, from what the Red Cross has done there have sprung up in various points, strong local relief committees. These have been in charge of the relief camps and have become closely familiar with the needs of the refugees sheltered in the camps. The Red Cross maintains close relations with these committees, making the best use of their familiarity with conditions. In Louisiana, for example, with the Red Cross recommendation, a combination of the local committees of New Orleans and Baton Rouge has been converted into a state committee. Upon this the governor as president of the Louisiana Red

Cross Board represents the Red Cross. The latter plans to carry out a large part of the rehabilitation work which must be done in Louisiana through the closest working relations with this state committee.

It is not possible to make a definite statement as to the length of the period in which work must be continued, says Ernest P. Bicknell, national director of the Red Cross, who continues:

When we have re-established people in their homes and have given them seed for planting and food for themselves and animals sufficient to maintain them for several weeks, it will undoubtedly be possible for a majority of those assisted to care for themselves thereafter.

As soon as these people have planted their crops and been re-established at home many of them will be able to command credit with merchants. Some will have to be carried until new crops are harvested next fall. I should say that some relief will have to be provided until September or October, although I hope that much the greater part of it may be completed within the next six weeks.

It is quite impossible to make an accurate estimate of the amount of relief fund needed. I believe, however, that with one hundred thousand dollars in addition to the funds already in the hands of the local committees we should be able to meet the most urgent requirements of humanity. This would mean that we would provide a minimum of seed for planting, a minimum assistance in the repair of buildings and that we would be unable to undertake to provide many things necessary to make our work complete and effective. It is not possible to give an estimate of the demand which may arise for medical service, nursing, and supplies. If the flood is followed by serious outbreaks of typhoid and malaria the demands upon us may be extremely heavy. Health conditions at present are fair but no one can predict with certainty the outcome.

With the subsidence of the water the bodies of thousands of dead animals will be left scattered through the country and there will be much danger of the corruption of the water supply. The various local relief committees have a total of about \$50,000. This will be expended in connection with the money which comes to the Red Cross. With a total of \$150,000, or much better, \$200,000, Mr. Bicknell believes that the situation can be taken care of without discrediting the public generosity, but he adds:

As I have indicated above, this is a rough estimate based upon the best information which I have been able to get together as to the min-

imum amount of relief money with which the most urgent demands may be met. If we undertake to supply needy farmers with all the seed which they should have, and if we help them to purchase horses and mules necessary to enable them to carry on their farm work effectively, we shall be involved in a very much greater expense than the amount estimated above.

THE RAVAGES OF THE BOLL WEEVIL

An estimate based on a careful census of certain relief camps indicates that substantially 50,000 persons, composing the families of small farmers, have been driven from home by the flood. These constitute the class which will require the greatest amount of assistance, for they lack resources and credit. The plantation owners, in most instances, will have sufficient credit to re-establish themselves and to care for their laborers, although there will be some exceptions. Cotton planters have suffered great losses for several years through the ravages of a boll weevil. As a result the flood found many of them greatly weakened financially and some of them will undoubtedly fail in their efforts to continue cultivation. On the other hand many of the smaller farmers will have sufficient assets and credit to pull through without much help.

The time element is an important factor in the situation. If the flooded farmer is to raise a crop this year he must get his seed into the ground within the next two weeks for the crop of cotton, and within three weeks for corn or peas. The crop on which chief dependence is placed is cotton. If the farmer cannot get his seed into the ground in time to promise him a crop, he will in many hundreds of instances, be compelled to abandon his farm and move to some other part of the country where he can obtain day labor on plantations or in the lumber mills. While this will save his family from starvation it will mean financial ruin and the loss of the little property which he has been able to accumulate.

The flood has affected the states of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The water has already receded from most of the land submerged in Missouri, Ken-

tucky, and Tennessee. It has receded from a considerable portion of the submerged land in Arkansas and Mississippi. The farmers in the country from which the water has receded are back on their lands struggling to regain a foothold. Such money as has been available for rehabilitation has been expended so far in helping these farmers return to their lands.

The chief problem lies, however, in the state of Louisiana, which has suffered a heavier loss, probably, than all the other states combined. The army was recently preparing to withdraw its men and discontinue its emergency relief operations. Following its withdrawal and coincident with the receding of the flood the task of getting people back on their lands and setting them on their feet will fall wholly upon the shoulders of the Red Cross and the local committees.

A SUNDAY WORK BILL FOR THE POST OFFICE

The movement for Sunday closing of the post offices has reached such proportions as only to need a boost to make Sunday closing—or at least a minimum of Sunday work—universal throughout the country. At present about 75 per cent of our post offices are cutting down work on that day. Some of these follow the so-called Toledo plan of keeping open an hour in the morning, to allow access to lock-boxes; others deliver mail through the carrier's window during this time. The sorting of mail, which formerly kept some 15,000 men employed on Sunday, is eliminated by both these classes. In almost all cases where work is cut down on Sunday, the office force gladly reports earlier on Monday in order to deliver on schedule time.

The progress of the movement, which was started about two years ago by Ernest A. Eggers, a carrier in the New York post office, is in no small part due to the support of the churches represented by the Lord's Day Alliance, local ministers' organizations, the Epworth League, and the Christian Endeavor Society. The Post Office Department early showed itself in sympathy, and this favorable attitude was communicated

through the columns of the *Postal Record* to the local postmasters, who were instructed to use their own option in the matter of closing. The postmaster of Colorado Springs set the example, followed in the fall of 1910 by the large post office at Detroit. Since then the movement has spread rapidly, with little opposition. In the post office appropriation bill for 1910 the postmaster general put his approval on record by inserting a clause providing that compensatory time off may be permitted during the week to clerks doing Sunday work. This he followed up by two successive circular letters to postmasters urging the discontinuance of Sunday work. Not all postmasters have as yet responded to Mr. Hitchcock's suggestions, and the employees therefore supported the Reilly bill which has passed the House and which limits the work of clerks and carriers to eight hours, performed within ten hours on six days in the week. This law is of special importance to post office clerks, at present the only group of government civil service employees whose hours are totally unregulated by law.

The Post Office appropriation bill last year was the occasion for bringing out serious grievances in the working conditions of post office employees. While the bill was under consideration strikes were going on among the "insurgents" in the railway mail service and vigorous protests were made by a little group among the post office clerks. Little was done to improve conditions by last year's bill, beyond some very unsatisfactory legislation in regard to steel mail cars. The continued agitation of the few organized in bodies not controlled by the departments, whom every effort was made to disband, finally penetrated to a certain extent even into the most conservative organizations of postal workers, so that at their annual conventions practically all declared for pensions. Two—besides the insurgent National Federation of Post Office Clerks—pledged their support of the Lloyd anti-gag bill providing that civil service employees shall not be removed without a hearing, and that membership in a labor organization shall not be sufficient cause for removal.

The Lloyd bill has passed the House as part of this year's appropriation bill. Many of the postal organizations went on record for a larger percentage of promotions to the upper ranks of clerks and carriers, and three others urged legislation enabling those of the lower ranks, the substitutes who had served eighteen months or more, to pass immediately on regular appointment into the second or \$800 a year grade. This year's appropriation bill, as it passed the House, contained the provision that 75 per cent, instead of 50 per cent, of those on the eligible list should be promoted. The demands in regard to substitutes have not yet been met. Nor has any retirement bill been passed, though three have been up for discussion.

RETIREMENT AND PENSION SCHEMES

That of Representative Hamill of New Jersey is a straight pension scheme (H. R. 9242) like the Goulden bill of earlier sessions, calling for no contribution from employees. This is supported by five post office organizations and by a majority of all civil service employees and is being agitated for both in the columns of the *Chief*, the organ of the civil service, and by mass meetings in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and other large cities. The Hamill bill has disability as well as pension provisions. Another is the Austin bill, which is contributory, but which provides an increase of 15 per cent on all salaries. The latter is supported by a minority of employees, who hold that straight pensions mean, in the long run, "deferred pay," that is, a forcing down of salaries. A parliamentary objection urged against this is that a law combining both pension and increase of salaries is a "legislative impossibility." A third bill is the plan of compulsory contribution without an increase of salary introduced at the last session by Representative Perkins. This compulsory savings plan is based on the model outlined in Document No. 745, 61st Congress (the Savings and Annuity Plan Proposed for the Retirement of Superannuated Civil Service Employees), which is the last of the series of federal reports on retirement

systems prepared for the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment by Herbert D. Brown. Hearings on the Hamill bill were held in January before the Committee on Civil Service Reform, at which all forms of retirement were discussed. As Postmaster General Hitchcock and the secretaries of the treasury and the navy are all strongly in favor of a retirement system there seems reason to believe that one of these bills will be passed at this session. In addition to these responses to some of the specific demands, a better provision has been made by this year's appropriation bill for replacing wooden by steel mail cars, a certain fixed percentage being required each year, and the appropriation for railway mail clerks' per diem travel allowance was increased. Though no other legislation on conditions in the railway mail service was passed the last annual report of the postmaster general advocates a more generous scale of pay for railway mail clerks on the ground of the high skill and arduous toil required of them. The report has this to say of conditions in the railway mail service, as brought out by the recent investigation of the cost of transporting mail:

In certain branches of that service most unsatisfactory conditions were disclosed. Employees on certain lines were compelled to work exceptionally long hours, while in other parts of the service a sufficient period of train duty was not required. In many instances the sanitary condition of the cars had been neglected and the health of the employees thus jeopardized.

The second assistant postmaster general this winter sent out requests for recommendations from division superintendents for improvements in lighting, heating, and sanitation in railway mail cars. This official action is most interesting in view of the charges of bad and unfair working conditions brought by the exasperated railway mail clerks last summer.

[Two weeks ago the Democratic party in convention at Baltimore adopted a platform which calls for an investigation of agricultural credit societies in Europe to ascertain whether a system of rural credits could be devised suitable to conditions in the United States. The Republican platform adopted at Chicago contains a similar recommendation.—Ed.]

EDITORIAL GRIST

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN GERMANY¹

VICTOR VON BOROSINI

Modern methods of agriculture require technical schools, traveling teachers, exhibits and experimental stations, as well as considerable money for the buying of land, buildings and improvements and for temporary expenditures. In Germany, instruction is provided by the government. Funds for long or short periods, the former secured by a mortgage on the farm, are the subject of special laws throughout Europe, providing the farmer cheap credit and security against the recall of his loan. Governmental institutions often issue marketable safe titles for investment and the German co-operative banks, which have been imitated in other countries, are recognized not only as rural savings depositories, but satisfy temporary needs of credit. In 1908 over 12,000 such banks held about \$400,000,000 in current accounts or in the savings, while they had granted over \$250,000,000 credit. During the panic year 1907, the rate of interest of the imperial bank was over 7 per cent, while the co-operative banks maintained a rate of 4 per cent. Over 92 per cent of the co-operative societies assume unlimited liability.

In 1848 Raiffeisen established a co-operative cattle buying society with joint responsibility, loans to be inside of five years. Later loans were made for other purposes.

The first rural co-operative bank, founded in 1862, drove out the usurers in the district. Loans were granted by this institution for five to ten years, with the right to call them in in special cases. This right to recall money improperly used gives the co-operating societies of each small district where all members know the business and standing of the rest, a strong moral power. The capital of a co-operative cannot be alienated, but in case of dissolution must be used for some work of public utility. Each society with at least seven members in good standing, has a board of five man-

agers who decide on new members, loans and purchases, and who in their turn are controlled by a council of supervisors, who also examine the work of the cashier, the only paid officer. A general assembly approves the general policy and keeps track of the finances. The working capital is derived partly from shares, but mostly from deposits. Profits are divided among shareholders, the reserve and district welfare work, such as improved roads and school houses. Average running expenses in 1908 were 18 per cent of the capital. Through their central organizations the banks have increased their power, expended their activity and accomplished a division of labor among the members. Some societies have become successful agents for the purchase of raw materials at wholesale and for the sale of farm products.

Another important function of the central organizations is that they insure good quality and fair price in supplies. In 1904 one-fifth of all purchases were sent in for examination, revealing in one-third of all the cases short measure, for which \$65,000 was paid as compensation. By making possible the collective use of bulls and stallions, by establishing dairies, and by the collective use of machinery, especially steam ploughs,

the co-operative societies render to German husbandry most valuable services. The co-operatives are of special value to smaller landowners; the large landowners' greater needs of capital are frequently met by semi-public institutions.

To counteract the pernicious activity of landjobbers, the governments have created land-banks and commissions for interior colonization of eastern Germany, which are tending to break up large estates into small farms. These agencies buy estates and setting aside the necessary land for schools, churches, roads and wells, which they construct themselves, divide the remaining land into individual plots on which they build farm homes. These are sold to farmers from Germany, Russia and Hungary, who must possess some capital, but who may also borrow from the land-bank at low prices, the title to the property being secured after the whole amount has been paid back. If the colonist wants to sell out he must get the ratification of the bank. To rural laborers in these colonies are given a house with some ground for raising vegetables, and sometimes, even pigs and a cow. Their main source of income must come, however, from the labor they perform for the surrounding farmers.

BOOKS

LILIAN BRANDT, Contributing Editor

FIFTY YEARS OF PRISON SERVICE: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

By ZEBULON REED BROCKWAY. Charlities Publication Committee. 425 pp. \$2.00 postpaid.

Among the unusual number of important books relating to social work which the past year has brought forth, perhaps the most distinctive group is made up of the books about social workers. Mrs. Lowell, Letchworth, and Brockway, three of the New York pioneers and leaders in philanthropy and penology, whose influence has extended far beyond their own state; Booker Washington, Tom Johnson, and Henry D. Lloyd, who in different ways have made many men think seriously and act courageously on social problems; in England Hyndman¹ and Ruskin, the veteran of English Socialism and the prophet crying in a wilderness for reforms which have in part

been accomplished and are in part included in the program of statesmen or in the dreams of large numbers of disciples; and in Japan the "peasant sage" whose principles for improving social conditions were so curiously like our own.

In the leisure of recent years Mr. Brockway has reviewed the eighty-five years of his life and especially the half century from 1848 to 1900, during which he was engaged almost uninterruptedly in prison service. It is a remarkable story, and it is told with all the vigor and decision characteristic of the superintendent of Elmira Reformatory. The personality shows in every sentence, and we cannot be too grateful to Mrs. Barrows for having done her editorial work with a delicate touch. For the long line of events and the development of the theories connected

¹See THE SURVEY of May 11 for review of The Record of an Adventurous Life, by H. M. Hyndman.

with Mr. Brockway's name which have had so powerful an influence here and in Europe, it will be necessary to read the entire book. We cannot, however, forbear quoting a passage which seems to represent its spirit: "Let me ask the kind reader not to impatiently dismiss the recital of these apparently trifling incidents, for in truth they form a not unimportant part of the record of my life. To the unreflective they may seem trivial, as at the time of occurrence they were lightly passed or quite unnoticed. But no event in any human life is truly trivial. Character is but the sum and product of all impressions ever received, added to hereditary tendency. It is these simple experiences which develop positive tendencies of mind and lead to the formation and confirmation of opinions which help in the avoidance of evil and the execution of good. The belief that elements of individual character are thus largely formed, that in the incidents of a life beyond the individual control the choices themselves are predetermined, is the warrant for recalling such details."

THE LIFE AND WORK OF WILLIAM PRYOR LETCHWORTH

By J. N. LARNED. Houghton Mifflin Company. 472 pp. \$2.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.11.

Mr. Larned is an admirable historian of the long, serene, harmonious life of this "student and minister of public benevolence," who, before he had reached middle age, deliberately withdrew from private business and made public service the first concern of his life. His special interests during his twenty-three years as commissioner of the State Board of Charities were dependent and delinquent children, the epileptic, the insane, and his influence in securing better care for them is well known. "Letchworth Village" will commemorate his work for the epileptics, as "Letchworth Park," his beautiful Glen Iris estate, will stand forever for the people of the State of New York a reminder of his love of nature and his generous desire to share the beauties of his home with his fellow-citizens. The story of his life "is almost wholly a story of noble labors. . . . He toiled for the bettering of conditions among the unfortunates of his part of the world, as others toil for the rewards that come back to the laborer's self, in luxuries and gratifications that go with wealth, or in the honors of public life. To the extent that he had what might be called wealth, in a comparative sense, it can almost be said that he took to himself no luxuries from it and little of the gratifications that depend on wealth. He gave himself the great indulgence of Glen Iris; but he held that only as a life tenant, preparing it always for public possession and use. . . . It is because he made so little of the personal side of his life, and took into it so much from the other life around him, that the account of it is meagre in biographical incident. What he did had no dramatic quality for a reader's entertainment. . . . Mr. Letchworth was one of the happiest of men: in his benevolent se-

renity of temper; in the warmth of fellow-feeling which made mankind interesting to him; in his many friendships; in the assurance he could feel of holding a high place in public esteem; and, above all, in the satisfying fruits of his work."

THE LIFE OF JOHN RUSKIN

By E. T. COOK. The Macmillan Company. 2 v. 540, 615 pp. \$7.00; by express \$7.70; of THE SURVEY \$7.60.

It hardly seems possible to refer to this book without calling it "definitive." It is written by the editor of the "definitive" edition of Ruskin's works, who says modestly that he "cannot honestly say" that he has read every one of the twelve hundred books, pamphlets, and articles listed in the best bibliography of Ruskiniana, but that he has "probably read more of them than most other persons." Ruskin's life was a long one, too, though many of the later years were but a death-in-life. To a remarkable degree it was private and secluded. There were few events, but on the other hand he made for himself a great event out of the blowing of a rose, the passing of a cloud, a sentence from Plato or Job or Saint John. His habit of minute observation of the beauties of a flower or the truth of an idea is an impressive thing. We should of course take special interest in his influence as a political economist and social reformer—his emphasis on the importance of social conditions, his repudiation of *laissez-faire*, his pleas for educational reforms which should give free scope to all for self-development, his ardent desire for a better organization of industry—but we confess that we lingered rather over the picture of the little boy of eight, ten, and twelve years, seated before his study table in the recess consecrated to him, and engrossed in his "works"—long poems on his summer travels, after the manner of Wordsworth's *Excursion*, and a mineralogical dictionary, not to mention pursuits more common to his years. He was always a child in his parents' home during their life-time. When he was forty years old his father was overheard asking an Oxford tutor if he could not "put John in the way of some scientific study of political economy."

HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD

By CARO LLOYD. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 2 v. 308, 390 pp. \$5.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$5.30.

A very different life was this one from any of the three we have just glanced at, but like all three of them in the strong religious influence of his childhood home. There was an uncle who was so upright that he always carried two pencils in his pocket, one belonging to the company for which he worked and one to himself, which he used for the corresponding purposes. The children were at one time under the impression that God held the title as a result of election, having confused their theological studies with their practical knowledge of New York politics. This biography

is also of a different type from any of the three preceding, as indeed each of them is of a distinct character. This story is written by Mr. Lloyd's sister, with the help of several of his near friends and relatives, and has all the touches of loving intimacy which give the sense of personal acquaintance. It is like making a new friend to read it. His life was not finished. He was "cut off in the afternoon of life, with many hours of work yet before dark." His fundamental article of faith, as formulated in one of his note-books, is one that must be the basis of all really effective social work: "We had rather fail seventy times seven with the people and succeed at the last, than succeed without the people at the first attempt."

A PEASANT SAGE OF JAPAN

Translated from The Hotokuki by TADASU YOSHIMOTO. Longmans, Green and Company. 254 pp. \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.59.

Kinjiro Ninomiya (1787-1856) was a social worker of the days just before the disappearance of the old feudal order in Japan. After his death he received the title of Sontoku, Respector of Virtue or The Virtuous, and this name has displaced the one given him by his parents. Out of a childhood and youth of extreme privations he developed an austere philosophy and morality which he first applied uncompromisingly to his own life and then used for the benefit of others. By extraordinary efforts he recovered his ancestral estates, then sold them to provide money for a philanthropic undertaking. In his early manhood he was asked by a samurai whose family was fallen on evil days to take charge of his affairs. Convinced that the good of the clan required that he should undertake this, Sontoku reluctantly accepted. He required the samurai to adopt a regime of the strictest economy and to do nothing without his consent for five years; he secured the co-operation of all the servants; and at the end of the five years the debts were all paid and there was a balance on hand. The samurai wished to give Sontoku this balance. He accepted one-third of it and distributed it among the servants, returning home as poor as when he had come. After this the chief adviser to the Shogun, a man of high aims and great ability, wished to appoint Sontoku to an influential position in the government, but did not see his way to do it because he was only a farmer and "the spirit of the age judges a man by his position and not by his worth." He summoned him, however, to rehabilitate an estate which had become extremely poor and demoralized. After three years' hesitation Sontoku agreed to do it, if after making a preliminary study of the situation, he was able to discover the cause of the distress. He visited every house and "studied the land and the people" and then had a frank talk with the lord, who gave him an absolutely free hand. He undertook the responsibility, though it meant ruin to his own house and failure in the conventional idea of filial piety. He accomplished restoration here as he had in the

previous case, by inculcating habits of industry and economy. He would live no better than the poorest and worked incessantly, holding court at daybreak to settle disputes, going all day among the people, instructing them at night. A man sent by the lord to help him turned out to be a knave and caused some embarrassment because, being of superior rank, he could not be treated with authority and Sontoku could not afford the time to convert him to his point of view. What he did was to ask his wife to ply the enemy with *sake* and delicacies so that he spent all his time feasting and was too drunk to consult with the villagers when they sought him with their plots. His policy for restoration included cultivation of all the waste corners and opening up of wild land, improvement in methods, provision for bad seasons when they could be anticipated, and assistance in the way of seed and implements to those who were too poor to buy them, in addition to insistence on his fundamental principles of industry, frugality, and fair dealing. Observing that in some cases people whom he helped liberally only sank the deeper into distress, he concluded that charity was no kindness to those who would make no effort to reform their evil courses, and accordingly began to refuse help to those who, after he had instructed them earnestly, gave no signs of reformation. This procedure, naturally, was severely criticized, not only by the poor who were affected, but also by certain of the lord's retainers, who felt that discrimination was unkind and unjust. The Doimyo, however, upheld Sontoku without argument, and his critics were convinced by results that he was right. From this time on, until his death in his seventieth year, he passed all his time in such tasks as this, going from one poverty-stricken or famine-ridden district to another, and everywhere bringing order and prosperity by the application of his principles. Sympathy, careful study of the individual and adaptation of treatment to his particular needs, search for underlying causes, efficient utilization of resources, and insistence on the importance of material resources, were as characteristic of Sontoku's philosophy and methods as they are of our own. He started a co-operative loan society twenty years before similar organizations were started in Germany. An incident which occurred towards the end of his life illustrates his theories. The governor sent him to try to settle the controversy between two villages which were always quarreling. He began building water-works. When the work was finished there was more than enough water for both villages; the hostility disappeared; industry increased; and soon both villages were in a prosperous condition. Their ill-will, Sontoku explained, "was not natural to them, but arose out of the scarcity of water, for which they contended. . . . Their poverty, too, which was caused by their lack of water, was responsible for their quarrelsomeness, for there are few things more conducive to mean, cold hearts than dire poverty. . . .

The lack of water was not really due to the small quantity available, but to its waste and abuse—and this you will find to be true in all cases of poverty." Many disciples gathered around Sontoku in his later years, and one of them after his death wrote this account of his life. The Emperor caused it to be widely circulated and recently it has been republished by the Department of Agriculture and Commerce.

BOOKS RECEIVED IN JUNE

FESTIVALS AND PLAY. By Percival Chubb. Harper and Brothers. 402 pp. \$2.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.14.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY. By R. Fulton Cutting. The Macmillan Company. 225 pp. \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.33.

ENGLISH APPRENTICESHIP AND CHILD LABOR; A HISTORY. By O. Jocelyn Dunlop. The Macmillan Company. 390 pp. \$3.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$3.15.

THE BAWLEROUT. By Forrest Halsey. Desmond Fitzgerald, Inc. 211 pp. \$.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.84.

REPORT OF SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STUDY AND PREVENTION OF INFANT MORTALITY. The Franklin Printing Company. 416 pp. \$3.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$3.15.

THE PATH OF SOCIAL PROGRESS: A DISCUSSION OF OLD AND NEW IDEAS IN SOCIAL REFORM. By Mrs. George Kerr. Thomas Nelson & Sons. 364 pp. \$.60; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.70.

ELECTRICAL INJURIES. By Charles A. Lauffer. John Wiley and Sons. 77 pp. \$.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.54.

REPLANNING SMALL CITIES. By John Nolen. B. W. Huebsch. 218 p. \$2.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.66.

PRACTICAL METHODS OF SEWAGE DISPOSAL. By Henry N. M. Odgen and Cleveland H. Burdett. John Wiley and Sons. 132 pp. \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.61.

THE TREATMENT OF THE OFFENDER. By The Prison Association of New York. Argus Print. 228 pp. \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.65.

OUR JUDICIAL OLIGARCHY. By Gilbert E. Roe. B. W. Huebsch. 239 pp. \$1.00; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.08.

WOMANHOOD AND ITS DEVELOPMENT. By Luella L. Rummel. Burton Publishing Company. 221 pp. Cloth, \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.58.

APPLIED SOCIALISM. By John Spargo. B. W. Huebsch. 333 pp. \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.61.

THE CLOSED SHOP IN AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS. By Frank T. Stockton. The Johns Hopkins Press. 184 pp. \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.35.

MRS. SPRING FRAGRANCE. By Sui Sin Far (Edith Eaton). A. C. McClurg and Company. 347 pp. \$1.40; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.53.

THE STRANGLING OF PERSIA. By W. Morgan Shuster. The Century Co. 423 pp. \$2.50 by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.67.

THE LIFE OF ELLEN H. RICHARDS. By Caroline L. Hunt. Whitcomb and Barrows. 328 pp. \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.66.

A REPORT ON VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN CHICAGO AND OTHER CITIES. By a sub-committee of the Committee on Public Education, 1910-1911, of the City Club of Chicago. City Club of Chicago. 315 pp. \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.67.

THE TREND OF THINGS

Are newspaper and magazine writers' free to tell the truth? If not, why not, and what can we do about it? These are the questions to be thrashed out at a National Newspaper Conference which is to be held under the auspices of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin at Madison, July 29-Aug. 1. A paper read by Livy S. Richard, editor of the *Boston Common*, on "What the Newspapers Can't Do" at Madison last October started discussion among a group of journalists which led them to request the University of Wisconsin to call such a conference. To show that the desire for the conference is not restricted to any class of journalists a state committee of approximately 100 of the leading newspaper and magazine men of Wisconsin, representing all political views and interests in the commonwealth, was organized to further the project. Among those who have agreed to participate are Melville E. Stone, manager of the Associated Press; William J. Bryan, editor of the *Commoner*; William Allen White, editor of the *Emporia Gazette*; Fremont Older, editor of the *San Francisco Bulletin*; Normal Hapgood, editor of *Collier's Weekly*; and Charles H. Grasty, of the *Baltimore Sun*. William T. Stead, of the *London Review of Reviews*, who was lost on the Titanic, was to have been a participant also.

The questions presented to the conference will be analyzed and considered at the various sessions as follows:

Tuesday Morning, July 30: Is the Newspaper Reading Public Getting All the Truth It is Entitled To?

Tuesday Evening, July 30: Can the Impartiality of the News-Gathering and News-Supplying Agencies be Fairly Challenged?

Wednesday Morning, July 31: How is News Service Affected by—

1. The Constantly Increasing Cost of the Newspaper Plant?
2. The Increasing Proportion of Total Newspaper Revenue Derived from the Advertisers?
3. The Non-Journalistic Interests of the Capitalist Owner?

Wednesday Evening, July 31: If the Newspaper is to play Its Due Part in Social Advance, Can it be Run as Simply a Business Proposition?

Thursday Morning, August 1: Can Commercial Journalism Make Good, Or Must We Look to the Endowed Newspaper?

Thursday Afternoon, August 1: Or Must We Look to the Public Newspaper?

* * *

BREAD AND ROSES

JAMES OPPENHEIM IN THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE
["Bread for all, and Roses, too"—a slogan of the women in the West.]

As we come marching, marching, in the beauty of the day,

A million darkened kitchens, a thousand mill-lofts gray

Are touched with all the radiance that a sudden sun discloses,

For the people hear us singing, "Bread and Roses, Bread and Roses."



From *The Masses* Cover May Issue, 1912. By Alice Beach Winter.

As we come marching, marching, we battle, too, for men—

For they are women's children, and we mother them again.

Our lives shall not be sweated from birth until life closes—

Hearts starve as well as bodies: Give us Bread, but give us Roses!

As we come marching, marching, unnumbered women dead

Go crying through our singing their ancient song of Bread;

Small art and love and beauty their drudging spirits knew—

Yes, it is Bread we fight for—but we fight for Roses, too.

As we come marching, marching, we bring the Greater Days—

The rising of the women means the rising of the race—

No more the drudge and idler—ten that toll where one reposes—

But a sharing of life's glories: Bread and Roses, Bread and Roses!

COMMUNICATIONS

COMPENSATION LAWS IN CALIFORNIA

TO THE EDITOR:

In your issue of May 18, on page 316, appears the statement that the act of California in regard to workmen's compensation has been amended since 1911. This statement is not quite accurate. The law originally passed is still in force and has not been changed in

any particular. Two additional bits of legislation were enacted, compelling employers, physicians, and insurance companies to report all industrial accidents causing disability of one week or more.

A constitutional amendment was passed in October, 1911, enabling the legislature to make the compensation compulsory instead of elective. This has as yet not been done by the legislature.

AARON L. SAPIRO,

[Secretary Industrial Accident Board of the State of California.]

CATCHING UP

TO THE EDITOR:

Fearing that some of us may come to have a too exalted idea of our progressiveness in advocating pensions for widows, etc., I quote the following extract, which I chanced upon in looking over an old book on China, by John L. Nevins, published by Harper Brothers in 1869:

"Societies for affording pecuniary aid to widows are very common, and exist either independently or in connection with societies embracing several distinct objects conjointly. Immediately after the death of her husband, a widow receives a larger stipend than at any subsequent time, in order to assist her in providing for her young children. This allowance is gradually diminished."

We appear to be gradually getting abreast of China.

R. M. BRADLEY.

Boston.

JOTTINGS

A MINIMUM PROGRAM FOR NEW YORK

The New York city tentative budget for 1913 is to be in the hands of the committee of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment on or before July 15. Efforts are being made to have social workers unite on a minimum social program which may be submitted to the budgetary committee. A conference was called for June 25 by the Neighborhood Workers' Association and the New York Federation of Churches. It was decided that such a program should be prepared and that the chairman, William J. Schieffelin, should be empowered to appoint committees composed of organizations acquainted with the work of one or more departments of the city government. These committees should each report a few outstanding needs to the social group gathered at a subsequent meeting. It was understood that there should be co-operation with the department heads and other city officials. The program thus presented will be adopted by a majority of the organizations represented and supported

before the tentative budgets are presented, and up to the time the whole budget is finally adopted.

It was distinctly understood that no organization pledges itself to confine itself entirely to the items suggested to the conference or settled by them. The plan of a minimum program implies union by many on a few essentials. Suggestions for consideration by the committee may be sent to either the Neighborhood Workers' Association or the Federation of Churches.

TO PLAN PUBLIC FESTIVALS

Believing that a decided need exists in New York city for some strong organization which shall plan and carry out all festival celebrations and pageants, such as Fourth of July and Labor Day celebrations and festivals like the Hudson-Fulton affair, a number of people recently formed a Committee on Festivals and pageants to fulfil this function. The initiative in the matter was taken by the Arts and Festivals Committee of the Neighborhood Workers' Association, which sent out a call reciting that

"Public and private subscriptions are made for these purposes, but no one especially trained and experienced body now exists which can carry out these festivals with the maximum of efficiency and effectiveness.

"It has been suggested that a committee of private citizens be formed to offer its services to the New Public Recreation Commission, which would take these matters of festivals and pageants in hand. Such a committee should be formed of a variety of people, artists, educators, social workers, etc., each interested in some particular phase of the problem.

"The Arts and Festivals Committee of the Association of Neighborhood Workers of New York has done a considerable amount of work along this line, during the last five years. But it realizes that a much stronger group must be formed to cope with the larger problems successfully. This committee wishes to act as an organizing nucleus for such a group and any experience or information which this present committee has accumulated will be entirely at the disposal of the new organization"

At the appointed meeting there seemed to be no disagreement as to the need for such a committee. It was agreed that the persons present together with the Arts and Festivals Committee of the Neighborhood Workers' Association should form themselves into the permanent organization named above. It was decided to devote several months to accumulating all available data on the subject; to finding out what had been done along similar lines by other organizations and to seeing what would be the possibilities of co-operating with them. The committee, of which John W. Alexander is chairman and Katharine Lord secretary, will report next October.

BEST SELLERS AT CLEVELAND

The demand for books and pamphlets over THE SURVEY's counter at headquarters during the National Conference of Charities and Correction at Cleveland gives some idea of the books social workers are reading this summer.

Omitting pamphlets, the greatest call was for the following, in the order named:

- A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil, Jane Addams (\$1).
- The Delinquent Child and the Home, Sophonisba P. Breckinridge and Edith Abbott (\$2).
- The Spirit of Social Work, Edward T. Devine (\$1).
- Fatigue and Efficiency, Josephine Goldmark (\$3.50).
- The Child in the City, Edited by Sophonisba P. Breckinridge (\$1.50).
- Social Forces, Edward T. Devine (\$1).
- Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children, Hastings H. Hart (\$2.70).
- Wider Use of the School Plant, Clarence A. Perry (\$1.25).
- Handbook of Settlements, Robert A. Woods (\$1.50).
- Penal Servitude, E. Stagg Whitin (\$1.50).
- How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn, Rudolph R. Reeder (\$1.25).
- Among School Gardens, M. Louise Greene (\$1.25).
- One Thousand Homeless Men, Alice Willard Solenberger (\$1.25).

Of the thirteen titles, seven are Russell Sage Foundation Publications; three more are brought out by Charities Publication Committee. Six of the thirteen are 1912 books; the others older.

To those who were not at Cleveland—or to those who were—these books, one or all, will be sent post-paid in return for legal tender to the amount given after each. All thirteen of them for \$20. They're books no social worker can skip.

CHARITIES PUBLICATION COMMITTEE
105 East 22d Street, New York

Classified Advertisements

Advertising rates are: Hotels and Resorts, Apartments, Tours and Travel, Real Estate, fifteen cents per line. "Want" advertisements under the various headings, "Situations Wanted," "Help Wanted," etc., five cents each word or initial, **including the address, for each insertion.** The first word of each advertisement is set in capital letters without charge. Other words may be set in capitals, if desired, at double rates. Replies will be forwarded by us to the advertiser. Orders and copy for Classified Advertisements must be received with remittance ten days before the Saturday on which it is intended the advertisement shall first appear. Address Advertising Department, The Survey, 105 East 22d Street, New York City.

TRAVEL



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To all lake resorts, including Mackinac
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Season from June 19 to first week in September.

Tickets optional. Rail or Steamship on
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ticulars and printed matter to

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1184 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

LADIES ATTENTION

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If so, do you know what the Franklin Square House is? If you do not, you ought to. It is a home-hotel in the heart of Boston for young women. It has a transient department for all women traveling alone, who may need to stop for a few days in the city, or who may be coming to the city for purposes of study. It is **SAFE**, it is **CLEAN**, it is **COOL**, it is **COMFORTABLE**, its rates are **REASONABLE**. If you are coming to Boston for a few days or a few weeks write to Supt., 11 E. Newton St., Boston. Ask for particulars and prices.

SCHOOLS

Preparation for executive positions in the
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
is offered at the
NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL
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HELP, WANTED

WOMEN for welfare work in quarry, mine, railway, and other labor camps. Nursing, domestic and teaching experience required, and ability to speak Italian, or Polish, desirable. Opportunity for original constructive work. Address C. L. SURVEY.

WANTED—Trained nurse for vocational school near Chicago, to care for health of girls and teach hygiene. Address, enclosing qualifications, Mrs. B. T. Gould, Park Ridge, Ill.

WANTED—A thoroughly experienced case worker, who is also able to train volunteers, for work in an associated charities district office, under exceptionally good conditions. Salary \$1,200 a year. Address 1021 SURVEY.

WANTED—Superintendent for girls home, of twenty inmates. Industrial training, &c. Send references and state salary. Room 205 Taylor Building, Norfolk, Va.

SITUATIONS WANTED

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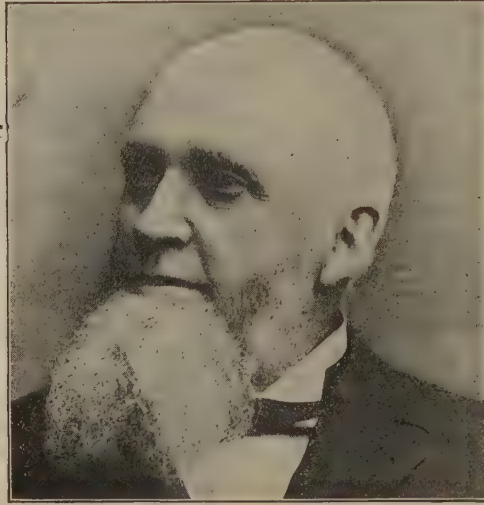
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Volume XXVIII, No. 16

Week of July 20, 1912

THE SURVEY

SOCIAL CHARITABLE CIVIC

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INFORMATION DESK

The following national bodies will gladly and freely supply information and advise reading on the subjects named by each and on related subjects. Members are kept closely in touch with the work which each organization is doing, but membership is not required of those seeking information. Correspondence is invited. Always enclose postage for reply. *Continued on next page.*

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Committee of One Hundred on National Health. E. F. Robbins, Executive Secretary, Room 51, 105 East 22d St., New York.
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Department of Child-Helping, Russell Sage Foundation, 105 East 22d St., New York.
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National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, 105 East 22d St., New York. Livingston Farrand, M. D., Exec. Sec'y. Reports, pamphlets, etc., will be sent upon request. Annual Transactions and other publications free to members.

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Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, Tilden Bldg., 105 W. 40th St., New York. H. P. DeForest, Sec'y 22 affiliated societies.
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Mental Hygiene

National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 Union Square, New York City. Clifford W. Beers, Sec'y. Write for pamphlets on mental hygiene, prevention of insanity, care of the insane, social service in mental hygiene, State Societies for Mental Hygiene.

Labor Legislation

Workmen's Compensation; Industrial Hygiene; Labor Laws. Official Publication: *American Labor Legislation Review*, sent free to members.
American Association for Labor Legislation, Metropolitan Tower, New York City. John B. Andrews, Secretary.

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National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations, 31 Union Square, N. Y. Arthur H. Ham.
Reports, pamphlets, and forms for societies free. Information regarding organization of remedial loan societies gladly given.

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The Short Ballot Organization, 383 Fourth Ave., New York City. Woodrow Wilson, President; Richard S. Childs, Sec'y. National clearing house for information on these subjects. Pamphlets free. Publishers of *Beard's Loose-Leaf Digest of Short Ballot Charters*.

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Continued from preceding page

Charities and Correction

THE PROCEEDINGS of the National Conference of Charities and Correction sent free to each member. BUREAU OF INFORMATION on any topic of philanthropy, penology and kindred subjects. Alexander Johnson, Gen. Sec'y, Angola, Ind. Next meeting, Cleveland, June, 1912.

National Conference of Jewish Charities

Lee K. Frankel, president; Louis H. Levin, secretary, 411 West Fayette St., Baltimore, Md. Issues monthly "Jewish Charities," containing articles of interest to all concerned in Jewish social and philanthropic work. Subscription \$1 a year, includes membership in the Conference.

Organized Charity

National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity. Francis H. McLean, gen'l sec'y., 105 East 22d St., New York city.

To promote the extension and development of organized charity and of community co-operation in social programs, in the United States.

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American Association for Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality. 1211 Cathedral Street, Baltimore. Gertrude B. Knipp, Exec. Sec'y. Literature on request.

Studies preventable causes of death and illness; urges birth registration, maternal nursing, parental instruction.

The Church and Social Service

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America operates through its Commission on the Church and Social Service.

For literature and service address the Secretary, Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, 215 Fourth Avenue (at 18th St.), New York.

Unitarian Social Advance

The American Unitarian Association through its Department of Social and Public Service.

Reports and Bulletins free. Lecture Bureau. Social Service Committees. Rev. Elmer S. Forbes, Secretary of the Department, 25 Beacon St., Boston.

Presbyterian Social Service

Bureau of Social Service, The Presbyterian Board of Home Missions; Rev. Charles Stelzle, Supt., 156 Fifth Avenue, New York.

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Home and Institutional Economics

American Home Economics Association. Publishes *Journal of Home Economics*, bi-monthly, 600 pages. \$2 per year. Address: Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. Convention of Association with American Association for Advancement of Science, Washington, D. C., December 27-30, 1911.

Negro and Race Problems

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 Vesey Street, New York. O. G. Villard, Chmn. Exec. Com.; M. W. Ovington, Secy.; W. E. B. DuBois, Director Publicity. Publishes *Crisis* magazine, and pamphlets. Investigation, information, lectures, legal redress.

Mental Deficiency

The American Association for the study of the feeble-minded, publishes the proceedings and papers of its annual meetings in the *Journal of Psycho Asthenics*. Address Dr. A. C. Rogers, secretary, at Faribault, Minnesota.

Studies in Social Christianity

July: Homes or Tenements. August: Marriage and Divorce. September: Parents and Children. See the lessons for classes and individuals in *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, published monthly by the American Institute of Social Service, 82 Bible House, New York city. Price 50c. per year.

Methodist Social Service

Methodist Federation for Social Service; Literature; Bureau of Information, Speakers' Bureau; Reading and study courses; invites all Methodists to extend its usefulness and use its facilities.

Rev. Harry F. Ward, Secy., 343 S. Oak Park Ave., Oak Park, Ill.

Church and Country Life

Department of Board of Home Missions of Presbyterian Church. Warren H. Wilson, Supt., Anna B. Taft, Asst., 156 Fifth Ave.; makes sociological surveys of rural populations; conferences, graduate summer schools for country ministers, literature for rural workers.

Baptist Social Service

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Immigration

National Conference of Immigration, Land, and Labor Officials, 22 East 30th Street, F. A. Kellor, Sec. Information affecting aliens *after admission*, especially in reference to labor, land, education, protection and distribution. No matters of admission or restriction dealt with.

Social Betterment for Negroes

National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, 281 Fourth Avenue. E. R. A. Seligman, Chairman; G. E. Haynes, Director. Develops welfare agencies. Trains social workers. Aids travelers. Supports probation officers. Seeks industrial opportunities. Correspondence invited.

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CHICAGO VICE REPORT

The American Vigilance Association is reprinting a limited edition of the Report of the Vice Commission of Chicago. A single copy will be sent to any person interested or studying vice conditions who will make judicious use of it, but the book is not for sale or for general distribution. Address American Vigilance Association, 105 West Monroe Street, Chicago, for a card stating conditions on which a copy will be forwarded.

THE PITH OF IT

THE continuous industries are those which because of public necessity or technical need run 24 hours out of the 24. British and German experience were brought out in an international conference in London this summer. The bogie of international competition lifted its head and the exact measure of the American steel masters who have tolerated the 12-hour day was taken when it appeared that the United States, instead of being the leader for progress, is the country which is dragging down all the others. P. 570.

IS it a good thing for private individuals to make gifts to the public schools? A clear line can be drawn between the gifts that paralyze and the gifts that stimulate public giving; that is, adequate support through taxes. P. 563.

AN accumulated credit balance for each prisoner, reasonably sufficient to put him into a desirable situation on his release—a credit balance earned, expended and saved, item by item, is the only really proper application of the prisoners' wage system yet discovered, to the mind of Z. R. Brockway, dean of American prison wardens. P. 575.

WHAT one Indiana town can do, a thousand and other American communities ought to be able to copy. This time it is Terre Haute in a social hygiene campaign that put public sentiment right side up. P. 567.

POOR consumptives flock to Arizona, Kansas, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Utah in the hope that the change of climate will benefit them. Recently a conference was held in Waco, Texas, to consider ways and means of discouraging further migration. One resolution called upon the federal government to convert abandoned forts and military reservations in the Southwest into tuberculosis sanatoria. A second advocated publicity as to the lack of free hospitals for stranger consumptives. P. 569.

"HOW to Camp" is the latest addition to the school curriculum. P. 564.

A scathing report has just come from a commission appointed by Governor Carroll of Iowa to investigate jail and prison conditions. It holds that the state should never surrender jurisdiction over one of its subjects, whether he be convicted of a felony or a misdemeanor. P. 557.

THERE is invested in hospital plants of this country today about a quarter of a billion dollars, yet half the population of the country, approximately, is without access to hospitals. The American Hospital Association urges a bill empowering the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service to

THE SURVEY

EDWARD T. DEVINE,
EDITOR

GRAHAM TAYLOR, JANE ADDAMS,
ASSOCIATES

A JOURNAL OF CONSTRUCTIVE PHILANTHROPY PUBLISHED BY THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

ROBERT W. DEFOREST, PRESIDENT

J. P. MORGAN, TREASURER

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create a hospital bureau to bear the same relation to hospital administration that the Department of Education does to public education. P. 560.

INDUSTRIAL peace under the protocol of the garment trades compares strikingly with the newspaper situation in Chicago. P. 573.

THE COMMON WELFARE

THE JAILS AND PRISONS OF IOWA

Criticism of state prisons has led a number of governors lately to public utterance and action. Governors West, of Washington, Hooper of Tennessee, and Aldrich of Nebraska have all figured prominently in the last few months because of definite attitudes one way or another toward prison reform. A scathing report has just come from a commission appointed by Governor B. F. Carroll, of Iowa, to investigate conditions at Fort Madison and the charges against the warden and others. The governor appointed George Cosson, attorney-general of the state, and authorized him to associate with himself two other gentlemen. Mr. Cosson chose M. A. Roberts and C. Sheldon. This committee made a careful inquiry and reported that the charges against the personal character of the officials were unfounded, but that the physical conditions of the prison and the system of management required thorough overhauling. After a journey of investigation and interviews with persons of experience in other states, the committee made recommendations which may be of far-reaching importance.

On the evil effects of the contract system they said:

"A large number of the complaints were due to the system in use rather than to the warden or those in charge of the institution. This was impressed upon the committee from time to time during the entire investigation, and one thing which is responsible for a great many of these complaints is the contract labor system. The objections which the committee has formed to this system were impressed upon us as a result of this investigation from almost every angle, from witnesses friendly and hostile to the present warden in the matter of paroles, in the matter of the management by the Board of Control regardless of the nature of the testimony, and the evil effects of contract labor became manifest.

The evils mentioned are: Disagreements as to counts between the prisoners and the employes of the contractors; the secret introduction of drugs by represen-

tatives of the contractors; acts of injustice within the shop by the contract foreman; the detention of strong and efficient workers by the contractors when they had a right to parole; the subordination of the warden himself to the control of outside parties, and the practical slavery of the prisoners when the state shares responsibility with irresponsible outsiders. The system, they declared,

tends to destroy discipline; it impairs reformation and destroys hope on the part of the prisoner; it is injurious to the manufacturer employing free labor; it is unfair competition to free labor because it tends to destroy the living wage, and lessens the opportunity for labor; and on the whole it is economically unsound.

The report urges the importance of useful and steady industry, saying that "enforced idleness is not only a crime against the prisoner and his family, but is economical idiocy—and this is true whether the idleness is a part of our system of punishment of felony or misdemeanor; in other words, whether it is a part of the penitentiary system or a part of the jail system, except where the jail is used merely as a place of detention."

The report then examines the various substitutes for the rejected system of contract labor. It considers the state account system of Minnesota, Illinois, and Michigan; the method of public works and road-making in Oregon and Colorado; the penal farms of Mississippi, North Carolina, Arkansas, Louisiana, West Virginia, the District of Columbia, Ontario, and Ohio; and some of the foreign experiments which were discussed in the International Prison Congress at Budapest.

The committee recommends the establishment of a new prison on the colony system, so as to afford opportunity for complete classification, segregation, and individual treatment of prisoners. To this farm would be sent first offenders who are not depraved and vicious by nature. Those who require special manual training should be sent to Anamosa,

thinks the committee, and the board of parole should have authority to transfer long-term offenders and recidivists to this farm. The farm should contain at least two thousand acres, near enough to the capital city for frequent inspection by the chief executive official and members of the legislature, and yet not too near to any city or town. Farm work should be under the scientific direction of the professors of the state agricultural college. It is claimed that a prisoner thus trained could easily secure employment at farming; that this form of work would best build up the physical and moral energy of the prisoners; that it would increase the food supply of the commonwealth; that it would furnish a means of properly segregating the criminal insane and those on the border line of insanity. The state could send the young men who had not previously been convicted of a felony and who had lived a city life to Anamosa to become skilful apprentices, while those who are better fitted for farming could be trained on the state farm. The members of the committee are very sanguine that the state can secure good management and make the labor of the prisoners profitable.

Another part of the report recites the abuses and evils of the American jail system, citing the admonition of Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise at Washington: "Let me ask that from your great fund of heart and self-sacrifice you give consideration to the thousands of petty offenders now passing through your city and county jails in such appalling numbers."

AMENDMENTS TO STATE LAW

The general condition of jails in Iowa, as elsewhere, is declared to be bad. It is stated that there is no productive labor and

the jail which is sanitary, admits plenty of sunshine, and in which there is any proper segregation of prisoners, is the rare exception and not the rule. In some cases the sheriff admits intoxicating liquors and drugs. The fee system continues and makes the interest of the sheriff hostile to that of the public and of the prison. The state is responsible for the enforcement and administration of law, and so long as the punishment is inflicted by local authorities, the nature of the punishment will be as varying as the number and

character of the jailors and sheriffs in charge of the prisoners.

The state, it is remarked, should never surrender jurisdiction over one of its subjects, whether he be convicted of a felony or a misdemeanor.

The committee, therefore, recommends an amendment to the law which will compel the sending of any prisoner who is convicted of violating state law,—if the crime is less than a felony, and if the convict has not been released under pardon, parole or suspended sentence,—to one of the penal farms to be established. No person, according to the recommendation, should be committed for a period shorter than thirty days, except for contempt or some special circumstance. If the offense committed is not sufficiently serious to warrant his commitment for a period of thirty days, then he should either be paroled or given some time, if necessary, with the right to pay the fine upon the instalment plan. The short term sentence of from two days to two weeks is declared to be as wrong as it is foolish.

It goes without saying that any law under which it is possible for a man to serve seventeen sentences in a year, and an average of from five to ten every year, and from one hundred to two hundred in a life-time, is both archaic and vicious.

These illustrations indicate the importance of this report as a contribution to progressive legislation on the subject.

PHILADELPHIA'S BABY SHOW

Fifty-six baby carriages in an afternoon; two hundred babies in an hour; sixty-seven thousand people in a week—there is the proof that the Philadelphia Baby Saving Show has been a success. More than this—it reached the very persons for whom it was intended. The attendance has been made up almost entirely of mothers from the most congested districts of the city.

During a period of seven years the deaths in Philadelphia of children under two years of age formed 24.7 per cent of the total death rate. Last year 5769 of these babies died. The physicians, anxious to reduce this mortality and

knowing that half of it was due to ignorance, organized with social workers and Director Neff, of the Department of Public Health and Charities, a committee on Infant Hygiene. The first act of this committee has been to hold the Baby Saving Show.

After two months of preparation, the exhibition opened in mid-May in Horticultural Hall, in the largest auditorium in the center of the city. The name, Baby Saving Show, was in itself a splendid advertisement, and columns of newspaper space, together with banners that stretched across the principal streets of the city, told everybody about the show.

"Follow the arrow"—this in English, Italian and Yiddish, met the visitor on entering the hall. She followed it past models of the wrong and right kind of dairy farms, to where under the heading syphilis and heredity she learned why so many children are born without a fair chance in life. The heredity and eugenics booth told the mother and the future mother the dangers of alliance with the feeble-minded and the defective. Housing conditions and their influence upon the child were illustrated with charts and pictures. There was a bad room and a good room—just \$2.87 and a little ingenuity was the difference between them.

Booths upon the care of the mother before the birth of the child and the care of the child at birth taught the expectant mothers—and there were many of these present—things that otherwise they would scarcely have learned before the birth of their babies. In these two booths nothing that a mother ought to know was omitted. Lay figures, pictures and charts, together with the equipment necessary to a sick room, emphasized the lesson—and there was a nurse to explain and advise.

The prevention of blindness, a model kitchen, the care of milk, the fly, kitchen utensils, communicable and noncommunicable diseases were illustrated in various booths. In another section food stuffs had been reduced to calories of energy for those—mainly physicians and social workers—who wished to learn dietetic values. Then the mother saw

four booths of the kind of clothes she could afford to make for herself and her baby.

IMPORTANCE OF BREAST FEEDING

But the motif that constantly made itself felt was the importance of breast feeding. At every possible opportunity this was emphasized. Special charts told the rules for breast feeding and explained methods for artificial feeding should breast feeding be impossible.

Other sections illustrated the work of children's agencies and told the mother how to call upon them for help. There were a number of booths on "What is Bad for the Baby." Here were patent medicines, soothing syrups and pictures illustrating the wrong ways of holding and carrying the baby, etc.

The color scheme of the show was green and white. Although some of the exhibits came from considerable distances, this idea was rigidly followed. A uniform system of lettering was used. All this added greatly to the attractiveness. There were demonstrators and aides who explained the exhibits, not only in English, but also in the language of the visitors—whatever that happened to be.

Downstairs in the lecture room moving pictures upon health subjects preceded and followed simple, straightforward talks upon the care of the baby. There was a rest room for mothers to leave their children while they saw the show. On one day 357 babies were checked here.

After leaving Horticultural Hall, the show was taken to the Ghetto and to the Italian quarter, where in four days 25,000 people visited it. Then it went to the Kensington mill district, and so on, until every mother of the poor has had a chance to see it. In connection with the show a booklet upon the care of the baby has been distributed. During the progress of the main show in Horticultural Hall a Conference on Infant Hygiene was held. Physicians and social workers from many states attended this conference, and much that was new was brought forth. Both the Conference and

the Show treated only of infants under two years of age.

Social workers give the credit for the show to the physicians of Philadelphia, who, working harmoniously together in a marvelous series of committees and subcommittees, evolved the most complete Baby Saving Show that Philadelphia has ever seen. And to Philadelphia these social workers would add the words "or any other city."

8-HOUR DAY IN BLAST FURNACES

The Cambria Steel Company recently began a gradual change from a twelve-hour day to an eight-hour day in its eight blast furnaces. In a statement issued by President C. S. Price and published in the *Iron Age* it is explained that this change had been in contemplation for a long time. When other companies were introducing a six-day week in the twelve-hour routine of blast furnaces last year, the Cambria Company decided to try an eight-hour day with a seven-day week instead. The statement reads:

The men preferred seven eight-hour days, with fewer men per turn, which would be a practical offset to the seventy-two-hour basis. This was submitted in November last, and, after careful consideration during the winter, will be given a gradual tentative trial, both for conservative reasons and of necessity because additional men will be needed which may require a long time to obtain.

The *Iron Age* explains further that it was found that the eight-hour day could be established by an increase of only one-seventh in the working force, the same addition that would have been necessary if the change to the six-day week of twelve hours per day had been adopted instead. Hence the workmen will suffer a reduction in weekly earnings of about fourteen per cent which is the same reduction as in the case of the six-day plants. Measured in terms of hours, however, the reduction at Cambria will be from eighty-four to fifty-six hours, 34 per cent or about two and one-half times that of the to-day, twelve-hour schedule recommended by the American Iron and Steel Institute.

HOSPITAL BUREAU BILL

S. S. GOLDWATER

Mt. Sinai Hospital, New York

There is invested in hospital plants in this country today about a quarter of a billion dollars. American hospitals are spending annually for support between thirty and forty million dollars.

And yet half the population of the country, approximately, is without access to hospitals—a condition of affairs which a civilization like ours cannot and will not tolerate.

As against 500 hospital beds per 100,000 of population in the European capitals, and 350 beds, approximately, in New York state, there are states where there have been provided thus far only fifteen to twenty beds. As American hospitals increase in size and number they should advance in efficiency. Hospital administration concerns the whole country. A hospital may be conducted by the National Government, by a state, by a city, a village or a benevolent corporation, but whatever the source of its support, its proper administration is of importance to the whole community.

The following is an extract from a letter received from the chairman of a citizen's committee in a growing town in the state of Missouri:

I am addressing you as a member of the Hospital Information Committee of the American Hospital Association, desiring information in regard to establishing a public hospital in our city of Mexico. We have a population of 10,000 people, three trunk lines of railroads, and several large manufacturing plants, but are without a hospital of any description, and the nearest one is located over one hundred miles away.

The citizens of the town have taken up the matter and formed a committee, of which I am chairman, to formulate plans for establishing immediately a public hospital. The information we particularly desire is the best form of co-operative body to effect for the hospital, that is, whether we should have an association, a society or a company, and suitable constitution and by-laws for governing such society.

There is doubtless a good deal of information printed on the subject and a great many successful hospitals organized along the aforesaid lines, which of course we have no knowledge of. If you can lend us any aid showing the proper way to organize the hospital and a form of constitution and by-

laws, we shall be under very many obligations to you.

This Missouri town is but one of hundreds of small communities throughout the country which are now or presently will be face to face with all the perplexing problems incidental to the construction and organization of a hospital where none has previously existed. Where shall these people turn for aid? How can they profit at the outset by the experience of other communities? How shall they avoid the waste of hard-earned funds and well-intentioned effort in the earlier stages of the growth and development of an important communal enterprise?

The rapid growth of the American Hospital Association, organized "for the promotion of economy and efficiency," indicates the existence of common hospital problems. A study of the publications of this association reveals an honestly confessed lack of knowledge, a common impulse toward standardization, a strong desire for increased efficiency.

In the hope of promoting the scientific development of hospitals, a bill has been introduced in Congress by Representative Doremus of Michigan, and by Senator Fletcher of Florida, authorizing and empowering the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service

to collect, receive, maintain and classify in such a manner as may be accessible to federal, state, municipal and other hospital authorities, plans of hospital or dispensary buildings, descriptive matter relating to their equipment, rules and regulations, reports of institutions, reports of committees engaged in the investigation of hospital problems, and other literature relating to hospitals, dispensaries, nursing associations, and other agencies for the care of the sick.

The bureau is empowered under the bill to convey the information thus obtained to hospital authorities and to institutions of learning.

In the introduction of this bill the American Hospital Association has had the co-operation of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, as well as the support of the Secretary of the Treasury. The proposed bureau, if established, will bear to hospital administration a relation similar to that which

now exists between the United States Department of Education and public education in the several commonwealths. The maintenance of the bureau would be so inexpensive that it may be difficult to make Congress realize the tremendous power for good that the bureau would represent; but the bill has been so cordially endorsed by hospital workers, so sympathetically received by members of the committees to which it has been referred, that hope is entertained that it will be enacted into law before the end of the present session of Congress.

CLEAN UP WEEK IN LACKAWANNA

ELIZABETH S. WILLIAMS

In his article on Lackawanna last October, Mr. Fitch says:

This summer after a seven months' absence from Lackawanna, I was able to recognize an accumulation of refuse between two houses as the same that I had noted on my previous visit.

If Mr. Fitch should visit Lackawanna now, we assure him that he would look in vain for that pile of rubbish, or any other of any considerable size, for Lackawanna has had a Clean-Up Week.

Last year to be sure there had been a Clean-Up Campaign between Mr. Fitch's two visits, but like many other beginnings it was small and left many a refuse heap to go on adding to itself undisturbed.

The custom was established, however, and this year the work was carried on much more vigorously and comprehensively. The plans were worked out carefully by the commissioner of public works in co-operation with the sociological director of the Steel Plant, and some weeks beforehand, the Common Council voted that the week May 20-25 be set aside. Then every possible means was taken to bring the plan to the attention of the people, and make its object clear.

The weekly newspaper kept the matter before its readers by notes and editorials. Just preceding the 20th, placards were placed in every available spot, store windows, inside and outside, saloons, on telegraph poles, and fences. Circulars

THE SURVEY, Oct. 1, 1911.

A LACKAWANNA ALLEY.



TODAY AND YESTERDAY.

were distributed to householders giving particulars as to the way to proceed. Many of these were distributed among the foreign population by the workers of the Social Center and an interpreter used to explain their meaning. What took the popular fancy more than anything else, however, were the buttons, a red background with white lettering, Help make Lackawanna a clean city.

Four thousand of these were distributed among the school children and others, and the demand for them far exceeded the supply. Now several weeks after, one sees them not infrequently, a reminder to "clean up."

A full week beforehand signs of activity were apparent, but Monday morning the work began in earnest. Yards were raked up, sheds and stables were cleaned out and whitewashed, some even were completely demolished. The city teams immediately began going about collecting the piles heaped up by the householders and—a resource which contributed to make this campaign much more effective than last year's—a force of men was put to work cleaning up the vacant lots. Over four hundred and fifty loads of rubbish were carted away.

One of the two moving picture shows co-operated by putting upon its screen from time to time, "Do you share in making Lackawanna a clean city—May 20-25?"

On Saturday afternoon, the last day, the city officials made a tour of inspection together. Some especially unsightly spots which needed more radical treatment came to their notice, and plans were made to take them in hand, but on the whole they felt that the work had been highly successful.

It can not be expected of course that in one week the peasant habits of many of Lackawanna's citizens can be entirely changed, but the object lesson has been written large. Now, after several weeks there has been no return to the old conditions, and by this one great effort the task of keeping the city clean has become much more possible.

It is not an easy task for the two city departments to whose lot it falls, the Department of Health and the Department of Public Works, but they are realizing as never before that cleanliness is the foundation upon which that fairer city of Lackawanna, for which we all hope, must be built.

CIVICS

PRIVATE GIVING VIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

ELSA DENISON

BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, NEW YORK

When anyone speaks of Mr. Rockefeller's gifts to education, most people think of his donations to colleges and universities. Yet Mr. Rockefeller is benefitting thousands of school children through the "Hookworm Commission." Through the schools, all children, besides receiving treatments and medicines, are taught how to help in the sanitary crusade. The only way for a philanthropist to fight the hook-worm was through health boards and public schools.

Private giving which does not enlist schools cannot reach all the children. Benefits that public-spirited people would like to give to children are postponed because, though school superintendents see that definite things are wanted in their own schools, they know that "taxes are now so high that added millage will make a burden hard to be borne."

Are schools to remain unprogressive and inadequate for lack of improvements, successfully tried in other cities, on the ground that there is danger of lessening the taxpayers' responsibility if private gifts are received by schools?

There are one or two communities where so much has been done for schools by rich estate-holders, that townspeople will not supply even running expenses. This reflects on the efficiency and methods of the givers, not on the desirability of outside interest in schools. Few superintendents have suggested to will-makers and other donors that there are infinite numbers of ways in which outside giving can convince the citizens that certain changes and additions to the school system must have public support.

One will-maker saw that the opportunity of benefitting "all children under sixteen years of age" lies most consistently and completely in the public schools. She asked the Bureau of Municipal Research how \$10,000 or \$20,000 a year could be bequeathed to do the most good in her city, or to benefit the schools of the country. The bureau passed on these questions to the men and women who know the answers—the superintendents of city school systems.

From 142 cities the replies told of school needs to meet which would require lump sums of over \$3,000,000 and yearly maintenance equal to the income on \$7,500,000. This great sum of money is built up from many small needs—\$5,000 for playgrounds, \$250 for playground apparatus, \$100 for musical entertainments, \$1,000 a year for work in vocational guidance for boys and girls ranging from fourteen to eighteen years, \$1,000 a year for special care of sub-normal children, \$50,000 to build and equip ten kindergartens, \$300 a year for relief or scholarships for needy pupils, money for open air schools, etc.

Superintendents in cities of all sizes, whether in charge of 1,000 or 500,000 children, have listed the most vital needs of their schools, most of them so fundamental that taxpayers must—so the superintendents say—eventually support them. Superintendents feel that no private giving, either large bequests or small donations should be spent on traditional maintenance, but they do feel that only through private outside interest, will they be able to demonstrate effectively to the taxpayers the need for improved school conditions, new equipment, new buildings, progressive methods, etc.

Critics of the argument for private giving via public schools say that taxpayers meet the needs of the schools just so far as they understand them. "Let superintendents awaken their communities and have the needs met by taxation." The suggestion is sound, but how can superintendents act on it? It takes sometimes a whole generation of superintendents to convince taxpayers that increases in the school budget are desirable. The time required for convincing and the number of children who meanwhile do not receive up-to-date education, have been greatly lessened when outside private interest and money have been available to support actual demonstrations of what the schools would do with \$5,000 for domestic science or \$250 for playground apparatus.

In scores of communities manual training, kindergartens, the special care of backward

children, playgrounds, physical training, etc., are due to the interest and money of volunteer outside agencies and individuals. Every city can tell of school improvements due in part or entirely to outside interest—which means money. The Bureau of Municipal Research has estimated that in New York \$1,000,000 a year is spent by some 200 outside agencies in supplementing the work of the schools. It has been found true in hundreds of cities, as one superintendent writes, that "after having founded kindergartens upon this complete system (by private support requiring \$50,000) public sentiment would be so educated that no difficulty would be found in providing for their support."

Superintendents see how by giving through schools donors, they could help all children, while by giving through outside private agencies they help only a small percentage of children. The school men, more readily than others, can tell where the need for relief is not being met by organized charity or private giving; where scholarships in grammar and high schools would enable children worth educating to finish their courses. Small gifts from \$5 to \$200 for photographs, prizes, pictures, library books, musical entertainments, are needed in practically all schools and cannot everywhere be expected through taxes. What more satisfactory and personal way of giving money is there than supplying through schools beautiful objects and musical treats to hundreds of children who would otherwise not have them?

In several cities superintendents show that not money but services are needed from physicians, dentists and health specialists. Their services will convince the community that all school children should be made physically fit and will make it easier to appropriate money for inspectors or nurses. Of the thirty different wants, in supplying which, as superintendents suggested, private giving would help schools, only four—scholarships and material aid for school children, sick funds for teachers, and prizes, are probably not being supplied somewhere by taxes. All the others are considered in many cities as legitimate school expenditures.

The needs for private giving which are not local, but nation-wide, as suggested by 142 superintendents, would justify the income of a \$120,000,000 foundation and would affect 20,000,000 school children and 100,000,000 citizens. Superintendents show how all the

schools would be helped by experiments in school administration and methods; standardized courses of study; endowed agencies for the study of school problems in poor sections of the country; promotion of educational standard units and educational scientific management; research and general information about model schools; endowment of public lectureships for public schools "to make common the splendid accumulations of knowledge not now usable." Here is an opportunity for research as great as that which inspired the General Education Board, Rockefeller and the Carnegie Foundations.

Before rich men and moderate givers can know how to give, school people—superintendents, teachers and principals—must make known the needs of the schools by advertising through annual reports, newspaper stories and even, as one superintendent suggests, by an "educational evangelist, a sort of press agent, who by writing for newspapers, by public addresses and by special letters to parents in various languages, by personal conferences with individuals or groups of citizens, would do all that might be done to establish the right ideal of the function of the public school in a democracy and secure from all the people active, liberal support and co-operation."

This summer superintendents are planning their report on the work of the school year just completed. Some—a few only—will tell to their communities and to prospective givers, the details of what they wrote to the Bureau of Municipal Research. All of them have an opportunity to list needs as they see them in the order of urgency and to show (a) first cost, (b) maintenance cost, (c) whether properly a public charge (d) or suitable for private giving, (e) whether money or (f) service is needed. Such listing of needs in school reports will naturally lead to drawing a clear line between gifts that paralyze and gifts that stimulate public giving via adequate support through taxes.

THE SCHOOL CAMP

HENRY S. CURTISS

In some schools of physical education the students are now required to take a course in camping. This addition to the curriculum has sprung up in response to a demand for physical trainers to direct camps during the summer. During the last two decades the number of camps for school children has been increasing rapidly all over the country, and for two years the boy scouts have given

this tendency a new impulse. There are farm camps and mountain camps, nature study camps and athletic camps, study camps and scout camps. In Germany and Denmark, many thousands of children are sent to the country every year at public expense. We have a few municipal camps in this country, and a few camps belonging to private schools, but should not the camp, bringing as it does a contact with nature and the possibility of intimate social relations, form part of our public educational system?

Civilization has grown away from the life of nature, but we all seek to get back to it to rest. The childhood of the race was spent in intimate relationship with grass and trees and animals, and there are many brain centers in the child that respond most easily to the nature appeal. During the long summer vacation there is little for girls and almost nothing for the boys to do in the city. The heat in the tenements makes them well-nigh unendurable, and the streets are like ovens owing to the reflection from asphalt and brick. They offer frequent temptations, evil associations and a surplus of idleness which always leads toward delinquency. Rest and quiet growth, the greatest needs of the summer, are difficult under these conditions. Neurologists generally hold that such a life leads to degeneration in a few generations. The conditions are improving with the establishment of playgrounds, but no city playground can satisfy the nature hunger of the child. None of us choose to stay in the city during the summer, but for the child who has nothing to do, it is ten-fold worse.

For the average parent, it is often not possible to make suitable provision for his children during the summer. The summer hotel is expensive, and children are unwelcome. The artificiality of the life and the attention the children receive are both bad for them. If the family have a country home there is little fault to be found, except that for part of the summer at least it would be better for the parents and children to be separated in order that the parents may rest, and the children may gain the self-reliance that comes from a more independent life.

We have three common types of camps: The institutional camp of the church, Y. M. C. A., settlement, or boys' club; the fresh air or charity camp; and the private or pay camp. Each of these suffers from adverse conditions which are not inherent in the idea of camping.

In the institutional camp the children usually know each other, and are under the direction of people whom they know. They have a good time, but the camp is usually for two or three weeks only, and the children are still in the city for most of the summer. The fresh air camps are doing a fine work by bringing to the poorest city child some touch of nature and its joys, but it is a charity, and the children are not carefully selected. The timid child is often not reached, while the more aggressive one is sometimes sent out by several different institutions. The children

usually do not know each other or the people in charge of them. They are so homesick that most of them would come back the first night if they could. The private camp keeps the children for a longer time, but the expense is prohibitive for the average parent.

If the summer camp has come in response to a general and not a special need—if, in other words, it is a requirement of most children, there should be some public provision for it. As everyone knows, the English ideal of a school is a boarding school in the country. From the time he is nine until he finishes the university, the son of an English gentleman lives at the school and sees his parents only in the vacations. The English educator claims that this life is necessary in order to secure the social and moral training which comes from a many sided contact of the pupil with his masters and fellows. We in America do not accept this ideal. We believe that such an extended separation of parent and child is bad both for the home and the younger children; but it does produce manly self-reliant young fellows. Schools of the English type, such as Groton, St. Paul's and Lawrenceville, are rapidly springing up in this country. We regret the absence of social life in our public schools. We regret the slender opportunities for friendships between pupils. We regret the absence of traditions and a special spirit, such as distinguishes the boy at Eaton or Harrow. We regret most of all, the lack of intimate contact between pupil and teacher.

Does not the summer camp offer an opportunity for the union of these two kinds of training? May it not well take up the social, moral and athletic work which is so important in the English school? Certainly to me, the school seems to be the best attachment for the camp idea. I should like to see each of our large city schools possess a farm in the country as a part of its regular equipment. On this farm there should be dormitories or cottages sufficient to provide for all the older pupils of the school. Soon after the schools have closed, children should be sent out to these camps for the summer, either at their own or public expense, as the circumstances demand. Everything should be plain and simple. Nature would provide the pupils with pure air and water. They should have fresh vegetables every day from the farm, they should be encouraged to wear the commonest clothing, and they should do most of the work themselves—even to cooking the meals and making the beds. I would have half of each day devoted to working in the garden or the fields, or the carpenter shop, according to the interests of the children, and the other half given to play and the making of various collections. They should become familiar with and learn how to feed chickens, pigs, sheep and cows. They should become acquainted with all the common grains and vegetables, and learn how to raise them. They should make collections of all the common flowers, leaves and rocks, both for the camp and the school, until each had a good mu-

seum. There should be a place to swim and fields for base-ball, tennis and golf. Every boy should receive regular coaching, and a very superior class of players would be developed. All of the older boys should be organized as scouts. Occasionally, there should be a long walk across the country to another camp, where match games might be played.

Moreover, every camp should be provided with a good library, the children's books being sent out from the city to these camps at the beginning of the vacation. Rainy and hot days and evenings would furnish opportunity for far more general reading than is now done by the average child.

This camp should be in charge of the regular teachers of the school—so far as possible—thus permitting a continuity of influence and an intimacy of acquaintance which would not otherwise be possible. These teachers should be extensively assisted by college and normal school graduates, for whom the training would be valuable, and whose services would not be costly.

By a camp of this kind, we would be able in the first place to protect the children from the manifold dangers and temptations of the city streets. We would be able to secure social and moral training through intimate contact of teachers and pupils. Finally the children would be brought into intimate touch with nature, become acquainted with its forms, and the inevitableness of its laws—a moralizing influence which no child can afford to miss.

This would not necessarily involve a very great increase in expense, as it would take the place of the vacation schools and playgrounds, and also of the fresh air and to some extent the institutional and private camps. For the child who is now sent to the country for the summer, it would be a positive saving, and for the child who ordinarily has to remain in the city it would be a saving of life's energies and a great awakening of its interests. It would not necessarily be much more expensive than boarding the child at home.

HOUSING CONDITIONS IN TEXAS

The housing systems prevailing in the leading cities of Texas—Dallas, Galveston, Houston, San Antonio, Fort Worth and Austin—ing happiness which it is his right to enjoy. The articles emphasize the fact that, though the evils of congestion in Texas have not yet assumed the same form as in New York, Boston and Chicago, there are nevertheless tenements which are shocking in their inadequacies and which harbor conditions that constitute a public menace. Among the familiar faults listed are inadequate sewerage, overcrowding, rear tenements and dark rooms, together with suggestions for correcting their present deficiencies and preventing future evils and complications are presented in a pamphlet printed by the *Galveston-Dallas News*. The Housing Problem in Texas is a study of the physical conditions under which the other half lives in the Lone Star State.

It consists of twenty-nine articles, originally prepared by George Waverly Briggs for daily publication in the *Galveston and Dallas News*. The series was first issued partly as a result of the Men and Religion Forward Campaign conducted in Dallas. Its keynote is that Texas is not giving the workman a square deal unless it insures to him a home suitable for the rearing of his children for clean and healthy living and the promotion of that abid-

JOTTINGS

PARK WALKS IN BOSTON

Believing that the main reason more people do not make greater use of the wonderful variety of parks in and about the city is that not enough invitation is extended, the Public Recreation League of Boston has been conducting for several months a series of park walks on Saturday afternoons. Parties are arranged for informal outings to the natural beauties in the vicinity of Boston. The walks are for the public without membership, dues, or other formality. Anybody interested is welcomed. The invitation is given through notices in the daily press, and by circulars sent out by mail. The example it is expected will incite private individuals to organize independent walks. Although each party has guides, their efforts are not so much to point out every feature, but to discourse upon a few and to hint of the others that lie just on this side or on that, and so induce the trampers to return in smaller parties by themselves. The Public Recreation League is really adapting to outdoor use the docent system which a number of museums have tried with success.

CIVIL SERVICE IN NEW YORK

The New York Civil Service Reform Association has issued a statement in which it declares flat-footedly that "for the past year the merit system in the state service has been subjected to a series of spoils raids in the interests of Tammany Hall," the statement continues: "The commission entrusted with the enforcement of the law has shown itself weak-kneed and easy-going, and has granted exemptions of nearly 300 positions in the service of the state and its counties. Had it not been for the efforts of the Civil Service Reform Association in opposing these attacks and arousing public opinion to the support of the merit system there would have been little, if any, check upon these raids. The attempts to secure more jobs which may be filled by the appointment of political workers who could not succeed in a competitive examination continue. The association is represented at every meeting of the commission and is continually on guard against political attacks of this nature."

Of forty-one bills opposed by the association in 1909 only one, it is declared, became a law, and of thirty-two fought in 1910, three. During the long session from January to October, 1911, it opposed 113 bills, of which twenty-seven were passed and signed by the governor.

HEALTH

TERRE HAUTE SOCIAL HYGIENE CAMPAIGN

STELLA COURTRIGHT STIMSON

PRESIDENT TERRE HAUTE FLORENCE CRITTENTON BOARD

THE SURVEY; some earnest, well read women experienced in civic affairs; a strong medical society with an intelligent secretary; a book, The Chicago Vice Commission Report; fifteen city organizations, all trying to do some good; a few well edited newspapers; and a fine physician, teacher, father in one personality. The result: a different social atmosphere in an Indiana city of sixty thousand, shown in the fact that the civic organizations and the professions have come a little closer together; that parenthood, especially motherhood, has a new meaning for both men and women, and that there has been some dissemination of the knowledge of vital facts which cannot but save some—perhaps many—of the rising generation of the city from disease.

The account of the Detroit Sex Hygiene Campaign in THE SURVEY of December 17, 1910, gave some of the social workers in Terre Haute, both encouragement and method of procedure. These women, among whom were Eliza B. Warren, Terre Haute's Jane Addams; Emma B. Moore, the Y. W. C. A. secretary; Rhoda Welding, the secretary of the Society for Organizing Charities; A. Jeannette Smith, superintendent of the Crittenton Home; Inez Van Cleave, city court matron, had been thinking deeply of some of the causes of the most serious social problems.

About the middle of January, a year ago, THE SURVEY was given to a number of the leading physicians, who after reading Mr. Finn's articles, said the Vigo County Medical Society would thoroughly approve a social hygiene movement in Terre Haute. A few days later, the social workers were invited to attend the next regular meeting of the society when an opportunity would be given to ask formally for its endorsement and cooperation. This was done and before the week was over, the secretary of the society, Dr. B. V. Caffee, arranged for a joint meeting with the social workers, Feb. 14, to discuss the following program on sex hygiene:

1. Necessity of Instruction.
2. Good Results Possible.
3. Progress in Public Sentiment.
4. Means of Instruction.

The first and last subjects were assigned to physicians, the second and third to women, one of whom, Rebecca Torner, was a teacher in the high school. There was so much discussion of the first three topics that for lack of time the fourth could not be considered, and the meeting ended with a resolution that the medical society appoint a committee to work with committees of other organizations for an educational campaign.

By the first of May a Citizen's Committee had been formed, consisting of the president, secretary and five or more board members of the following organizations: Society for Organizing Charities, Crittenton Mission, Vigo County Medical Society, Y. W. C. A., Council of Jewish Women, Social Settlement, Light House Mission, Civic League, Boy's Federated Club, Men's Club of the Episcopal Church, Congregational Church Club, Y. M. C. A., Board of Children's Guardians, Ministerial Association and the Women's Council, a federation of about thirty women's clubs.

May 5 a meeting of this committee was called and Dr. J. H. Weinstein's paper on The Means of Instruction in Social Hygiene, unread at the meeting of medical society and social workers, was the basis of an earnest discussion by the men and women of other professions and callings, who were found to hold widely differing views concerning segregation, the physical necessity for vice districts and venereal diseases. Chicago's vice commission's report had just been made and its findings gave additional emphasis to the necessity of education. This citizen's meeting appointed a committee consisting of the secretary of the Y. M. C. A., Will A. House; the secretary of the Y. W. C. A., Miss Moore, and the officers of the Woman's Council, Mrs. U. O. Cox, Mrs. Adolph Joseph, A. Jeannette Smith and Mrs. Joseph Diekemper, to arrange, if possible, for a series of talks in

the fall by Dr. Winfield Scott Hall, of the Northwestern University Medical College. The Woman's Council was asked to finance the campaign. When Dr. Hall arrived in October, he found the heaviest schedule ever assigned him, but he was equal to it; and when he left after making, with automobile help, seventeen addresses in three days, Terre Haute was not just the same place, for it was true as one of its best business men said two weeks later, "Dr. Hall made a most profound impression upon this city."

All the meetings were largely attended, the secretaries of the Y. W. C. A. bringing together the largest audience when Dr. Hall addressed more business girls and women, he said, than he ever met before at one time. The social workers within a week observed good results from this meeting.

The supper conference of the Citizen's Committee of a hundred of the representative men and women of the city around a great table in the Y. W. C. A. dining room was probably the most unusual feature of the program. Rabbi Leipziger asked the blessing, and after an hour and a half's enjoyment of the supper, Judge Charles S. Batt, of the city court, introduced Dr. Hall, who gave in his quiet, scholarly, forceful, convincing way, a message that certainly did "appeal to all that is noble and best in man and woman." Everybody realized, as perhaps never before, what motherhood meant. Many people who could not attend the meetings were reached by the city press which had been wisely helpful from the first. The papers gave fully and accurately Dr. Hall's very words, and they were read by hundreds of people in the neighboring towns.

Social hygiene education will be continued through the parent-teacher clubs and social centers of the schools, the physical culture departments of the Y. M. C. A., Boys' Club, Y. W. C. A., and the State Normal School, and through recently organized social service committees of existing organizations.

A report of the campaign was given at two conference meetings of the State Federation of Clubs, at the state Y. W. C. A. delegate conference, and at the State Conference of Charities and Correction, all held in Indianapolis the following week. Many requests have come to Terre Haute from over the state and it is hoped that Indiana may soon have a strong organization affiliated with the American Federation for Sex Hygiene.

In January, 1912, the Church Federation called together representatives of the city's organizations to plan for a Vice or Social Service Commission. Within a few weeks this commission of thirty-two members, one of them representing the city council, was organized with six committees for six lines of investigation. First: laws—state and city; second, attempts made to enforce existing laws; third, lists of immoral houses and inmates; fourth, lists of property owners; fifth, sources of supplies; and sixth, the best means of education.

The unusual success of the movement is but another illustration of the truth that *vision* not *division* in the efforts of social workers, church people, and professional men and women of the city, who knew each other only by name before, has brought about a community interest heretofore thought impossible, and the message of the far-seeing prophet of the old falling Hebrew monarchy has been found to be the message for the new rising social order.

OF AID IN SAVING BABIES

Social workers, health officers and all those interested in the problem of reducing unnecessary infant mortality will be interested in the report of the Committee for the Reduction of Infant Mortality, dealing with infant mortality and milk stations, which was issued July first. This committee is a subcommittee of the New York Milk Committee and conducted last summer a very vigorous campaign, maintaining thirty-one stations in the Borough of Manhattan.

The report is not simply a statement of work done but is a valuable contribution to the study of the problem. It deals in considerable detail with the method of organization of work for the reducing of infant mortality, especially in connection with milk stations. One of the most striking things in the report is the story of the co-operation which existed in New York during the past year. Emphasis is laid upon the fact that no single organization working alone could carry on the campaign to a successful conclusion. Relief organizations, milk stations, free ice funds, and health officials must all work together in order to accomplish this result.

The report takes special pains to show that milk stations are not simply centers for distributing milk, but that they are infant welfare stations in the largest sense of the word. Statistics quoted show that in the stations maintained by the committee only 40 per cent of the babies under one year were being artificially fed. Education is regarded as the essential factor in reducing infant mortality. The value of individual feeding formulas for bottle fed babies and the practicability of teaching mothers the home modification of milk are shown in a set of tables giving medical and weight histories of several thousand babies.

The cost of carrying on the work is given in detail and should be of considerable value.

In estimating results in New York a study has been made of conditions existing and results obtained in other cities. The ten largest cities in the United States were selected and results are compared. It is claimed that best conditions are found where the greatest effort has been put forth, and that the lower infant mortality for 1911 was not due to chance or to weather conditions, but to increased activity and efficiency.

The report emphasizes co-operation and education as the two essential weapons in the campaign.

JOTTINGS

NOT CONSUMPTIVE'S UTOPIA

Near the middle of April, at the call of Gov. O. B. Colquitt of Texas, a Southwestern Conference on Tuberculosis convened in Waco, Texas, to consider "ways and means of aiding the tuberculous stranger in the Southwest and to discourage further migration of indigent consumptives to southwestern states." Out of the discussions four main resolutions were formulated and adopted, together with plans for carrying them into effect. The first resolution declared the care of tuberculous strangers in the Southwest to be an interstate problem and called upon the federal government to convert abandoned forts and military reservations in the Southwest intoatoria and hospitals. The fourth resolution advocates publicity as to the lack of free hospitals for stranger consumptives in the Southwest; the inability of charity organizations to aid such; the difficulty of securing suitable employment; and the fact that consumptives coming to the Southwest should have funds sufficient to carry them for about one year.

Third, it was declared that institutions for the care of consumptives are necessary in the prevention of tuberculosis, and the legislatures of the southwestern states are called upon to enact the necessary legislation to provide sanatoria and hospitals. The fourth resolution declares that tuberculosis cannot be eliminated without improving living and working conditions and describes legislation necessary to secure such improvement. Some of the legislation suggested would provide for greater efficiency of health departments, the reporting and segregating of cases, sanitary inspection of houses and supervision of construction, and sanitary supervision of factories.

COLORADO VIEWS ON WACO RESOLUTIONS

Physicians, ministers, lawyers, social workers and others gathered at the spring session of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of Colorado, took various positions upon the resolutions adopted at the Waco conference. A correspondent writes:

"Some took the view that no restrictions whatever should be placed upon the admission of this class of people, while others wanted restrictions. Some thought they should be stopped at the state line or if they arrived should be sent back to the community from which they came. Others advocated building free sanatoria to which they could come; but to this it was objected that the largest hospitals that could be provided locally would be filled in a week and still the sufferers from this disease would flock to these states with high hopes of the immediate relief to be gained from our fresh air. But if they do not have the means to command proper food, proper clothing, and proper housing, they are doomed to disappointment on every hand; they are not wanted in any occupation, are not permitted in hotels or boarding houses, are forced to beg for inadequate food and unsanitary housing, and homesick and destitute are destined to drag out possibly a few more wretched days than if they had stayed at home among their friends and loved ones. The most humane treatment, it was thought, would be to prevent the coming of those who are not provided with funds to cover necessary expenses for a sufficient time to gain the advantages of change and climate."

So engrossing was the discussion on this head that the project of organizing a state conference of charities and correction was abandoned at this meeting. An impulse to abolish anything thought to be useless was more than once in evidence, its first object of attack being county jails. One speaker was convinced that there was reason to abolish the county farm. This institution was declared to be an unwarranted expense, inasmuch as the residents are too old or feeble to work and helpers have to be hired to do the necessary labor. It was urged that the stronger prisoners at the county jail be compelled to work on the farm and provide for the aged dependents.

FIRST WOMAN SECTION OFFICER

A woman was this year for the first time an officer of one of the sections at the Atlantic City annual meeting of the American Medical Association. She is Dr. Rosalie Slaughter Morton, of New York, and was vice-chairman of the section on preventive medicine and public health, the chairman being Dr. Rupert Blue, surgeon-general of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service. Dr. Morton presided at a number of the meetings of that section. She was also alternate delegate from the New York State Medical Society to the American Medical Association, and alternate delegate for the section on preventive medicine and public health to the house of delegates of the association.

INDUSTRY

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE CONTINUOUS INDUSTRIES

JOHN A. FITCH

While the National Child Labor Committee and the Consumers' League have been downing the bugaboo of interstate competition, there has been arising a specter of greater magnitude, and, if we may believe those who declare that they have actually seen it, of more terrifying visage,—competition between nations for the foreign market.

The steel industry in America, now that the foreign trade has grown so important, is especially fearful that if the 8-hour day is adopted in the United States, Germany, where the 12-hour day and seven-day week also obtains, will drive our manufacturers out of the market.

It is just this condition that gives importance to a meeting in London on June 11 and 12 of the Commission on the Continuous Industries of the International Association for Labor Legislation. The continuous industries—those operating both day and night—have proved a knotty problem everywhere, on account of the tendency toward very long hours of labor, involving sometimes 18 hours, sometimes 24, sometimes even 36 hours of continuous labor at the week end. It was the feeling that continuous industries constitute so serious a problem as to make it desirable that they be considered by themselves, together with the fact that the products of some of the leading continuous industries such as iron and steel, glass and paper, enter so largely into foreign competition, that led the last delegates' meeting of the International Association for Labor Legislation, to provide for the appointment of a special commission on this subject.

At this June meeting delegates representing the Association were present from ten different countries. In addition the governments of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Holland and Sweden were officially represented.

The entire first day of the conference was given up to a discussion of the iron and steel industry, the delegates from England, Germany and the United States—the three great steel producing countries—reporting upon conditions in their respective countries. Nothing could be of greater interest at this time when the United States is undoubtedly on the verge of a great movement for improved conditions for the steel workers, than the reports of the German and English delegates. In Germany, it was reported by Herr Giesberts, who is a member of the Reichstag, that 191,000 steel workers have a 12-hour day, but that during the 12 hours a two-hour rest period is required by law and is rigidly enforced. About 2,300 men have an eight hour day. In 1909 these

conditions were considered in the Reichstag and a resolution was adopted urging the Federal Council to establish a maximum of ten hours in the steel industry in general and limiting the hours at the furnaces to eight, to prohibit Sunday labor as far as possible and to restrict overtime. So far the Federal Council has taken no action, and it was made clear by the delegates that the chief objection brought by the manufacturers against such restrictions was the fear of the effect of a handicap in competition with the United States.

In Great Britain remarkable advances have been made in spite of competition with Germany and America. Beginning some fifteen years ago the eight-hour day has been extended until today half of the iron and steel manufactured in the British Isles is produced under an eight-hour day, and it is believed that in the near future other firms now working under the two shift system will change to three shifts.

The delegates were given an opportunity to visit the plant of Bolckow, Vaughn and Company, which is the largest steel company in Great Britain and where the 8-hour day has been in operation in the blast furnaces for 15 years. They were assured by officials of the company that the cost of production had increased only very slightly as a result and that they would under no circumstances go back to a 12-hour day. A. H. Crosfield, the English delegate, who had made an investigation into conditions in the iron and steel industry in order to obtain facts to place before the commission, reported that some English steel manufacturers who have the 8-hour day in their plants, told him frankly that they were not keen about having the 8-hour day established in Germany and America as they were not anxious to have their competitors share that advantage with them. Mr. Crosfield is himself a large employer of labor, as is also Thomas Schlytter, the Norwegian delegate who presided over the conference and made a stirring address in favor of the 8-hour day.

The other industries considered were especially paper and glass, with respect to which conditions are very bad on the continent. In Great Britain glassworkers have an 8-hour day while the paper mills run on the two shift principle. In the United States a 9-hour day is general in the glass industry, and practically all of the large paper mills have an 8-hour day. The most intolerable situation reported to the conference was with respect to the zinc industry in Belgium, where the regular daily shifts are 24 hours long, each shift followed, of course, by 24 hours of rest.

The commission closed its deliberations by the adoption of three resolutions:

1. Strongly recommending 8-hour shift for the continuous industries, expressing the belief that such an arrangement is now practicable for the iron and steel industry, and asking the International Association as soon as possible to address to the governments a request that an international conference be held with a view to arriving at an agreement among the interested governments as to the introduction by law of the 3-shift system in these industries.

2. Recommending that the various national sections of the association gather information regarding the continuous industries.

3. Recommending an International Conference with a view to reducing hours in glass works to 56 per week.

This last recommendation was made in view of the feeling of the delegates from the continent, where weekly hours in glass works range from 72 to 84, that a 48 hour week could not at present be hoped for.

Of course the United States could hardly enter into an international conference to agree on labor legislation, owing to the fact that such matters are wholly in the hands of the states, but it is of great significance to the United States that such a conference is likely to be called. It is also of great importance that there is so strong a movement in Germany for an 8-hour day—the German delegates numbering 9 or 10 supported the resolutions to a man. The only strong argument against an 8-hour day in Germany is the United States, and the only strong argument in the United States is Germany. The establishment of an 8-hour day in the United States whether by voluntary action on the part of the steel companies or by law would probably sweep away the whole difficulty and Germany and America could then join England in the establishment of a working day in the steel industry which would mean, in the words of Mr. Crofield, "civilization instead of barbarism."

A STRIKE WITH DARK SHADOWS AND BRIGHT LIGHTS

GRAHAM TAYLOR

The power which the modern sub-divided organization of labor gives the fewer over the many is dramatically illustrated by the strikes against the newspaper publishers in Chicago. The refusal of a few pressmen to work on the Hearst papers not only tied up the press rooms of all the other morning and evening papers except the *Socialist* and one German paper, but by the rapidly following sympathetic strikes of the stereotypers', delivery wagon drivers' and newsboys' unions, paralyzed all the great publishing plants and their circulation departments.

So completely was this vast system of production and distribution prostrated, that for

days the second greatest American city was practically without newspapers or news. After the presses began to run, with a very limited force of non-union pressmen, their restricted product could not be marketed for several weeks. News-stands disappeared from the streets. Except in the suburbs and outlying residence districts where the papers were transported by train, all carriers deserted their routes. The few delivery wagons for which drivers could be found stood loaded at their destination, with no one to distribute them. Although police guarded the newspaper offices, the few remaining news-stands and the wagons, there was very little selling or buying. Wagon loads of papers were seized, scattered on pavements, and were torn up and burned on the streets. Messengers were not sent to procure papers even for the clubs, whose reading tables were left bare. Despite uniformed and plain-clothes police guards wherever the street sale of the so-called "scab papers" was attempted, the circulation very slowly resumed its normal proportions even in the center of the city. Now, two months after the strike was declared, there are large sections of the city in which no deliveries are made on the regular routes, and all but a very few of the regular dealers refuse to handle any except the "union papers."

Much of this is due to the fear of hoodlumism, into which the strike degenerated. Not only have dealers and carriers been afraid to distribute the "contraband" goods during this state of war, but individual buyers have had good cause to fear to be found on the streets or in the street cars with one of these papers in hand or in the pocket, because so many of them have suffered assault and injury. This state of affairs, of course, tests the public judgment of the grounds upon which such a strike, with such results, justifies itself. It moreover proves to have been a test of "trade unionism at its worst and best." The details of the disagreement so clearly display both the worse and better possibilities of trade union policy that they are worthy of specific emphasis.

Before the Hearst papers joined the Chicago Local of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, they had a special agreement with their pressmen which expired April 30. On that day they notified their press room crews that it would not be renewed, and that thereafter the work would be done under the general agreement existing between the publishers' association and Chicago Newspaper Web Pressmen's Union No. 7, of which union the Hearst pressmen were members, and under the agreement of which, with the publishers' association, all the other union pressmen were working. Because the number of men employed on each press was reduced to the same number running the presses in the other offices, the Hearst pressmen refused to work. This refusal to work under the terms of the general contract existing between the publishers' association and the pressmen's union

was, after due warning, declared by the publishers to be a strike. This was the fact, by virtue of the "collective bargaining" between the two bodies, although the pressmen claimed it was a lockout by these other offices, obviously in order to exculpate their manifest breach of contract. Thus with strange inconsistency, they denied to their employers the fact and the right of collective bargaining, while stoutly claiming it for themselves under the terms of the same contract.

Meanwhile the stereotypers, without any grievance or warning, left their work in all the offices, as did the delivery wagon drivers and the newsboys. The latter, however, are not employees of the newspapers; they are merchants, not craftsmen, and therefore disqualified from being considered a trade union. With equal disregard for legitimate trade unionism and for the autonomy of the contract-keeping unions involved, the Chicago Federation of Labor espoused the cause of the contract-breaking strikers, and even threatened to expel the unions which refused to strike from their membership in the Federation. This surely is trade unionism at its worst, if indeed it is trade unionism at all.

Fortunately the mailers' and the printers' unions, as well as the international officers of the stereotypers, stand out from first to last as the exemplars of trade unionism at its best. Undeterred by the ratification which the pressmen received from their international convention, President Freel of the Stereotypers' International Union, promptly withdrew the charter of the Chicago local, which the convention subsequently revoked by a decisive vote. Reaffirming their hitherto unflinching assertion of higher loyalty to the cause of organized labor than to any labor organizations, the members of the Typographical Union in refusing to call a sympathetic strike again exemplified the fact that those organizations serve themselves and each other the most which serve their common cause the best. Their stern and staunch steadfastness to principle, their scorn for unprincipled acts and men, their courage in denouncing such "blunders worse than crimes" as have "strewn the pathway of the trade union movement with the wrecks of blasted hopes", should be engrossed upon the scroll of organized labor's fame. The printers have acted in a way worthy of their great craft. Their leaders are worthy of their great following. Their rank and file registered their worth by supporting such leaders. To stem the tide of the bitterly unjust enmity which their steadfastness has aroused against them, to be generously just toward their detractors, to brave the peril of expulsion and of personal violence, to reaffirm their unshaken faith in the support of their stand by the American Federation of Labor, calmly to abide the decision by which they say "We will come back, as we did before, with our action better understood and our policies vindicated by the highest tribunal in the American labor movement"—this is to give highest expression to or-

ganized labor's self-respecting, respect-commanding loyalty to its contract agreements,—to trade unionism at its best.

The writer's views of the situation brought out in signed editorials in the *Chicago Daily News* have been as out-spokenly endorsed by the *Union Labor Advocate* and other conservative trade union papers as they have been by the Chicago publishers. But they have been bitterly denounced by the Socialist papers as "an attack upon organized labor," which they really defend against the attacks of those in revolt within the ranks and against the assaults of these papers. The printers publicly declare these Socialist papers to have "established a large circulation at the expense of the unions on strike and have incited strikers and strike sympathizers to acts of violence which, if committed against themselves, would be denounced as outrageous." "The loss suffered by the strikers and their families, the misery and want which must follow the continuance of the present tactics advocated by these papers," is well said to be "too big a price to pay for their increased circulation."

Thus, again, employers and the public are faced with the alternative; either such better trade unionism or something worse even than the worst trade unions, between which they are surely and swiftly being forced to choose,—a choice between these two, and no third.

RECENT MINIMUM WAGE LITERATURE

JOHN A. RYAN

The literature of minimum wage legislation is growing. The work of M. Broda (*La fixation légale des salaires*, Paris, Giard et Briere, 1912) professor in the Collège Libre des Sciences Sociales, is the first on the subject to assume the proportions of a book. It presents a complete, though brief, survey of all the efforts and measures for legal minimum rates of wages, whether direct as in the wage boards of Australia and Great Britain, or indirect, as in the compulsory arbitration law of New Zealand and the Industrial Disputes Act of Canada. From the pages of this volume we learn that beginnings of minimum wage legislation have been made in Austria, Germany, and France. The author is strongly in favor of such legislation.

The American Economic Review for March has two excellent articles on the same subject. "Wage Boards in England," by E. F. Wise, of Toynbee Hall, London, describes somewhat at length the working of the Trade Board Act in the four trades to which it has been applied. "Already," says Mr. Wise, "other trades are clamoring to be included. It would be safe to say that the measure of progress in the two short years that have elapsed, has exceeded the hopes of the warmest supporters of the act, and there is every indication that at last a weapon has been forged that will greatly diminish, if it does not destroy, one of the worst evils of our industrial system."

The Legal Minimum Wage in the United States in the same review was written by Prof. A. N. Holcombe of Harvard who is a member of the Minimum Wage Committee of the National Consumers' League. Professor Holcombe deals for the most part with the constitutional and economic aspects of the proposal. In his view, the obvious constitutional obstacle to minimum wage legislation, the theory of freedom of contract, has been read into the constitution by the courts, but "this novel interpretation of the fundamental law," says he, "can be undone by a change in the men who interpret it." He believes that "some immediate protection for the American standard of living is necessary, and an appropriate means is the establishment by legislation of a minimum wage."

UNDER PROTOCOL OF THE GARMENT TRADES

Bulletin 98 of the Department of Commerce and Labor is a compilation on conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes. It contains, besides studies of the subject in Great Britain, France, and Germany, the text of the Canadian Industrial Disputes Act of 1907, an account of the working of the Erdmann Act in the United States and of the experience of the cloak and suit industry of New York City working under the terms of the protocol of September, 1910.¹

As most of the publicity given to the cloak-makers' agreement has been along the lines of sanitary control of the trade, this study by Charles H. Winslow of its work of adjusting disagreements of every kind between workers and employers is especially interesting. In ten months, 1004 cases came before the trade's boards of grievances or arbitration, the majority indeed, being successfully adjusted without the presence of the full boards, by their deputy clerks. Almost 60 per cent. of all cases were settled by mutual agreement or dropped. Of the rest 20 per cent. were settled in favor of the union, 17 per cent. in favor of the employers' association.

Among the specific improvements of conditions which employes have, according to Dr. Winslow, been enjoying during the eighteen months under the agreement are: reduction of hours to fifty a week, extending even to sub-contractors' establishments, where hours formerly ran from sixty to seventy; a gradual substitution not yet completed of hand for electric machines; the elimination of home work and the diminution of overtime; better distribution of work in the slack season; pay to week workers for legal holidays, together with the setting of a minimum wage for these workers and a general increase of about 10 per cent. in their wages.

Dr. Winslow estimates that 25 per cent of all the workers are now constantly employed throughout the year, that the percentage of piece workers idle during the slack

season has been cut from 65 per cent. to 25 per cent., the rest being employed during that time at about one-third their regular wages. Of week workers 45 per cent now work steadily. Present wages in the different groups now run as follows:¹

			Wages per week.
Operators	24 weeks		\$30 to \$40
	18 "		10
	10 "		0
Piece tailors	24 weeks		\$30 to \$40
	13 "		22
	5 "		10
Pressers	24 weeks		\$21 to \$28
	15 "		10 to 12
	13 "		4
Finishers	24 weeks		\$20
	8 "		0
Cutters	slack		18 to 20
	26 weeks		\$25
	12 "		12
	14 "		0

The fair employer has, Mr. Winslow holds, benefited also by the protocol, in the regulation of the unfair employer, the standardization of wage rates, the settlement of grievances without strikes, the elimination of the unfair competition of tenement house work, and the lengthening of the season and the settling of sanitary standards—both of which mean better workmanship than under the old system of excessive overtime and unhealthful working conditions.

COMMENTS ON COMPENSATION LEGISLATION

With the passing of compensation legislation by many states, and study with a view to such legislation going on in many more, criticisms of the old liability system have yielded to a periodical and pamphlet literature on various aspects of the new American laws and the European systems in their practical application. The excellent tables of new state laws up to January, 1912, in the last issue of *Human Engineering* form a starting point for a study of the subject at its present stage of development. *Human Engineering* contains also a report of the first four months' operation of the Washington insurance act.

The *Green Bag* for June has a lawyer's study of the legal status of compensation—from the New York to the Montana cases—by F. D. Schmacke. The literature of the subject published by the liability companies is extensive. The translation of Dr. Friedensberg's pamphlet on the German system of social insurance, reviewed in THE SURVEY of May 4, is supplemented by a number of articles for and against this system which have been running in the *Market World and Chronicle*, an insurance periodical. The latest are two articles translated from Dr. Alfred Manes on the Boundaries between Private and Social Insurance.

The Aetna Life Insurance publishes two pamphlets by J. Scofield Rowe, the one on Mutualities in Liability Insurance, the other on

¹For former wages see THE SURVEY of August 13, 1910, p. 703.

¹See THE SURVEY of September 17, 1910.

the general subject of whether compensation should be administered by the state. The general position of the insurance companies toward compensation is brought out in a short pamphlet—A "Creed"—issued by the International Association of Casualty and Surety Underwriters. Frankly opposed to compulsory compensation as "objectionable in theory and dangerous in practice" are two recent pamphlets by Edwin W. DeLeon, president of the Casualty Company of America.

A detailed study of the cost of compensation is given by I. M. Rubinow, chief statistician of the Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation, in the *Market World and Chronicle*. This is in part a criticism of Edward Bunnell Phelps's article on the same subject, originally published in the *American Underwriter*, now issued in pamphlet form.

THE SENATE AND 8-HOUR LEGISLATION

During the consideration of the Naval Appropriation bill the other day, an acrimonious discussion was precipitated in the Senate on the subject of the 8-hour clause. A section had been inserted in the bill providing that the 8-hour law should apply to subcontractors as well as to contractors. This section was a duplicate of the 8-hour bill which passed the Senate a month or two ago. It was necessary to enact this section because the law as passed does not become effective till after the first of January, 1913, and it was desired to make the law effective for naval work between now and that time. This simple proposition stirred Senators Heyburn and Ballinger, and what they said should be compared with Senator Borah's position, quoted in *THE SURVEY* on May 4. "The only comfort I got out of the discussion," said Mr. Ballinger, referring to the passage of the first bill, "and the vote upon the eight-hour bill was that on my motion it was not to be operative until January 1, 1913. In other words, it gave the contractors of the government a little time to digest this matter and to prepare themselves for the operation of a law which to my mind is going to do a great deal of harm."

Mr. Heyburn then followed with an attack upon the encroachment upon individual rights, the right to labor, and so forth. His plea may be summarized in these words: "Congress went beyond its powers in saying that a man might not contract for his own time and sell it by the hour or by longer periods or sections. I do not believe it is within the power of Congress to say that a man shall or shall not work, except in the case of a conviction for an infraction of the law in the nature of a punishment."

More than half a dozen pages of the Congressional Record are filled with the debate which ensued on this proposition. The amendment, somewhat changed, was finally adopted.

JOTTINGS

FEDERAL AID TO THE UNEMPLOYED

A bill which has no chance whatever of becoming law, but which may, nevertheless, stir up much educative controversy, is that introduced by Representative Victor Berger, the socialist. It proposes, in brief, that the Federal Government shall loan money to states, counties and cities for public improvements. The object is primarily to provide work for the unemployed. Those familiar with the platform of the Socialist party will recognize at once that this bill is in response to its demands.

Mr. Berger's argument is that the federal government, in the case of the panic of 1907, has set a precedent which it ought to follow in behalf of the unemployed of the country.

THE DEATH RATE IN MINING

That the high tide in the death rate in American coal mines has been reached and passed is the announced belief of officials of the United States Bureau of Mines. The figures for 1911 have just been issued—2,517 men dead, and a death rate of 3.91 men in every thousand employed. Barring 1908, this is the lowest record since 1911, when the death rate was the highest known. The tally per thousand employed is as follows:

1907.....	4.88
1908.....	3.64
1909.....	4.
1910.....	3.91
1911.....	3.74

MINIMUM WAGE IN MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts Minimum Wage Law goes into effect July 1, 1913, instead of 1912, as incorrectly printed in *THE SURVEY* of June 22.

MERCURY POISONING

Two interesting reports on mercury poisoning have recently been issued: one a monograph of 228 pages by Dr. Ludwig Teleky of Vienna, and the other a pamphlet of 130 pages by Mrs. Lindon Bates of New York. Special attention is given by each writer to the prevalence of mercurial poisoning among hat-makers.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The International Association on Unemployment will hold its second biennial congress in Zurich, Switzerland, early in September, immediately preceding the meetings of the International Associations for Labor Legislation and Social Insurance at the same place. America will be represented by several delegates at these three Zurich congresses.

WAGES IN THE COKE-FIELDS

The H. C. Frick Coke Company, the coke oven end of the United States Steel Corporation in the Connellsville district, advanced wages April 1 $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. As labor is scarce the effect has been to compel the independent producers to follow suit.

SOCIAL AGENCIES

WHEN WARDENS DIFFER WHO SHALL DECIDE?

ISABEL C. BARROWS

It is a good omen when prison wardens study the principles which should guide them in their work, instead of blindly following along the old ruts without much regard to the real reason for doing things. A significant instance of this attempt to learn how to deal with convict labor, for instance, is to be found in a statement made to the governor of Wisconsin by Daniel Woodward, the warden of the state prison at Waupun. It is called Labor and the Convict and was sent not only to the governor, but was mailed to many prison wardens and printed in full in the *Daily Northwestern* (Oskosh). The object seems to have been to secure the views of other prison officials, but primarily to justify the contract system employed in Wisconsin, by which the knitting company which hires the labor of the convicts pays into the treasury of the state \$8,000 a month. The task for each man is three-fourths of a day's work. He can "run it off in about six hours and have the other three or four hours to make over-time money for himself." The convicts may make as much as "\$12 per month in over-time which they may check out to their families, use for luxuries, or retain in the office till they are discharged."

As to the health of the men, the warden says: "Our records show that a very large per cent of our inmates gain in weight and improve in health while in the institution, as a result of nutritious food and regular habits and the very best sanitary conditions." They have permission to take the correspondence course of study, and magazines and a library furnish them with reading. The labor is supervised by the warden and his officers. "My officers and I have as much control in the shops as we would have if it was a state industry. The contract safeguards every interest of the prisoner and at the end of the month we get our cash check and have no goods to sell or take risk upon."

Mr. Woodward asks a number of questions, among them: Should the tax-payers of Wisconsin pay \$11,000 a month to support the prison when it can be made self-supporting?

Shall we support the convict in prison without labor? Is it justice to place a premium upon crime by establishing a trade school for the convict, when the honest unskilled laborer outside has no such opportunity? or to establish schools for the illiterate in prison when the illiterate, honest person outside has no such opportunity?

One of the wardens who received this document was F. O. Hellstrom of North Dakota. His comments were terse: "I will frankly say that I cannot agree with you on the position you take. So far as my observations have gone the contract system has demoralizing and corruptive influence wherever it has been in vogue, and it belongs to the past and not to the future. If you have taken this stand in the hope that you will find a neutral middle ground, I think you are very much mistaken and I believe you will find that you are occupying the very extreme rear instead of the middle."

To this Mr. Woodward replied at length, again trying to justify the contract system as practiced in Wisconsin, where "sentimental nonsense" is put to one side. He said that this was the "first adverse criticism from any source" and that no one had tried to answer his questions.

Thereupon Mr. Hellstrom takes up the cudgels again. After a preliminary paragraph regretting that Wisconsin is not farther advanced in prison reform, and stating that for five years the good points at Waupun have been flourishing in North Dakota—with suspended sentence, the honor system, and other helps to the discipline of the men—he answers the questions in substance as follows: Every institution should be self-supporting, but not profit-making; after deducting the cost of maintenance any surplus should go to the inmates. I cannot agree with you that to establish schools either for training men in the elementary rudiments of learning, or the ordinary trades is placing a premium on crime and dishonesty. . . . If the state has so far neglected its duties as to allow citizens to grow up in ignorance and dark-

ness, then it would be a shame and a disgrace to allow such conditions to continue and incarcerate a person in the penitentiary with the full knowledge of his ignorance without making some attempt at his enlightenment. The contract system leads toward dark ignorance and crime rather than toward enlightenment and honesty. . . . The sentence to hard labor is no doubt a just and necessary act, but this does not imply that the state has a right to sell that labor for the exploitation of private parties to satisfy their profit and greed, but that the labor be used entirely for the benefit of the state and the profits for the benefit of the individual doing time. Past methods of dealing with crime have been a failure. Society should see to it that reform in all phases of criminal law and penal institutions be carried out and that some sane and humanitarian policy be adopted. . . . A large percentage of inmates of penal institutions are not criminals, but law-breakers and therefore susceptible to better training. . . .

"I do not know," says Warden Hellstrom, "how the slave driver in the South, before slavery was abolished, would have justified his position except by making use of exactly the same line of reasoning as you have. I am very much surprised at your views on the very vital question of penal servitude." He closes by referring to the fact that the Wisconsin prison board was advertising for bids for the erection of a building, the contractor to furnish all labor and material, and asks the highly pertinent question: "Can you give any good reason why the convict labor of your institution should not be employed in the erection of this building"?

This interesting correspondence, having come into the hands of the present writer, it seemed wise to call for expert comment, and it was referred to Z. R. Brockway of Elmira with the question "which is right and why"? With his usual promptness and kindness Mr. Brockway replied at once. A summary of his views may help to clarity of thought upon the question under discussion:

After an appreciative word about the two wardens as "a good sort," he emphasizes the need of having wardens graduate from some penological educational opportunity before they enter upon the actual and very responsible administering of the prisons. "Both are emerging," he says, "from the first to the

second-thought stage of philanthropical and civic evolution, but have not reached the third, the truly scientific stage."

Warden Woodward advocates the contract system of prison employment, but he deals himself and his system a blow at the plexus when he says, as he does in his statement, that his best men can scarcely be placed in industry outside at even the small wage of a dollar a day. His points of argument are familiar enough to those of us who discussed the contract system forty years ago. The sum of it is the tax-payer's relief from paying the cost of current maintenance of the prison, the indifference and difficulty of the culture-system, trade schools and school education; and the fear that such education will induce crime. It could be answered that the cost of maintaining the prisons is a mere bagatelle compared to the cost to the tax-payers of the prisoners and their crimes who are discharged and who resume criminal practices; that the cultural course to be provided must not depend on the prisoner's choice, or interest. He must be *made* to conform, to form new habits and tastes together with his enlarged good capacities; and the training should be made so strenuous that none would choose it in preference to the opportunities for such culture in a free community. The prisoner's pain or pleasure is but incident to the curative process—not the object of it.

The employment of every prisoner from the day of his admission must be to fit him for his appropriate niche in free industries and so for his proper place in the community. This involves classification and it relegates the consideration of cost of prison support, labor selection and system to the incidental realm, together with the preference and pleasure of the prisoners who are under this process of training. The contract system is an obstacle to the necessary selection, classification and adaptation of physical, manual, industrial, and mental culture of prisoners for their proper safe inhabitation. No single prison labor system is suitable for all the prisoners.

Warden Hellstrom urges that prisoners be made self-sustaining, and though he favors the training school it must not interfere with the self-sustaining industries. He is alive to the truth that industry is the real foundation of civilization and he urges that every branch of ordinary and necessary occupation should be introduced into prisons. He recognizes

that the contract system is a hindrance, and his mind reaches forward to the introduction of the honor system of discipline and, prompted by his humanitarianism, his mind is open to other newer cultural agencies. He seems to be breaking away from the doctrine of sin in crime, and from the obligation of us humans to mete out justice, in his remark that law breakers are not necessarily criminals, in the ordinary sense of voluntary moral guilt. In this he "shows the open mind and enterprising official."

Both are good prison managers on the plane of their present progress, but apparently neither has advanced to the standard of prison administration which aims at permanent public protection from further crimes by the prisoners committed to their care by means of their reformation through means and measures scientifically used to build, at will, the individual human character—rebuilding it where the defects endanger public peace, property, or personal safety.

The very important principle of modern prison practice—the payment of prisoners—is useful and commendable, or it is harmful according to its application. During the half century of my continuous prison experience every phase of the system was tried with good and bad effects, till it was perfected under the (so-called) indeterminate sentence system of the Elmira Reformatory. Scarcely anything in the conduct of prisons is so liable to a demoralizing influence or is so capable of rational reformatory results. The sending of the prisoner's earnings to persons outside—his alleged family and dependents—must be done with the utmost discretion. So far as actual and *worthy* family connections exist and are well known, this quasi-public charity may safely be indulged. But such outside pecuniary benefit may become a contribution, directly or indirectly, to the "jack pot" of criminals and prostitutes, or may go to a certain class of lawyers to be used to secure the convict's release from prison "by hook or by crook" rather than by the process of earning by merit and fitness the regular discharge. The expenditure of the convict's earnings for luxuries from outside is demoralizing to a really reformatory regime; but properly expended for the betterment of his prison condition along the line of prescribed advancement it may be very useful.

The wage system as it was applied in the best days of the Elmira Reformatory is the

truest for use of this difficult system. An accumulated credit balance for each prisoner, reasonably sufficient to put him into a desirable situation on his release, made essential to the privilege of release—a credit balance accumulated by earning, expending, and saving, with limitations of liberty and closest observation and control where necessary—earned, expended, and saved item by item, as must be in free life, this is the best, perhaps it is the only really proper application of the prisoners' wage system yet discovered.

One, two, three, or more years of actual practice of effort and economies such as bring success and happiness ordinarily outside, coupled with the satisfaction of achievement and ennoblement of accumulation honestly and honorably obtained, has been found to be an excellent preparation for a prisoner's good performance when paroled or discharged from imprisonment.

AN EXPERIMENT IN SOCIAL CENTERS

An experiment in social centers has been carried out by a small committee of Brooklyn residents who secured the Commercial High School—one of the finest halls in the city, seating 2,000—from the Board of Education for free concerts and lectures on social and civic subjects, to be given on twenty Sunday evenings. Edward W. Ordway, writes thus of the meetings held:

"This hall was in a district where failure was regarded as almost certain—the public school illustrated lectures drew an average audience of from one to 200, and concerts, I was told, were a thing unheard of. We arranged a course of ten concerts of high class—Chamber music by our best quartets—the Olive Mead—Kaltensbohn—Damreuthes—Mannes—alternating with lectures on social topics by men with democratic messages, followed by music and discussion. We have no organization behind us and almost no advertising.

"The attendance at the first four concerts has averaged 1,500 to 1,600, a most enthusiastic audience that has delighted our musicians. It appears to comprise people of all types, but largely skilled working men and people who could not attend concerts at the rates usually charged.

"The audience at the first three lectures varied from 400 to 800—of excellent quality—and we have had earnest and interesting discussions. I am told that this is the first experiment of the kind in the public schools of New York. Perhaps the most interesting part is our experiment with the Board of Education. At first, it was a constant struggle with red-tape, petty rules and authorities, that took a vast deal of time and made our ex-



Courtesy *Institution Quarterly*, Illinois Board of Administration.
TREE PLANTING CAMP AT WAI-O-TAPU, NEW ZEALAND.

This is the largest of the three camps in New Zealand. The picture shows the single- and double-celled huts, the administration buildings, kitchen, stable, coach-house, and dining room.

periment seem hopeless, but after two or three weeks the whole situation changed—hampering regulations disappeared, and janitors and petty authorities showed a cooperative spirit and a desire to make our experiment a success.

"Another Brooklyn movement is the introduction of moving pictures into the recreation centers of the schools. Our aim was to help solve the moving picture question by changing the environments—putting the pictures in the public schools, where they belong—and to organize the better demand.

"The shows were given in three public schools—halls seating 1,500 to 1,600—two in Jewish districts and one in an Irish-American. The attendance in the Jewish sections filled the halls and hundreds were turned away—in the Irish section, there was far less interest, but an attendance of about a thousand.

"The best films were most appreciated; Alice in Wonderland, a total failure in the ordinary commercial shows, was a great success. Enoch Arden, the Declaration of Independence, and the Summer Work of the Board of Health (Summer Babies) aroused great enthusiasm."

TREE PLANTING BY PRISONERS

From time to time *THE SURVEY* has printed items about tree planting as an industry for convicts in New Zealand. The late F. H. Wines secured for the *Institutional Quarterly* of Illinois the paper read on this subject by James A. Kayll at the meeting of the American Prison Association last fall in Omaha. The general range of facts as to this phase of conservation work, in which convicts take part, offers interesting points for comparison with the conservation work in New England described by Dr. Fernald in a recent issue of *THE SURVEY*¹ in which the labor of defec-

tives is utilized. To quote a few points from Mr. Kayll's paper: "For every ten prisoners there is one officer. None of the officers are armed. Every prisoner has a separate hut to himself, or else a single cell in a two-celled hut. With the exception of such as are required for the work about the camp and the vegetable garden, all are engaged either in tree-planting or getting firewood. Sometimes they have to work at a distance of from three to four miles from the camp. They take their lunches with them, and return for supper at five o'clock. During the summer, they are engaged in cutting scrub, forming fire-breaks, and digging pits; during the winter, they plant out the young trees which are supplied from the nurseries of the forestry department.

"The men have their supper in association in a large dining-room, and they remain in this room reading or writing until lock-up at eight o'clock. There have been several escapes, but all the escapes, with the exception of one, have been recaptured. There is no doubt whatsoever that the success of a camp depends largely upon the degree of security that can be given to a camp.

"Very few other than first offenders are sent. Experience has proved that the old offender does not appreciate any advantages that may be offered to him and his example tends to have a bad effect upon the camp. Each case is determined on its merits.

"As a rule the prisoners justify the confidence placed in them. Some prove themselves remarkably trustworthy, and will be out all day working some miles from the camp, without any supervision, and return at night having done a good day's work. This has been the case several times with men sent gathering firewood.

"Altogether, about 1,100 prisoners have passed through the camps, and about twenty-two millions of trees have been planted by these men. This does not include trees that have died."

¹See The Templeton Farm Colony for the Feeble-minded. *THE SURVEY*, March 2, page 1873.

PERSONALS

Frances Perkins, executive secretary of the Consumers' League of New York city for two years, has resigned to become executive secretary of the Committee on Safety of the City of New York. Miss Perkins succeeds



FRANCIS PERKINS.

Dr. Charles H. Keyes, who resigned in the spring. The Committee on Safety was formed immediately after the Triangle fire to protect life and property from the hazard of fire. Miss Perkins has taken a prominent part in civic organization work in New York for several years. It was largely through her efforts that the fifty-four hour law restricting the employment of women and children was enacted at the last session of the legislature.

A campaign of inspection by the Committee on Safety has been planned by Miss Perkins for the coming months. This will include the regular and persistent examination of especially hazardous districts, buildings, and occupations so that the committee may be able to call for a constant enforcement of the law. In this campaign the committee plans to work in close touch with the fire department. The first step is to be a re-inspection of the 1,600 premises investigated by the Committee on Safety last summer.

Another phase of work to be undertaken is the establishment of a bureau of complaints. Complaints collected through the trade union and labor papers will be verified by the investigating staff. If they prove to be reasonable they will be submitted with recommendations to the proper city and state authorities. Miss Perkins plans to assist the work of the new bureau of fire prevention by turning over to it an analysis and verifica-

tion of all complaints as to hazardous conditions in factories which come to the attention of the committee. The Committee on Safety during the coming year will also work in close touch with the State Factory Investigating Commission, which has been continued for another year with an added appropriation of \$60,000 from the state treasury.

The introduction of a new building code before the Board of Aldermen offers the committee an opportunity to emphasize the importance of adequate provisions respecting fire walls, exits, and other facilities of escape in case of fire. The Committee on Safety believes that constant watchfulness during the next few months will be necessary to insure a building code which will provide for real fireproof construction.

* * *

Leslie Hayford, the new secretary and executive officer of the Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts Training (or Reform) Schools, has come to his post with valuable experience among immigrants not only in this country but in foreign lands as well. For



LESLIE HAYFORD.

five years he was teacher and superintendent of schools in the Philippine Islands, for two years he was connected with the Federal Immigration Commission at Washington, D. C., and for a like period was field secretary of the North American Civic League for Immigrants. Mr. Hayford is known as a writer and speaker of ability. The office upon which he has entered was created by the legislature a year ago. Not a small part of Mr. Hayford's service will be molding into good citizenship the rough and unready material found in the Lancaster School for Girls and the Lyman School for Boys, and Mr. Hayford's training has been such as to equip him well for that service.

* * *

In giving up the general secretaryship of the Associated Charities at Jacksonville, Fla.

and accepting a similar position in Portland, Ore., V. R. Manning has but gone from one socially growing part of the country to another. A 1908 graduate of the University of Minnesota, he spent two years with the Associated Charities of Minneapolis and went to Jacksonville in 1910. Of his work there Francis H. McLean, says: "The census gives Jacksonville a population of 56,769, of which 27,000 are negroes. The budget of the society for 1912 will be over \$10,000. This showing, not excelled or even reached, we believe, by any other society in a city of the same size, has been made possible by an exceedingly strong board and an exceedingly strong secretary. The call of Mr. Manning to Portland is of huge importance; it is skirmish number 1 in the campaign of the Northwest to strengthen its social work before the opening of the Panama Canal."

* * *

In going to Jacksonville as Mr. Manning's successor, Rudolph T. Solensten returns to the section of the country where he made an early success. Mr. Solensten obtained his first training with the Chicago Bureau of Charities.

* * *

"Who is going to help us now," asked Captain Lee of the police department when he heard of the recent death of Mrs. George J. Charlton, of Oak Park, Ill. "She was our



MRS. GEORGE J. CHARLTON.

right hand in cases that refused to enter into the laws and police methods." Mrs. Charlton has evidenced her public spirit in both social and educational activities. As president and directing head of the Oak Park Associated Charities, as a member of the Board of Directors of the Congregational Training School for Women, as a member of the Oak Park Board of Education and through her relations with various other agencies she displayed such enthusiasm, sympathy, and practicality that people said: "See Mrs. Charlton" when counsel or help was needed. Twice she had made rounds of the Illinois charitable institutions taking with her in a special car other

members of the committee on state institutions of the State Federation of Clubs, of which she was chairman. Miss Lathrop said of the work of this committee: "The sane and temperate report of this committee aided in allaying the public anxiety aroused at that time by reckless political attacks. Mrs. Charlton was a good citizen of a high and gracious type."

COMMUNICATIONS

THE HIGH COST OF SOCIAL LIVING

TO THE EDITOR:

The present cost of both physical and social life is a tremendous strain. This is true of the cost of social service as well as of other forms of public activity. The man or woman of fairly narrow range finds that during the sessions of the legislature and Congress there is need of additional stenographic service to meet the constant demands for letters communicating approval or disapproval of measures to be voted upon. Postage and stationery alone amount to surprisingly large sums. Municipal matters can scarcely gain a hearing during this rush season from those who are most concerned with state and national affairs. Social politicians take advantage of this condition to further their own ends.

Many lines of activity, as writing, speaking, and committee service, have become socialized to the extent that those who do not give their entire time to them are not expected to receive any compensation, even expenses, for what they do. The result is often overstrain for those who must make their living and the limiting of certain types of service to those who are financially "endowed." Even those who give themselves to positions having salaries are justified in questioning the ethics of their service, when, for instance, a full time charity district secretary receives sixty dollars a month and a stenographer twenty-five. Has any report been made upon the status of the paid social worker?

The "follow-up systems" have accomplished much that is worth while, but their persistency in following a wrong trail becomes at times maddening. One can no more stop some of these systems than he can an "endless chain." In the business world the cost of these schemes is very great and consumers must pay for them—their waste as well as their efficiency. One writes to a railroad or steamship or insurance company for some simple information and an unending deluge of circulars, telephone and agent calls, leads him to decide on some other course about which he must carefully keep silence or he will be taken possession of by "seven others" who wish to make up his mind for him.

The enormous out-go for advertising and commercial travelers adds greatly to the cost of living. One feels that the high expense

bills of traveling men, considered an index of success by many, furnish one of the large wastes in present life. Our social service must use advertising, follow-up schemes, traveling men and other forms of machinery, but will it not pay to have an investigation of these methods with reference to their social efficiency, in order to reduce economic waste?

FRANK A. MANNY.

Baltimore, Md.

JOTTINGS

MORAL EDUCATION CONGRESS

The Second International Moral Education Congress will be held at the Hague August 22-27, 1912.

Distinguished educators, publicists, physicians, and social workers from all over the world will be present to take part in the discussion. Among the many important contributors will be M. Boutroux of the Institute, M. Bouglé of the Sorbonne, Brand Meyer, of the University of Berlin, J. W. Adamson of London, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, Harold Johnson, Constance MacColl, J. S. Mackenzie, C. W. Saleeby, Gustave Spiller, Stanton Coit, John Russell, M. S. Sadler, Millicent Mackenzie, Edward P. Culverwell.

The American Committee of the congress, of which Felix Adler is chairman and H. A. Overstreet of the College of the City of New York is secretary, is preparing to submit to the congress a volume of papers representative of the best American thought and practice on moral education. The topics covered are wide in range: physical culture, systems of discipline and government in schools; social service activities in connection with schools; sex hygiene; systems of direct moral instruction; vocational training; Sunday Schools; the use of play; humane movements; moral education in American colleges and universities.

Among the contributors to this symposium are: George A. Coe, F. C. Sharp, Joseph Lee, Felix Adler, Anna Garlin Spencer, John L. Elliott, Robert A. Woods, Mrs. Vance Cheney, Mrs. Joseph Allen, Frank A. Manny, Charity Dye, Edward C. Moore, Mrs. David Kirk, David Phillipson, Henry Neumann, L. L. Doggett, Ella Lyman Cabot, Helen C. Putnam, William R. George, David Saville Muzzey, Thomas Francis Fox.

JUNIOR REPUBLIC IDEA INTERNATIONAL

The recently incorporated National Association of Junior Republics has opened an office in the Tribune Building, 154 Nassau street, New York. Lyman Beecher Stowe, secretary of the association, is in charge.

From a single community at Freeville,¹ New York, the republic idea has grown into an international movement. Six states already have seven republics in this country and an-

nouncement is made that another is about to be established at Moorestown, N. J., under the auspices of Mrs. Strawbridge Brophy. Still another is to be started in Vermont.

A community similar to the junior republic has just been started in Dorset, England, under the auspices of George Montague, on a farm given for the purpose by his uncle, the Earl of Sandwich. A movement is now on foot to establish such a community in France.

STEERAGE AND THE FRENCH LINE

While Dr. von Borosini's article on conditions in the out-bound steerage of the French Line¹ was pending, an officer of the Compagnie Generale Transatlantique deprecated its publication and suggested that Dr. von Borosini travel to Europe and back this summer on some of their best boats as his guest, but delay the publication of the article. While Dr. von Borosini did not feel that he could withdraw the article, he took favorably to the idea of co-operating with the company to secure changes. Since the article has been published, the company has altogether lost interest in his trip which they professed while the article was pending, refusing even to give Dr. von Borosini a letter of introduction to their officials in Paris on the ground that they are so busy with important affairs that they have no time to bother about the steerage.

PRISON REFORM

THE LATEST BOOKS FOR WORKERS AND STUDENTS

FIFTY YEARS OF PRISON SERVICE. An autobiography. by Zebulon R. Brockway, for 25 years superintendent of Elmira Reformatory. \$2.

PENAL SERVITUDE. By E. Stagg Whitin, Secretary National Committee on Prison Labor. \$1.62.

CORRECTION AND PREVENTION. Four volumes prepared by Charles R. Henderson for the Russel Sage Foundation as souvenirs of the Eighth International Prison Congress. The four prepaid for \$10. Individual volumes as follows:

Prison Reform. By C. R. Henderson, F. H. Wines, F. B. Sanborn and others, and Criminal Law in the U. S. by Eugene Smith. \$2.67. (Criminal Law, separately, \$1).

Penal and Reformatory Institutions. By sixteen leading authorities. \$2.70.

Preventive Agencies and Methods. By Charles R. Henderson. \$2.68.

Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children. By Hastings H. Hart and 20 others. \$2.70.

(Chapters on Cottage and Congregate Institutions, separately, \$1).

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¹See THE SURVEY, April 27, p. 166.

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of Work

Beginning October 1 next the editors of THE SURVEY wish to add an 8-page form to this mid-monthly number, to deal more adequately with what Louis Brandeis calls

“SOCIAL INVENTION IN INDUSTRY”

The strength of THE SURVEY lies in the fact that it carries the respect and confidence of manufacturers and workmen alike. At present, in the 5 to 8 pages which we can afford to print for this department each month, we are able only to skim the surface. Yet the field is one in which there are stirring educational possibilities.

Take the Illinois Occupational Diseases Commission; take the Protocol of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Trade; take the Anthracite Conciliation Board; take the problem of sick benefits as they are faced by the small employer. These are but chance examples.

Wonderful stores of experience, experiment and invention on the human side of industry are to be had for the delving; they should be brought out now while they are in process and not merely in thick reports and volumes ten years from now.

Think what it would mean to pool this sort of experience and get it read by one thousand manufacturers and one thousand labor men monthly. That is the goal we have set.

To add an 8-page form twelve times a year and distribute it to the twenty or twenty twenty-five thousand readers of THE SURVEY will cost roughly, \$1500. This expense cannot be met by present subscription receipts, for the regular \$2. subscription does not pay for itself. It cannot be met out of the general educational fund of THE SURVEY because that is already stretched to the snapping point. We must look to those who are progressive and interested in the field of constructive industrial advance for the money to make this experimental year possible.

THE SURVEY appeals for 15 contributions of \$100 each to enable it to enter upon the experiment October 1 next. Will you be one? Or do you know some industrial leader with big vision who will see the thrilling opportunities which such a Scientific-American-on-the-social-side-of-industry will mean, and who, if the plan were put before him vigorously, would back it up? We should be glad for larger gifts—or smaller.

CHARITIES PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

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VOLUME XXVIII, No. 23

WEEK OF SEPT. 7, 1912

THE SURVEY

A JOURNAL OF CONSTRUCTIVE PHILANTHROPY



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SOCIAL FORCES

BY THE EDITOR

ENGLAND IN TRANSITION

Even with no prospect of a general election there has been no dearth of live questions this summer in England.

Is Ireland a nation, as the prime minister, recently, on the first visit that a prime minister has ever made to Dublin in his term of office, declares, or two nations, four Ulster counties constituting the second—or the first—as Unionists pretend to think? Are the resources of the United Kingdom or even of the Empire to be strained to keep a wide margin between England's navy and that of Germany in the North Sea, and also between her own and the combined fleets of Italy and Austria in the Mediterranean, or are these resources rather to be released, as the Radicals insist, for social reform at home? Are the dominions beyond sea to shoulder a part of the burden of imperial defense, as Canada seems ready to do, and thereby to gain a voice, as Canada's premier has proposed, in the councils where questions of imperial policy are discussed and determined? Are women to get the vote, in spite of the criminal conspiracy into which the suffragette movement seems to have degenerated?

Such are some of the critical issues, to say nothing of the disestablishment of the church in Wales, the extension of the male suffrage on the "one man one vote" principle, the disfranchisement of the universities, and the "freeing of the land" on single-tax lines, which last has received an undoubted impetus from the success of a Liberal in winning a former labor seat on that issue.

No one of these issues, however, nor perhaps all of them together, so plainly marks the tremendous social transition through which England is passing as does the actual coming into effect of the national insurance act. From any point of view the fifteenth of July of this year must be regarded as marking an epoch in her social evolution. In boldness, originality and comprehensiveness, and in the number of people affected, there has been no legislation in English-speaking countries comparable with this mobilization of the national forces against the principal causes of poverty: sickness and unemployment.

The figure is that of Lloyd-George, the author of the act. Speaking at the end of the week before the law came into operation, he described it as "this great national insurance scheme which touches every household, every industry, every trade and all our interests." He added:

"If there are slips and little stumblings, remember it is the first time that the nation has been mobilized. What for? Not to wage war upon their fellow men, not to march into the territories of people who are flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood, to ravage and destroy, but the nation is mobilized for the purpose of securing health, for securing plenty and for driving away the privation and hunger that have invaded millions of homes. That is the invader we are organizing this army of fourteen millions to meet next Monday."

Referring to attacks upon the act and upon himself, he said:

"They have abused its author in a way, I believe, that no Minister of the Crown has been assailed in my time. My race, my origin—they are all the topics of their vituperation. I am proud of both. There is one quality that my little race has that gives them peculiar offense, especially the dullest among them, and that is the gift of imagination.

September 7, 1912.

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It has pulled me through many a fight, and it will pull me through this, because, when insults hurtle through the air, I can always see a vision on the horizon which sustains me. I can see now the humble homes of the people with the dark clouds of anxiety, disease, distress, privation hanging heavily over them. And I can see again, another vision. I can see the Old Age Pension Act, the National Insurance Act, and many another act in their trail descending, like breezes from the hills of my native land, sweeping into the mist-laden valleys, and clearing the gloom away until the rays of God's sun have pierced the narrowest window."

The insurance scheme is contributory. That is, the insured as well as employers and the state contribute to the funds. It is obligatory. That is, every employed person between sixteen and sixty-five who earns from manual labor less than \$800 a year must be insured. As to others, it is voluntary. In several respects it is optional, especially in that the payments may be made through any approved friendly society or trade union or through the post office—the former method being more advantageous. Disregarding exemptions, exceptions and special classes, such as those earning less than sixty-two and a half cents a day, the cost is, for men, eight cents, and, for women, six cents a week, in each case the employer adding six cents. The state pays one-quarter of the costs of benefits and administration—for men, two-ninths. The benefits are: sick pay (\$2.50 for men and \$1.87 for women) during twenty-six weeks, and disablement pay of about half this amount thereafter as long as the sickness or disablement lasts; medical attendance, medicine and minor surgical appliances; sanatorium care in the case of tuberculosis and any similar diseases decided upon by the authorities; maternity benefit of seven dollars and a half for each confinement; and any additional benefits which a surplus may make possible.

The unemployment insurance is distinct and affects at the outset less than two and a half million persons in seven selected trades. Employer and workman each contribute five cents a week and parliament adds an amount equal to one-third of the total contributions of employer and workman. Under eighteen the contributions both of the employe and of his employer are two cents instead of five. The act thus seems to put a premium on the employment of boys and girls under eighteen. On the other hand workmen under seventeen receive no benefit in case of unemployment and those between seventeen and eighteen only one-half the normal out-of-work pay, which is one dollar and seventy-five cents a week for a period not to exceed fifteen weeks. A claimant for unemployment benefit must show that he is capable of work but unable to obtain suitable employment. Here the usefulness of the labor exchanges in administering the act becomes apparent. No man is disqualified, however, by refusing to accept employment where there is a trade dispute, or at lower wages or on conditions less favorable than those which he habitually obtained from previous employment.

At the moment when the insurance act comes into operation interest is fastened upon the controversy between the government and the medical profession. To the outsider it is a very pretty quarrel. For the first time the medical profession as a whole is acting like a trade union and for a first attempt it must be admitted that they go rather far in the direction of syndicalism. There are threats of social ostracism against any blacklegs who accept conditions not approved by the association. Boycott and strike seem the least of their weapons. An independent public medical service may well be the outcome.

September 7, 1912.

THE COMMON WELFARE

LAWRENCE ONCE MORE IN THE FOREGROUND

Three thousand citizens of Lawrence, Mass., by uniting irrespective of creed, nationality or party in a demand for the recall of John J. Breen, the school committeeman who was convicted of planting dynamite during the strike, have raised what they call "a question of pure moral decency."

Rev. E. M. Lake, pastor of the Second Baptist church, referring in a sermon to the petition for the recall of Breen declared that it

gives evidence of an awakened public conscience in the city. More names could have been secured to this petition had it been necessary.

The heading of the petition reads as follows: "Having been found guilty of a grave criminal offense, we believe that John J. Breen, school committeeman of Lawrence, is unqualified to conduct the affairs of our public schools."

The statement of the petition is clear and to the point. Had he been a man of refinement of feeling, he would have resigned at the time of his conviction, when he paid the fine of \$500. But we do not find in a dynamite planter one who is susceptible to refined feeling. There is now just one question before the people of Lawrence to settle and that is—shall we have him continue to give direction in the affairs of the public schools?

To make it clear that the recall petition is not an effort to turn a man out of office because of his political affiliations but a genuine attempt, in the words of the *Lawrence Telegram*, to "remove the stigma that now attaches to the school board of Lawrence," a prominent attorney of the same political faith was urged and consented to become a candidate for the place held by Mr. Breen. Augustin X. Dooley, in his letter to Fred H. Eaton announcing his willingness to run, declares that one reason he entered the lists was to help prove the effectiveness of the new city charter providing for the recall. Mr. Dooley a year ago was a leading advocate of its adoption.

In accordance with the new charter, which provides that the special election

must be held within not less than sixty nor more than seventy days after the recall petition has been certified by the city clerk, the municipal council has selected October 1 for the special election. The charter provides also for a preliminary election three weeks before the other to pick two candidates to oppose the incumbent in office, in this case Breen, in the special election. This first election will take place on September 10.

While Lawrence citizens are making earnest efforts to recall Breen, the grand jury of Suffolk county is trying to find out who, if anybody, was behind him when he planted the dynamite. Several months ago the *Boston Herald* asked:

Isn't the Essex county prosecution ever going to dig a little deeper than Breen in the Lawrence case? Who was behind him, and why? The I. W. W. is fond of attacking the courts as minions of the "masters." Members of the revolutionary organization are not alone in insisting that Breen was but a tool. The case hasn't been closed to the complete credit of the authorities.

The proceedings which promise to clear up the mystery to the satisfaction of all were instituted finally, however, by the Boston authorities in Suffolk county and not by the prosecution in Essex county, the scene of the dynamite plants. Investigation by the Suffolk County Grand Jury was based on allegations that dynamite was purchased in or near Boston and sent to Lawrence for distribution in certain places to lead the public to believe that the explosive was to be used by the strikers to damage mill property and so cast odium upon the workmen. Among those who have appeared before the grand jury are John J. Breen; Louis S. Cox, post-master of Lawrence; George E. Kunhardt of North Andover, treasurer of the Kunhardt mills; Iver L. Sjostrom, of North Andover, vice-president of the United States Worsted Company; Fred C. McDuffie, treasurer of the Everett mills, and Charles Walcott, treasurer of the Atlantic mills.

An effort was made to secure the presence of the treasurers of other mills but they were either on vacations or could not be located. Ernest W. Pitman, a contractor who erected two of the large Lawrence mills, was questioned recently by District Attorney Pelletier regarding the distribution of dynamite in Lawrence. He was served with a summons to appear before the grand jury. Before the date set for his examination he committed suicide. His friends declare that the probable reason for the suicide was losses suffered by the failure last March of a company in which he was interested.

Following these proceedings indictments were handed up by the grand jury to Justice Pratt of the Superior Court specifying Dennis J. Collins, a Cambridge dog fancier and friend of John J. Breen; William M. Wood, president of the American Woolen Company; and a third person as yet (Aug. 31) unnamed as associates of Breen and Pitman in a conspiracy to distribute dynamite in Lawrence. Mr. Wood hastened from New York to surrender himself and furnished \$5,000 bail. John J. Breen was arrested before the grand jury commenced its inquiry.

MODEL SAFETY LAW FOR MANUFACTURE

A skeleton draft of a safety law is recommended by a committee of the Department on Compensation of the National Civic Federation as the result of about a year's work. Efficiency in preventing work accidents and uniformity in state laws are the two objects in view.

The act provides for a board of safety experts to whom would be left the working out of its detailed provisions as well as future changes. It would include within its scope all workshops and factories, the latter being defined as places where articles are manufactured, including work places in the open air and workrooms in mercantile establishments and, as far as applicable, tenement rooms used for manufacturing purposes.

The first seven sections are devoted to fire conditions, including fire resisting construction, fire prevention, fire escape and drill, fire extinguishment, and spec-

ial regulations in industries where the fire hazard is great. Other sections cover regulations in regard to structural strength of manufacturing buildings; the guarding of dangerous places—such as pits, elevated platforms, etc.—by railings; and the provision of secure footing on floors, footways, ladders and in other places; the guarding of prime movers and power transmitters; and the periodical inspection and guarding of elevators and power generators.

Machinery according to the draft should be guarded by devices for stopping power and throwing off belts and pulleys; all safeguards should be based not on specific devices for the individual machine but on the dangers offered by certain "dangerous parts," common to all machinery. Eight such parts are specified in the draft. Further sections cover the placing of machinery in safe places, adequate lighting, the posing of danger signs and instructions, and the providing of special clothing for certain dangerous operations. Wherever practicable the provision of safeguards should be required of the maker of the machine. No safeguard should be removed while a machine is in operation and no machine cleaned while in operation. Women and minors should be subject to special regulations for safety by the board of safety experts.

Factory accidents should be recorded in each establishment, the record kept on file to be exhibited to the factory inspection department on demand. In addition each accident should be reported immediately to the chief factory inspector. To encourage prompt, dependable reporting, it is provided that

No statement contained in such record or report . . . shall be admissible in evidence in any action against the employer arising out of an accident.

The functions of the board of experts are thus defined:

(a) To prescribe the specific means, methods, or practices to carry out the purpose and intent of any provision of this chapter.

(b) To define the application of any provision of this chapter to specific conditions.

(c) To fix and make definite any time, period, space, distance, height, quantity, or quality prescribed indefinitely in any provision of this chapter.

(d) To exclude from the application of any provision of this chapter specific conditions covered by its letter but not by its purpose and intent.

(e) To prescribe, upon conditions, alternative methods of complying with any of the provisions of this chapter so as more effectually to carry out its purpose and intent.

SOCIAL HYGIENE IN
THE PACIFIC STATES

Faced by the moral dangers of the coming Panama Exposition of 1915, when young men and women visitors from all over the country in search of pleasure and free from home restraints will be subjected to the temptations of a gay city, the towns of the Pacific coast are embarking on a systematic campaign to spread a knowledge of social hygiene. This campaign, on account of the peculiar conditions offered by the exposition, Will T. Foster, president of Reed College and vice-president of the Social Hygiene Society of Portland, Ore., regards as the "most immediately important social work to be done in the Pacific states."

Portland, Ore., is the pioneer in this movement. Its Social Hygiene Society was formed about a year ago, and has been so effective that it has already attracted the attention of other cities and states. Its secretary, H. H. Moore, has conducted advisory and organization meetings in San Francisco, Seattle, Tacoma and Los Angeles, and several cities on the western coast are now planning to engage secretaries for social hygiene service.

The work of the Portland society has from its beginning been purely educational. No fight has been made against the white slave trade or the segregated district, but these have been attacked indirectly by prophylactic advice to the individual. Through the courtesy of business men, who have met the society more than half way, talks to employes have been given by physicians who contributed their services free. Literature has been distributed in pay envelopes and printed matter on venereal diseases from the Board of Health, whose secretary is president of the society, has been posted in railroad cars and stations, city parks, lumber camps, office buildings, hotels and rooming houses.

For this work of publicity, the society added an advisory department, to which over four hundred individuals have applied personally, most of them for medical advice. Many others have applied by letter. The society has already been instrumental in closing the offices of two quack doctors.

HOURS AND WAGES
OF RESTAURANT GIRLS

While the ten-hour law for women was before the Illinois courts, the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago carried out an investigation of the conditions of women workers in seventy-two restaurants and forty-two hotels in Chicago. In line with other of its decisions the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of extending factory legislation to protect these occupations.

The investigation of restaurants covered waitresses only, and brought out the following hours and rates of pay for the steady workers:

NUMBER OF RESTAURANTS IN CERTAIN
WAGE AND HOUR GROUPS

WAGES	HOURS									
	6	7	8	9	10	10½	11	12	13	
\$5				1						
\$6	6	3	5		8					
\$6.50	1									
\$7			5	5	18	2	2	3	1	
\$8					6	1		1		
\$8.50					1			1		
\$9					1					

This table brings out, besides violation of the Illinois Ten Hour Law in eleven cases, the complete lack of standards in the trade, the women who work thirteen hours receiving no higher pay than the majority of those in the ten, nine and eight hour groups. One hotel with a nine hour shift paid the smallest wage found, in face of the fact that a considerable number of the other hotels had a day of only 6, 7 or 8 hours with higher pay. Sixteen restaurants had a seven day week. One had every other Sunday on duty. But hours work a day and days work a week do not tell the whole story of hard work, for a large

proportion of these restaurants served meals from 7 a. m. to 8 p. m. This meant that there was an afternoon period of from two to three hours "swing" during which the waitress was supposed to be off duty, with nothing better to do, unless by chance she lived near, than to hang about the streets, shops or moving picture shows. This is not real leisure, nor is it conducive to regular and steady moral habits.

The association's investigator found that other things besides these periods of enforced loafing had a disintegrating effect on waitresses' morals. The most serious complaint made by the waitresses was the physical strain of being constantly on their feet and carrying heavy trays. Scarcely less serious, however, were their statements as to the insolence and temptation to which they were subjected from managers and customers. Different girls took their temptations differently; some were disposed to fight, some to yield, as the following expressions from individuals show:

"In my experience," said one girl, "I see too much of pretty girls accepting invitations. Sometimes they never come back to get the money that is due them."

"The men who come here," said another, "follow me and insult me."

"One man asked me whether I would not prefer to go to a position where I could have time to myself and pretty clothes," was the recorded experience of one but another had gone farther along the road of worldly experience. "If a waitress hasn't got a man," said she, "she couldn't get along on her wages"; and another: "Some of the girls 'bat' around and make money in other ways and I don't blame them. They have to live somehow."

The tip is one common means by which a customer can start an acquaintance with a girl and the abolition of the tip is therefore one of the recommendations of the association. Others are the organization of the workers, with the aim of standardizing working conditions, and the opening of rest rooms by settlements and otherwise for the idle afternoon hours.

HOTEL LABOR

The extensive strike of the hotel workers of New York and the efforts to enlist hotel employees generally in an industrial union lend added interest to the facts as to hotel conditions. Women hotel workers come under four groups: chambermaids, laundresses, kitchen girls and scrubwomen. About half the hotels employed American chambermaids. The vast majority of the other workers were Poles, who, according to the statement of housekeepers and managers, were hired because they were cheap, hard-working and submissive—and also, the investigator adds, easily imposed upon and not inclined to tell what they see going on.

Wages and hours for the different groups are determined by whether the position is a resident one and, to some extent, by the grade of hotel. The following table gives monthly wages where they could be learned:

	MONTHLY WAGES							
	Without Board and Lodging				With Board and Lodging			
	\$30	\$28	\$25	\$20	\$18	\$17	\$16	\$15 \$14
Chambermaid	2			2	15	8	11	1 3
Laundryworker	1	3		4	1	2		4
Kitchenmaid	1		2	3	2	2	8	4 1
Scrubwoman						1		

Hard work for long hours—overwork to the "limit of endurance"—was an almost universal complaint among the workers. Bad sleeping accommodations and bad food were other complaints. Of the forty-six hotels, only six supplied good food, six others fair, food in others was often the leftovers of the guests' tables and not infrequently was unwholesome. It was often served in a "mere storeroom or cellar." As for sleeping quarters, "weak and exhausted women after a hard day's work are put into rooms crowded, ill ventilated and without access to the air." In only three hotels were accommodations good, in twelve fair. In one place a room for two girls contained no furniture but a single bed.

The moral dangers, especially to the

non-English-speaking girl employed in a hotel, appear from the report to be even more harrowing than in the restaurants, or it may be that it was easier to trace the downfall of a resident hotel worker than of a restaurant waitress who, with no questions asked, just drops out of her place. Here is some of the testimony to the moral danger of hotel work offered by housekeepers. "Unless a girl paid no attention to the remarks of traveling men," says one, "she would certainly go wrong." "I know of no occupation a girl can follow where she has the temptations the girl in the hotel has. The majority of the girls who work in these places go wrong sooner or later." "If a girl is straight," said a chambermaid, "there is nothing for her but bitter drudgery—no pleasure at all."

The management in many cases winks at these conditions, and allows them to persist. One woman when asked why she did not complain to the management of a gross insult from a guest replied: "If we don't like the insults we get, they will tell us to get out."

EDITORIAL GRIST

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN KENTUCKY

HORTENSE FLEXNER

A fairly creditable proportion of the bills introduced into the Kentucky legislature this year were enacted into laws. Among other things, they embrace bills touching the public health, education, prison and industrial reform.

In the matter of public health, probably the most important bill is one creating a tuberculosis commission, consisting of seven persons appointed by the governor, who serve without compensation and who are charged with the duty of conducting an educational campaign on tuberculosis. The bill carried an annual appropriation of \$15,000, and it authorizes the establishment of sanatoria by single counties or by two or more adjoining counties. The question as to whether or not such a sanatorium should

be established is to be decided by popular vote of the county. The commission is given certain supervisory powers over such sanatoria.

The governor has appointed the following persons to serve on the commission: Desha Breckinridge, Lexington; Tevis Camden, Versailles; Dr. H. S. Kellar, Frankfort; Dr. U. V. Williams, Frankfort; Dr. Everett Morris, Sulphur; Dr. R. T. Yoe, Louisville; and Bernard Flexner, Louisville. The governor is ex-officio a member of the commission.

The use of the public drinking cup is forbidden for the first time in the state. Another act regulates the sale of opium, and another forbids the entrance of a person under twenty-one years of age into a saloon, unless accompanied by a parent or guardian.

The Vital Statistic Law of the state has been strengthened by provisions providing for such registrars charged with the duty to make complete returns of births and deaths and report the same to the State Board of Health.

Another bill forbids the "sweating" of prisoners, and prevents the admission as evidence of any statement obtained by such process.

Certain labor reforms are made possible by the passage of an act regulating the employment of women. No woman may be employed at any occupation, except domestic service, for more than ten hours a day or sixty hours a week. The work of the labor inspector is made more efficient by an increase in his force. Two inspectors under the law shall be women.

After a long struggle, the Legislature has again granted school suffrage to women. The Compulsory Education Law of the state has been strengthened, and provision is made for the use of district school houses out of school hours, making it possible to hold vacation classes, club meetings and other civic and educational assemblies in the buildings.

The white slave traffic agitation bore fruit in an act making it a felony for any person to admit to a house of ill fame any female under the age of sixteen years.

SAVING BABIES IN NEW YORK CITY

GARRET SMITH

Executive Secretary Babies' Welfare Association,
New York City

A permanent, all the year around campaign, conducted through a strong central organization, is New York city's solution of the baby saving problem. After a season of experimenting, this principle took concrete form last spring in the Babies' Welfare Association, which acts as a clearing house for approximately 150 agencies working in behalf of infants throughout the greater city.

Results have already justified this method. Though many workers doubted that last year's splendid record in baby saving could be equalled two years in succession, the number of infant deaths in Greater New York so far this year is nearly 700 less than it was at this time in 1911. Last year there were 1,198 fewer deaths of babies under one year of age than in 1910.

Not satisfied with this record, workers pointed out that, while digestive diseases, most prevalent in hot weather, killed 282 out of every 1,000 babies who died, respiratory troubles, peculiar mainly to cold weather, killed 232 out of 1,000. Another reason for the all year around campaign was the loss of momentum due to beginning all over again each season. Therefore, the milk stations were kept open. The Board of Health secured an appropriation for fifty-five stations. By spring there were ninety stations being run by the board and six other organizations.

But the work was no longer confined to right feeding only. It had outgrown mere milk station activities in the old sense and come to embrace every form of infant welfare. The milk station was becoming a center for the education of mothers and for co-operation with every other organization in the infant field. The Babies' Welfare Association, organized in June, was the crystallization of this spirit and it has carried out the most complete plan of co-operation ever effect-

ed in this line of social work in New York city.

The records of such cities as Chicago, San Francisco, St. Paul, Rochester, New Haven, Kansas City, and Hartford show the short-comings of a campaign carried on mainly in the summer. While aggressive hot weather crusades are being conducted in every one of those cities each of them showed during the winter and spring months a decided increase in the number of infant deaths over last year. A comparison of New York city's own boroughs is also instructive. The work has been most completely organized in Manhattan, where the greatest congestion presented the greatest need. Up to August 17 in that borough there had been 523 fewer deaths of babies under one year than last year at the end of the corresponding week. At the same time Brooklyn had only forty-nine fewer deaths, while the Bronx had fifteen more.

"To save babies by saving wasted effort," is the motto of the association. By "wasted effort" is meant the overlapping of activities which has prevailed in the past. Except for the temporary association of last summer the milk station organizations were working independently. There was duplication of work, wasteful competition and a misunderstanding among forces that should work in harmony. The new association has brought them together and secured a working agreement.

Hitherto, free ice tickets meant for needy families with sick children have been distributed through a half dozen agencies. As many different sets of tickets had to be printed. Now, one set of these tickets is sent out by the association to the entire field. By bringing the big relief societies and the milk station agencies together in one organization, an arrangement has been effected whereby free milk for sick babies is granted at once without the delay formerly caused by investigation, the society appealed to paying the cost of milk used while the investigation is being made.

Lack of complete information about hospitals and dispensaries and absence of organized co-operation between them and milk stations, day nurseries and the

like, has led to loss of time in placing baby patients as well as to other serious, and sometimes fatal, inconveniences. The association includes hospitals which receive baby patients and a central bureau has been organized for placing babies in such institutions. In the same way a clearing house has been established for infant outing agencies.

Co-operation without amalgamation is brought about by the association. No organization within it in any way loses its individuality or has its methods of work encroached upon. Nor has any new appealing body entered the field. The central office expenses have been voluntarily provided by several organizations out of funds appropriated for particular branches of the association work. A General Committee is made up of representatives of each organization. From this body an executive committee of eight has been elected to carry on the work with an executive secretary. Sub-committees provide for complete representation of all interests in every line of activity.*

SHOWING THE GENTLEMAN FROM MISSOURI

A COMEDY WITH A MORAL

CONSTANCE D. LEUPP

[THIS LITTLE SKETCH OF A HEARING ON THE LOAN SHARK BILL IS AN APT PICTURE OF SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED BY PHILANTHROPIC LOBBYISTS AT THE NATIONAL CAPITAL. THE BIGGEST WEAPON TO ROUT OUT LOAN SHARKS WHO SECRETLY CHARGE UNCONSCIONABLE RATES OF INTEREST IS TO PASS A LAW WHICH WILL MAKE CLEAN LOANING BUSINESS PRACTICABLE. TWO PER CENT PER MONTH IS THE STANDARD WHICH HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED AS EFFECTIVE. WHEN THE RATE IS CUT BELOW THAT, LEGITIMATE COMPANIES ARE FORCED OUT OF BUSINESS AND THE WILD CAT COMPANIES THRIVE ON THEIR UNDERGROUND OPERATIONS. AS THE DYER BILL PASSED THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE THE INTEREST RATE WAS REDUCED TO 1 PER CENT. THE HEARING DESCRIBED WAS HELD IN THE EARLY WINTER.—Ed.]

PLACE: *United States House of Representatives.*

TIME: *A District Monday in the 62nd Congress.*

SUBJECT UNDER DISCUSSION: *The Dyer Bill raising the rate of interest for small loans in the district from 6 per cent a year to 2 per cent a month, and requiring a license of \$500 for money lending of this character.*

DRAMATIS PERSONAE: *Eight or ten interested, well-posted Congressmen who know that the higher rate is necessary in order to insure a reasonable profit to law-abiding loan companies, who may then establish business in*

the District and drive out by competition the loan sharks who now infest the national capital and do a thriving illegal business at a rate of from 75 per cent to 325 per cent a year.

Half a dozen gentlemen (one of whom shows that he has not read the bill by referring later to its effect on pawnbrokers, who are exempted) who think the proposed rate is exorbitant and intend to vote for the amendment reducing the rate from 24 per cent to 12 per cent a year.

AUDIENCE: *The whole legislative committee of the Women's Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation, who have been fighting for this bill—originally drafted by the District Commissioners—for five years. They share the ladies' gallery with a handful of sight-seers from out of town. One of the latter, a deaf old lady from Philadelphia, is leaning forward, her hand behind her ear, listening intently. Before the discussion has been going on half an hour she has caught the point completely and is keen for 2 per cent. Her grasp of the subject in such a short time is an interesting commentary on the befogged state of mind of some of the legislators.*

There is a general atmosphere of noise and inattention.

MR. FOWLER OF ILLINOIS: Mr. Speaker, I have the floor and I'll yield to nobody but God and my constituents!

The Speaker wields his gavel and something like order is restored.

MR. FOWLER: Mr. Speaker, I should be ashamed to go back to my district and tell the people of Illinois, even a single man, that I have voted for a bill to license the lending of money at the rate of 24 per cent per annum. And what is more, I do not intend to do it!

With a savage nod of defiance towards the serried rows of millinery in the ladies' gallery, he sits down.

VOICE IN THE GALLERY WHICH DOES NOT REACH THE FLOOR: Well, if all his constituency are like him, I should think he'd be afraid to go home on any terms!

MR. BERGER OF WISCONSIN: Mr. Speaker, so long as one lives in a swamp, one must expect mosquitoes and flies. And so long as we live under the capitalist system we must expect loan sharks and other vampires. Twenty-four per cent a year is a hard thing to legalize, I admit. We cannot legislate the loan shark out of the business for that reason.

He continues evenly to plead for a government loan bank that should charge no in-

terest. Failing that, he advocates the rate of 2 per cent a month, since the present District law is a dead letter as it means only loss to the lender; yet there must be some provision whereby the man on a small salary can borrow when in trouble. Therefore, he explains, the District Committee after due consideration has unanimously reported this bill at 2 per cent a month. He continues:

The labor organizations of the District have asked for it, and all the scientific and charitable societies that have studied the subject are also in favor of the bill. And I am not afraid to go back to Milwaukee after voting for this bill, and my constituency is just as radical as that of the gentleman from Illinois.

There is further discussion backward and forward. Those who speak in defense of the original bill at 2 per cent are:

Representatives DYER of Missouri, PETERS of Massachusetts, SLAYDEN of Texas, KAHN of California, O'SHANNESSY of Rhode Island, REDFIELD of New York, LONGWORTH of Ohio.

Those who endorse the amendment changing the rate to 1 per cent are:

Representatives CAMPBELL of Kansas, FOWLER of Illinois, SHARP of Ohio.

Towards the close of the discussion, Representative NORRIS makes this contribution.

MR. NORRIS: It seems to me a remarkable coincidence that those members who favor the 24 per cent rate do it ostensibly in opposition to the so-called loan shark. The gentleman says that if the rate is fixed at 1 per cent a month it will not be effective; if they cannot afford to lend money at 1 per cent per month, there is no way to compel them to, and God knows nobody wants them to. We can get along without the loan sharks!

When the forty minutes allotted to the discussion are over, time is called on the last speaker. Mr. MANN objects that there is not a quorum present. The CHAIR counts and finds that there is not a quorum present, and the yeas and nays are ordered. The CHAIR directs the doorkeeper to close the doors and the sergeant-at-arms to notify absentees.

The CHAIR explains, for there is an obvious confusion in the minds of many, that the yeas are voting for the amendment of 1 per cent, the nays for the original bill of 2 per cent.

The question is taken.

Yeas, 175. Nays, 83. Answer present, 9. Not Voting, 125.

Mr. DYER and Mr. MANN attempt to get the bill recommitted to the District Committee, with further changes raising the rate.

The motion to recommit is lost and the House proceeds to the consideration of the next bill on the calendar, while the backers of the 2 per cent rate pour out of the gallery discussing the possibility of blocking the amendment in the Senate.

Such is the progress of social legislation.

EUROPEAN REGULATION OF EMIGRATION

VICTOR VON BOROSINI

Hull House, Chicago

The immense increase in the "new emigration" has compelled some of the south European countries to revise their emigration laws, and others, like Russia, Austria, and the Scandinavian countries, to consider revision. While no European country, with the exception of Turkey, actually prohibits emigration, they all attempt to check rather than to facilitate it. National, economic, and political considerations lead to emigration restrictions for men still liable to military service, for girls who could be exported for immoral purposes, and for parents who leave dependent minors at home. Spain demands the consent of the husband when a married woman wants to leave the country; a similar provision existed in Russia up to the first of May. Since the American restrictive legislation threatens with deportation physically, morally, and mentally unfit people, the European governments aim to save their citizens the expense of a trip and the mental anguish of being returned. They also look upon the American laws as a welcome check on emigration, the serious moral and economic effects of which are recognized by all countries.

On an average 80 per cent of European emigrants are men, the percentage being highest in southern Europe; these men are for the greater part at their most productive age and they have left the rural communities in such numbers that the wages of agricultural laborers at home have greatly increased. The emigration agencies are closely supervised and this fact has led to a widespread illegal, clandestine emigration in Russia, Hungary, and Italy, which de-

prives emigrants of the protection by their home governments and leads to their exploitation by unscrupulous agents. Russian officials believe that about 80 per cent of all emigrants are smuggled over the border, because the price for a passport is almost prohibitively high, over \$8. The governments reserve to themselves the right to prohibit emigration to certain countries, as Italy did last year to Argentine.

While the emigration laws of France date from 1860-61 and those of Holland from 1860-1865, the latter prohibiting the sale of liquor to the steerage and obliging emigrants to clean their own rooms, England, Germany, Hungary, Spain, and Italy have modern laws. The last three have good provisions, but even here the steerage passenger is often exploited, through lack of proper supervision. From a person traveling in the steerage, and going permanently abroad to earn his living—who is technically an emigrant—Russia, most of the Balkan states, France, Italy, and Hungary demand a regular passport, which is expensive and generally necessitates long waiting; Germany asks her emigrants only for their military papers.

Steamship agents are forbidden to give out information other than about sailings and the price of tickets. Further advice is given emigrants in Italy, Spain, Holland, France, and Germany by governmental bureaus; in England by the Emigrants' Information Office, which is supported by the state and the colonies; in Hungary by the secretary of the interior. Germany, France, and England naturally prefer to direct citizens to their own colonies. Italy maintains confidential agents abroad to inform the home office about the fluctuating labor market. Steamship soliciting for steerage trade is a punishable offense. Steamship companies are responsible for their agents and subagents who must get a license after depositing a considerable sum as security and must be citizens with a clean record. Hungary, Italy, and Spain do not allow public officials, professional people, and saloon-keepers to act as steamship agents. The companies must submit disputes to the courts of the country;

legally recognized claims are paid from the sums deposited as security. In Hungary and Italy the charge for tickets is approved by the authorities to prevent pooling or discrimination. The contract of transportation must be a written one, a copy must be transmitted to the emigration service in France and Italy, to the local authorities in Hungary.

All countries require exact data for statistical purposes. Italy, Spain, Hungary, and Germany stipulate that each ticket must contain the name of the emigrant; his companions and their age, if they are minors; name of agent, company and boat, with its age, speed, tonnage, flag, date of departure and duration of trip; price paid for ticket; weight and number of pieces of luggage. The menus and the quantity of food to which a person is entitled must be printed on the back of the Italian ticket. Switzerland, Hungary and Italy provide for proper medical treatment in illness and in case of death decent burial at sea. Hungary, Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium demand that the head of the family and all the luggage of steerage passengers at the emigrant's expense be insured against damages or accident. France allows her emigrants to sleep on board the night before sailing, England allows them to spend the day after arrival on board, Italy demands that the company house and feed them one day ahead of sailing. Delayed departure, sickness, or death of the head of the family are reasons for asking to have passage money refunded. In case of accident to the ship the company must feed the steerage passengers until the trip is resumed.

The seaworthiness of the boat, for which the captain and the owner are held jointly responsible, is ascertained through a detailed examination, when the boat is first put into service, and later at each sailing before the clearance permit is issued. Spain alone is satisfied with Lloyds or the French *veritas certificat*. The steerage passenger, under ordinary circumstances, is not obliged to perform any services on board; this applies also to deported steerage passengers who must be returned free of cost to their

homes or home countries. In Italy the company can be sued for damages if it can be proved that the latter could have known beforehand that the man would be deported. People, who become indigent after landing are returned by their consuls. Italy pays forty cents a day for each individual; Spain and Hungary return a fixed number free of cost, the latter paying ten dollars for every additional person over 2,000 to the Cunard Line. England gets reduced rates through Thomas Cook. The ethics of burdening the mother country with those who are exhausted and exploited by other countries is debatable.

Italy makes the best provisions for the personal comfort and safety of the steerage. Germany, Spain, England, and Italy demand that fresh water for washing purposes shall be given the steerage. Each country makes stringent rules for the special protection of girls and women traveling alone; no provisions, however, provide a place on deck for their exclusive use. Pregnant women must be placed in wider beds. The complaint book, though it is to be found on all boats, is not easily accessible. A copy of the emigration laws, frequently in many languages, must be placed in a conspicuous place in the steerage. Italy, Hungary, and Spain have special governmental agents mostly physicians on boats leaving and arriving at national ports, for the enforcement of the laws. They are mediators in case of complaints in the steerage and are especially responsible for their sanitary and hygienic well being. On land special boards and officers are entrusted with the protection of emigrants. In Italy and Spain organized labor elects some representatives to these boards. Special commissioners in Genoa, Palermo, and Naples are responsible for the emigrants until they are placed in the hands of the commissioners on the ship. Emigrants' eating and boarding houses must submit their price lists for approval and submit to inspection by day and by night. In disputes the commissioner's settlement of the matter is final.

At these three ports the emigrants are examined by United States medical offi-

cers who rejected in one year over 10,000 people. Greece, whose emigration is growing very fast, enforces strict medical supervision. A person intending to emigrate is allowed, after a preliminary examination by a local physician, to deposit the passage money and is shipped with a health certificate to the port of embarkation where he must submit to a second examination by the head physician. Eye specialists are employed in Italy, Bremen, Hamburg, and Rotterdam. In Bremen emigrants are examined by physicians hired by the American consul and paid by the company; in Rotterdam by the company's and the consul's physician; in Trieste the latter official is allowed much liberty while in Antwerp his interference is not tolerated. Germany obliges the companies to maintain thirteen stations on her eastern border and one near Spandau, to which emigrants from Russia and Austria-Hungary are directed. Here they are examined and quarantined, until the companies are reasonably sure that they may satisfy in every way the immigration officials in the United States. In one year over 11,000 people were refused transportation at these stations and had to return home.

The emigration service is a heavy financial burden for some countries. Italy demands \$1.80 for each steerage ticket, which with fines and money from licenses and permits is turned into a general fund, from which the costs of the service both at home and abroad are defrayed. There is still great variety in emigration legislation, especially as to comforts on the boats. Here the United States could take the initiative toward raising the standard of requirements which is still deplorably low. Since we try constantly and often very successfully to raise the general standard of hygiene and sanitation on land, why should we not do the same for the steerage and make it possible to boycott such lines as do not come up to a minimum of decency? Not only the companies, but also foreign governments are still quite delinquent in their care for steerage passengers especially on the eastern trip.



BURROWING INTO MOTHER EARTH FOR IRON

The funnel-shaped hole on the left shows where the ore is "milled" down in mines worked by the milling process. Down in the right-hand corner completely dwarfed is a man with a wheelbarrow. The center picture shows the terraces on which the steam shovels work in the Mountain Iron Mine. Open pit mining on the Mesabi is represented in the third picture where the shovels are loading a very high grade ore.

IMMIGRANT LIFE IN THE ORE REGION OF NORTHERN MINNESOTA

LeROY HODGES

SPECIAL AGENT AND GEOGRAPHER FORMER UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION COMMISSION;
FORMER COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION THE SOUTHERN COMMERCIAL CONGRESS

North of Duluth there is a region where the falling rains and melting snows on one hill drain northward to the ice wastes of the Arctic Ocean. The waters on a second hill pass down to the Great Lakes, plunge over Niagara, and rush through the St. Lawrence into the gray, storm-tossed Atlantic. Providence has also decreed that the more favored waters of this place shall fall on a third hill and flow southward into the majestic Mississippi, traverse the heart of the Southland, and empty into the blue, sparkling depths of the Gulf of Mexico.

Great wastes of land stretch for miles covered only with the charred, blackened stumps of a once magnificent pine forest. Yawning chasms, in all their ugly nakedness, mark the spots where man has discovered and removed or is now at work removing the treasures of the hills which Nature so carefully stored away.

The babel of more than thirty different alien tongues mingles with the roar of mine blasts and the crash and clank of machinery. Here side by side work Finns, Swedes, Montenegrins, South Italians, English, Irish, Bohemians, Frenchmen, Hollanders, Syrians, Belgians, Croatians, Danes, Russians,

Magyars, Bulgarians, Germans, Greeks, Scotchmen, Welshmen, Dalmatians, Norwegians, and Servians.

More than 22,000,000 tons of iron ore are produced here annually, giving employment to about 15,000 men. Nearly 2,000,000 tons a year of the hard hematite ores are taken from steep shafts which reach a thousand feet down into the bowels of the earth, while more than 20,000,000 tons of soft hematite and limonite ores are dug from the surface of the earth with as little difficulty as though they were the common sands of the sea.

Embedded in these rock strewn hills lie the wealth and the power of the American steel industry. Here is the home of thirty great iron mining companies. Man can lay back a few feet of top soil and load, with steam-driven shovels, an almost pure ore into the cars of waiting trains. It is an Eldorado where iron takes the place of gold!

This region is divided geologically into two districts, or ranges as they are popularly called, known respectively as the Vermillion and the Mesabi.¹

¹Spelled also Mesabe and Missabe. Mesabi is the Chippewa Indian name for "giant."



SHACK OF A FINNISH MINER.

The Vermillion, the oldest of the two ranges, was explored and recognized as an iron-bearing district as early as the late forties, but was not developed to any extent until about 1880 when the locating of large deposits of iron ore caused a stampede. The majority of the new settlers came from the iron ranges of Michigan to seek employment. In 1882 the town of Tower, the first permanent mining camp in Minnesota, was established. A mining company was soon organized which has since been merged into a controlling iron-mining and steel-manufacturing interest which now owns and operates all mining properties on the range.

The records of a Roman Catholic church built in 1884 show that in that year the congregation was composed of thirty families of Irish, Germans, Italians, and French-Canadians: 120 souls, forty-five of them single, most of them from the Michigan ranges.

Systematic mining operations in the Mesabi range were begun in 1890, thirty years after the ore was discovered. The most important find was that of an exploration party from Duluth which struck a rich deposit of iron at what is now the Mountain Iron mine.

After the first discoveries of the vast ore wealth of the Mesabi were made, towns and railroads were built and a steady immigration from the Vermillion and the older ranges of Michigan set in. By the fall of 1892 the first shipments of ore went from the Mountain Iron mine.

The production of ore on the whole

range in 1892 amounted to only 4,245 tons. Today the Mesabi, with its annual production of more than 20,000,000 tons of high grade ore, is the greatest iron-producing region in the world.

The same company which owns the Vermillion properties controls and operates about two-thirds of the mines on the Mesabi, employing three-fourths of the men working in the industry. More than thirty other important concerns also own properties on the range. The centers of production are the towns of Hibbing and Virginia, and after them Chisholm, Eveleth, Coleraine, Nashwauk, Bovey, and Biwabik.

About 1900, to the original inhabitants—Finns, Slovenians, Scandinavians, Irish, North Italians, Cornishmen, and native Americans—were added an influx direct from Europe of Bohemians, South Italians, Bulgarians, Servians, Croats, Montenegrins, and other South and East Europeans who now make up the unskilled element required in the development of the mines. At present the Finns and Slovenians greatly outnumber all other races, and about 77 per cent of the total population of the region is composed of aliens.

Underground mining is employed exclusively on the Vermillion range where some of the shafts have been sunk more than a thousand feet. On the Mesabi are found the great "open pit" mines which have made the region famous. These mines are operated chiefly with steam shovels, but a few employ what is known as the milling process.

Mining in open surface cuts, or under the "open pit" system, consists in simply removing with steam shovels the glacial drift or overburden, composed of clay boulders, sand or low-grade ore, which covers the deposits to a depth of from two to eighty feet at an average of between twenty and forty feet. The ore is then loaded by the same means into standard-gauge cars.

The Mesabi ores are soft, with a texture varying from a fine flue dust to a coarse, granular ore which requires little blasting to enable the steam shovels to remove it from its bed. A few of the mining companies have taken advantage

of this soft character of the ore and have employed the "milling" process.

By this method a shaft is sunk on the edge of the ore body from which a tunnel is run under the ore and connected with a vertical, funnel-shaped hole made from the surface through which the ore is milled down into tram cars at the tunnel opening. The tram cars are then run out to the bottom of the shaft and the ore dumped into skids, or elevators, and raised to a tippie on the surface. From here the ore is loaded into railroad cars for shipment. The milling process thus employs some of the features of both the open pit and underground methods of mining.

When the methods of mining are taken into consideration, the number of accidents, both fatal and non-fatal, have been abnormally high throughout this region, fatal accidents being very nearly as frequent as in bituminous coal mining districts. The Vermillion mines are deep for ore workings, but are free from dangers of gas explosions. The earth formations on this range permit of much freedom in sinking shafts and running cross cuts for there are no very great difficulties to be overcome in preventing caving or strata displacement. On the Mesabi, explosives are used chiefly in the open mines and can not be considered an especially dangerous element in the mining operations. Mine fires and floods are rare, and can be quickly controlled.

During the seasons of the year when lake transportation is open the demand for labor greatly exceeds the supply, and the mining companies make sweeping concessions in order to keep their pay rolls full. Unskilled labor from the South and East of Europe is imported and mine discipline has been made as lax as possible, in order to keep the men satisfied after they are secured. This practice, the absence of both state and federal laws compelling the companies to employ only trained and experienced miners in the responsible and dangerous occupations, the inability of the majority of the operatives to speak English and understand the rules of the



FINNISH WOMEN OF A SUNDAY,

mines and the orders given them, and the recklessness and rank carelessness of a number of them, no doubt account for the appalling annual accident rate.¹

As the lake transportation lines are tied up during the winter, this season is slack in the mines. On account of its open pit system of mining the Mesabi is more seriously affected by winter weather than the Vermillion. The mines on the latter range, all being underground, can be operated even in the most severe weather, the ore being "stock piled" at the surface and held for shipment during the summer. If the demand for ore is active, employment can be secured on the Vermillion range the whole year round, which is not the case on the Mesabi.

Under normal conditions, during the shipping season, ten-hour periods for both day and night shifts are worked on the two ranges. No regular Sunday work is carried on except that of repairing, cleaning, and track laying which is done in a day shift of six to eight hours.

Wages average from \$12.50 per week to \$20 and over. More than 90 per cent of the Poles, Slovenians, and Finns earn under \$15 per week, while only a very few of the native Americans, English, Irish, Germans, Scandinavians, and other races from northern Europe earn under this amount. Wage payments are made monthly in currency by all the more important companies. Gold and silver coins are principally used. There

¹See article by Don D. Lescohier of the Minnesota Bureau of Labor on Accidents and Accident Prevention in the Minnesota Iron Mines, p. 710.



AN ALLEY SCENE IN COLERAINE.

The picture shows the garbage cans and stands required by a local ordinance.

are no company stores, or other institutions, upon which script can be issued.

Compulsory accident insurance is conducted by the principal mining concerns. The usual method is for the companies to deduct from fifty cents to a dollar a month from the wages of each employe. A representative system is that of one of the largest companies on the Mesabi, whose employes are entitled to receive \$25 per month when injured in the performance of their duties for a period of not longer than six months. For the first four days of disability no indemnity is paid. Should the employe be confined for more than four days and less than a month he receives one dollar a day. In case of death, the relief benefit is \$300. In the event that permanent injury results from an accident, he is paid a cash indemnity of \$240. A few of the companies, instead of carrying their own insurance fund turn the money deducted from the wages of their employes over in payment of premiums to a liability company.

In addition to accident insurance the majority of the companies maintain also a compulsory hospital and medical service, for whose support they deduct an additional dollar from the monthly wages of each employe. This money is paid by the companies to a contract doctor who attends all employes in case of accident or sickness, except cases of confinement and venereal diseases, for attending which they may charge extra. Some of these doctors have contracts with several mining companies.

In several instances this system has been taken advantage of by mine superintendents and made a means of personal

revenue. The superintendents contract with a doctor to render medical services at from fifty to seventy-five cents per individual employe per month and themselves retain the balance, which in some instances amounts to several hundred dollars a month. As a result of this petty graft, the personnel of the contract doctors is greatly injured and the efficiency of some of them is questionable.

Another line of petty graft is practiced to some extent by the sub-officials of a number of the companies. A group of Croatian and Servian laborers employed by one of the larger companies complained publicly that they had been forced to pay from \$5 to \$20 each for a job in the laboring occupations to one of the minor officials. Investigation substantiated the charge, and unearthed the additional fact that just prior to this instance a gang of fifteen laborers was laid off by an employment boss of the company, and the members re-employed by the same boss immediately on the payment of \$5 each. On another occasion when a Servian laborer complained in person to the general superintendent of his company that he had been compelled to pay one of the foremen for his job, that official replied: "If you have so much money that you can pay for a job, that is all right, for the foreman has a lot of little children and needs the money."

Labor is unorganized on the ranges, and an "open shop" is maintained by all companies. There is an unimportant local union at Hibbing, on the Mesabi, but it has never been recognized by the operators. The Western Federation of Miners has made several attempts to organize the miners, but all have failed on account of the militant opposition to organization on the part of the larger mining interests, who import immigrants as strike-breakers.

Drunkenness is common among all races, and the efficiency of the Finns and Slovenians especially is visibly impaired by excessive drinking; the Scandinavians, though heavier drinkers, carry their drink better.

Each town in the region has its full

quota of saloons. The only community in which the number is not abnormally large is Coleraine—the “model ore town”—with an estimated population of 2,000 on the western Mesabi range. There are only two saloons in this town, while a mile away, Bovey, the sister town, with a population of about 1,200, has twenty-five saloons. Bovey conditions are typical of the ore region.

In the principal fifteen towns on the two ranges, with a combined population of about 50,000, there are more than 350 saloons, or one saloon for 140 individuals. About 110 of these places are run by Poles, 80 by native Americans, 60 by Finns, 50 by Slovenians, 45 by Scandinavians, 35 by Croatians, about 30 by South Italians, and the remainder by the several other races in the region.

The majority of the saloons are well fitted up, and it is not unusual to find card rooms, dancing halls and lodging quarters run in connection with the establishments. Lodging rooms in connection with saloons are most often found among the Finns. The Montenegrin and South Italian saloons are nearly all low-class places, and many of those of the Slovenians are little better. Those run by Americans are elaborately fixed up and cater to the better classes. When out of work, or on the “off shifts,” the loafing places of the miners are the saloons conducted by members of their respective races.

A number of typhoid fever epidemics have occurred as a direct result of poor sanitary conditions that are fairly general. In Biwabik, on the Mesabi, for instance, a widespread epidemic of typhoid broke out a few years ago which was attributed to common flies carrying the disease from dry closets improperly cared for. An epidemic of the same disease at Hibbing was caused by using the waters of a small stream alike for drinking purposes and for sewage disposal.

Municipal sewage of the towns on the Vermillion range is emptied raw, without passing through septic tanks or other purifying processes, into the Vermillion lakes.



A PUBLIC SCHOOL IN COLERAINE.
Coleraine, on the Mesabi Range, is called the “model ore town.”

The towns on the Mesabi range dispose of their municipal sewage by emptying it into running streams and lakes. Virginia and Chisholm, for example, employ lakes. The sewage of Chisholm is run through septic tanks before allowed to enter the water, but as the lake is slowly being drained by the mining operations in the vicinity the practice can hardly be considered as conforming to the best principles of sanitation, especially as the lake is in the town itself.

In all communities on both ranges, whether a municipal sewerage exists or not, will be found a number of houses which have only open or dry closets, especially on the mine locations. A few are equipped with cesspools.

Garbage and similar refuse is required to be placed in cans or barrels at each house and is collected by scavenger carts at regular periods, in most places daily. In the camps, refuse of all kinds is generally scattered indiscriminately on the ground, especially where the inhabitants are Montenegrins and South Italians. These camps are also badly congested, unclean and unsanitary.

The most common diseases on the ranges are pulmonic tuberculosis, typhoid and scarlet fevers, diphtheria, trachoma, smallpox, and venereal diseases.

Pulmonary tuberculosis is most prevalent among the Finns and Swedes, being chiefly imported. Scarlet fever, diphtheria, and smallpox are common among all races. Trachoma is brought in largely over the Canadian border and is endemic among the Montenegrins, Servians, Slovenians and Croatians.

The reasons for the universality of



A COMPANY COTTAGE.
Seventeen Magyars live here.



A MONTENEGRIN CAMP.
Home of boarding boss and fourteen men.

syphilis are the large number of unmarried men in the region, who frequent illegal houses of prostitution not under the jurisdiction of the municipal or state health officials. The only medical attention these houses receive is that provided by the proprietors who in some cases make examinations of the inmates at intervals of two, three, and four weeks, and use the fact as an advertisement.

On the Vermillion range, the only two towns of any importance are Ely and Tower, where general housing conditions are excellent. Nearly all immigrants live in their own houses, though a few occupy rented company houses. There are no "camps," as they are called on the Mesabi, because there are but few recent immigrants from the South and East of Europe. The races composing the population, principally Finns and Slovenians, are permanently settled and take an interest in their homes.

The common type of house is a frame dwelling, one or two stories high, containing from four to six rooms. A few boarding and lodging houses owned by the mining company, contain about twenty rooms and are rented to favored employees at the same rate as the smaller cottages, the rent of company houses being \$5 per month, irrespective of whether they contain six or twenty rooms. There is little congestion.

The homes of all races have small gardens and flower beds around them, and the visitor passing through the streets of either Ely or Tower is struck with the general cleanliness. It is hard

to distinguish the difference in the living conditions among the different races on this range for they are all above the average.

In the towns on the Mesabi range the natives, English, Irish, Scotch, and Scandinavians have the most substantial houses. These are chiefly two-story frame buildings, four to eight rooms, with flush closets and piped water on the inside. The Finns and Austrians live in small cottages in the larger towns, while in the outlying settlements they are found in log cabins and tar-paper shacks. In both small and large communities persons of all these races are found in boarding houses.

Around the mine locations is found the mining camp, generally a shack or cottage in which an unusually large number of persons live together, under a boarding boss system. Camps are very common among South Europeans, and among them congestion and filth are pronounced. The standards of the Slavs are higher, of the North European higher still.

Cottages and camps in the mine locations are usually owned by the mining companies and rented for \$6 to \$12 per month for a cottage, \$15 to \$30 for a boarding house. In some communities the mining companies rent the land for fifty cents to one dollar a month and allow their employees to erect shacks of their own. In such cases the right is reserved to move the builder off at any time should the land be needed.

The usual price of board and lodging among the Swedes, English, Scotch, and

Americans is from \$18 to \$20 a month on the American plan; among Finns and Slovenians, \$14 to \$18 and among the few American plan boarding-houses of South Europeans \$16.

The cost of food and lodging under the boarding boss systems varies among the several races; and among the same race in different localities with varying standards of living. In the little town of Gilbert, for instance, the Montenegrins pay \$8 to \$15 per month for food, and \$2 to \$3 for lodging and cooking; while in Nashwauk they pay \$15 to \$18 for food, lodging, and cooking. Among the better classes of immigrants in Eveleth, board on the American plan costs from \$14 to \$16. The Croats, Italians, Servians, and Syrians, living under boarding boss systems in this town, pay from \$2 to \$4 a month for lodging, washing, and cooking, and \$10 to \$15 for food.

One of the most striking things on the ranges is the excellent school facilities provided in every community. Even the minor settlements where the inhabitants live in small frame dwellings, often provide school buildings which would be a credit to a large city. School attendance is compulsory in Minnesota, and members of all races are found in the class-rooms of the public schools.

The public school system is one of the best in the state, in respect to general facilities and equipment. About 95 per cent of the school taxes is paid by the several mining companies, who are all heavy contributors to all educational movements. There are no parochial schools. The Roman Catholic parishes in nearly every settlement are made up of South Europeans. Smaller Lutheran,

Methodist, and Baptist churches are supported by the North Europeans. All of these churches maintain a number of benefit and sick societies whose monthly fees range from 50 cents to \$1.50. They pay sick benefits of from \$5 to \$10 a week, and death benefits of from \$200 to \$1,000.

The Scandinavians are making the most noticeable progress. They entered the region as unskilled laborers, but are moving up in the scale of occupations and are found chiefly as skilled workmen in the ore mines, or as industrious law-abiding citizens who have established independent businesses.

The Irish, English, Scotch, and French Canadians have worked up from unskilled labor to skilled occupations in the mines. The Russian Hebrews are mostly storekeepers, and are slowly progressing, as are the Finns and the Slovenians on the Vermillion range.

A few of the Finns have gone from the mine colonies into the northern wilderness and cleared small patches of land miles away from the centers of population where they remain practically the whole winter living on provisions hauled out during the fall. They seem to thrive where the hardships are most severe, but their progress in the mines is retarded by their surliness and radicalism.

There has been very little advancement in the scale of occupations on the part of the Bohemians, Bulgarians, Croats, Greeks, Poles, Servians, Montenegrins, Italians, and Syrians. The Poles are good workmen but not at all ambitious. The Croats are lazy, indifferent workmen and are among the lowest in the industrial scale.



STREET SCENE IN COLERAINE.

ACCIDENTS AND ACCIDENT PREVENTION IN THE MINNESOTA IRON MINES

DON D. LESCOHIER

MINNESOTA BUREAU OF LABOR

[This article summarizes a special investigation of the accident prevention work of the Oliver Iron Mining Company, the Minnesota subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation, made by W. F. Houk, labor commissioner of Minnesota, J. P. Gardiner, assistant labor commissioner, and Don D. Lescohier, expert of the Bureau of Labor, the latter's investigation being made at the request of THE SURVEY.]

The article expresses the conclusions of the state officials gained from their own investigations made together and supplemented by the experience of W. H. Harvey, mine inspector for St. Louis county, a man of sterling ability. Mr. Harvey reported that the operations visited were typical of the conditions in the other mines of the company and that the independent companies are rapidly introducing the same safety measures as the Oliver Company. Not all the illustrative accidents cited in this paper occurred in the Oliver Company's mines.]

"These gentlemen are interested in safety," said Edward Windom of the Oliver Iron Mining Company to a machine-shop foreman at Coleraine.

"That is the burning question of the day," was the man's response.

The most amazing thing on the Minnesota iron ranges is the universality and intensity of this conviction. From superintendent down to shift boss every man seems committed to the doctrine that "safety is first" in proper mining methods. "I never saw industrial operations on so large a scale" said J. P. Gardiner, as we were returning to St. Paul, "where the spirit of 'safety first' was so deeply ingrained into the entire force from the president of the corporation down to the pettiest foreman. If we give this company the credit they deserve, people will say that we have been hoodwinked."

And yet it is this spirit that appealed to us as the most significant and important achievement that the Oliver Iron Mining Company has performed in its campaign for safety. Mining is a business where caution is peculiarly necessary. The underground men, scattered through the workings at points so far distant from each other that the mine captain or shift boss cannot keep them under continuous observation, are handling heavy timbers, overhead earth and rock, and explosives. More than one-half of them have been in this country less than five years, and about 20 per

cent less than two years. They are mostly Slavic or South European peoples and not half of them can speak English. Forty-nine of the eighty-five men killed in the mines of Minnesota during the year ending June 30, 1911, were of Teutonic origin. The rest were Slavs and South Europeans. In their home countries the South Europeans are not miners, and they bring to the work no knowledge of those fine points of mining practice that make the miners of the British Isles, France, and Belgium skillful and fitted by past training and experience to cope with those dangers which can be avoided only by their own carefulness and foresight. The importance of "safety first" in the mines of Minnesota can therefore hardly be overestimated.

The open pits in surface mining are even more full of dangers that can be escaped only by vigilance than are underground workings and their foreign laborers are, on the whole, of a still lower grade. Fifty-five (65 per cent.) of last year's fatalities occurred in surface mining and though this is an unusually large proportion, the year is rare when the open pit fatality rate is not in excess of the underground.

The open pit men must work around railroad tracks, beneath steam shovel dippers and banks of earth and rock, and explode tremendous charges of powder. During the last year, twenty-two men were killed by caving ground in the

open pit—fourteen of them in one terrible catastrophe; six by premature explosions while loading gopher holes; two by "missed holes"; ten by train accidents; three by stripping cars dumping back; and twelve by miscellaneous accidents.

"The key to the situation," said Michael Godfrey, general superintendent of the Canisteo district, "is the foreman. I hold my foremen responsible for every accident that occurs among their men. Their ability to prevent accidents is an important consideration for promotion; their inability to prevent accidents is certain to result in discharge. *I've got my foremen now where they come in and apologize for an accident. When the foreman is careful the men have to be.*"

The fact that the mine superintendents and other men in charge are convinced that no precaution is too trivial to take, and that every needless exposure to danger is poor mining practice, is of tremendous significance to Minnesota's mine accident problem. When this conviction has penetrated, as it already has in part, to the steam-shovel and train crews, the drillers and blasters, the miners, the skipmen, and the trammers, the central problem of Minnesota's mine accident prevention will be solved.

W. H. Harvey, mine inspector of St. Louis county, speaking of the problems arising from the personal characteristics of the mine workers, stated that the night schools upon the mining range were being largely attended by miners, and that as their knowledge of English increases, accidents among them decrease. He also believes that the efforts of the mining companies to prevent the sale of adulterated liquors is tending to decrease accidents, since the use of purer liquors does not leave the miners in so stupefied a condition. Accidents from intoxication are in his opinion very rare, since great care is taken to prevent intoxicated men from entering the mines, but accidents from the after effects of intoxication are not uncommon, and are much more frequent where low grade liquors are sold.

In open pit mining one of the most dangerous processes has been the preparation and explosion of "gopher holes"

or horizontal excavations in the bank. These are generally from twelve to twenty feet deep, and are loaded with several kegs of black powder, and then exploded to loosen the earth ready for the steam shovel. To prevent workmen from being smothered by earth or overcome by gas in the holes the safety committee of the company now requires that where feasible they shall be "of such size that it will not be possible for a man to enter them."

Previous to the making of this rule such accidents occurred as that on April 11, 1910, to John Isaacson, a Finnish gopher hole digger at the Virginia mine. He entered a hole too soon after he had exploded a small blast in it, and was suffocated by the powder gases.

Four men have been killed during the past year, three of them in one accident, by the premature explosion of powder in gopher holes. The principal causes for these premature explosions are putting powder into the holes while the ground is still hot after a dynamite "shaking blast"; dropping sparks into the powder; hand shovels or other tools striking stones; or steam shovels, locomotives, or fires igniting the powder. Other premature explosions are caused by the crossing of electric wires when firing "shaking blasts," causing the explosion of powder and dynamite. A typical loading-in accident occurred at the Hull-Rust mine on June 10, 1909, in which George and Martin Startivick, Austrians and brothers, were killed while attempting to load a gopher hole with a hand shovel. A similar accident on May 24, 1911, cost the lives of three gopher hole diggers.

To prevent these accidents the company required¹ that the powder should be placed either in sacks or in loading troughs and thus introduced into the hole. These precautions effectively guard against ignition of powder by sparks, but do not prevent accidents due to gopher hole men loading into hot holes or getting their electric wires crossed, which can be prevented by care alone.

The safety committee's requirements

¹All rules referred to in this paper are taken from a typewritten copy of the General Safety Regulations that are being worked out by the company's general superintendents. The rules will soon be put in printed form.

that a "safe and convenient means of getting black powder into the pits shall be provided" has resulted in the operators devising a very clever and inexpensive device that should commend itself to all large excavators. A wooden trough is provided, divided into two compartments, with a rope running over a pulley at the top and attached to a little box on each side of the trough. When the box on one side goes down to the bottom of the pit, the box on the other side comes to the top. A keg of powder is placed in the box and goes down by force of gravity, at the same time pulling the empty box on the other side to the top. By this method a number of kegs can quickly and safely be taken to the bottom of the pit by a pair of miners and without hard labor.

To make sure that the hole is fired both electric and tape fuses are inserted and the blaster is required to examine the ground after a blast and to notify his foreman if he suspects a misfire, so that the missed hole may be exploded or dug out. Neglect to take this precaution or an error in judgment sometimes has serious results. In January, 1911, Eric Yimbeck was killed by rocks thrown by a missed hole set off by a "shaking blast" fired near it, and a few days later Matt Frakovich was killed by running a hot drill into such a hole.

Steam shovels have cost many lives and serious injuries, and one of the most valuable contributions that the Oliver Iron Mining Company have made to safety engineering is the transformation they have wrought on their steam shovels. Such accidents as occurred at the Hull-Rust mine on February 1, 1906, when Sam Kokko was thrown into the steam shovel gears and fatally injured while helping to re-wrap a repaired hoisting chain on the drum, would have been impossible on a steam shovel guarded as the Oliver shovels are now. The same thing may be said of the death of Steve Radich at the Buffalo and Susquehanna stripping on October 11, 1910, who fell from the running board of a steam shovel and struck his head on a jack screw handle.

The typical location of the pitman under the steam dipper is always dan-

gerous, and the problem of protecting him is further complicated by the deafening noise of the engine, straining chains, and rending earth and rock. The pitmen must be beneath the boom, where it is difficult for the engineer or craneman to see them, and the noise makes sudden warnings difficult. No device can prevent these accidents, and dependence must be placed upon the carefulness of the shovel crew, particularly the engineer and craneman. "On September 26, 1910," says the mine inspector's report, "Louis Neogete, a laborer at the Dale-Uno mine, was laying a tie just in front of the steam shovel preparatory to moving the shovel ahead, when he was struck on the head by the dipper and killed. Neither the engineer nor the craner could see him, as he was directly under the swinging circle, and the victim did not see the dipper descending."

An important reform in the company's excavating practice, which should be copied in the contracting industries generally, is the providing of a man at each shovel or other place where men are working near a bank of earth, to remove with a crowbar all overhanging rocks, dirt, shrubs, etc. Such a measure will prevent most accidents like the one that occurred at the Sellers mine on December 4, 1910, when "Mike" Ellick, an Austrian pitman, was pinned by falling chunks of earth against the jack arm of a steam shovel and crushed to death, or the two like accidents that happened three days later in the Brunt and the Hartley mines when Andrew Neimie and Victor Lokso, Finnish pit workmen, were killed. Six men were killed in this way during the last year.

Fourteen others lost their lives in the worst mine disaster that Minnesota has ever known, and one entirely unpreventable. On March 11, at the Norman mine a crew of men were raising and lining up the track in the approach to the open pit, when an immense quantity of ore from the north side of the pit slid down with such precipitation that the men had not time to make their escape. The pit, at the place where the accident occurred, was 357 feet wide from crest to crest of the ore body, 51 feet wide at the bottom, and 205 feet deep, giving it a



UNDERGROUND MINERS OF MINNESOTA.

properly sloping bank. It had been used as a safe refuge when blasts were fired, but the dip of the ore body was toward the south, and this, with the alternate freezing and thawing of the ground, caused the slide.

Another type of surface accidents occurs in the "test pits," which are dug into ore beds to get samples of the ore, where workmen have lost their lives both by gas poisoning and by falling buckets. No man is now permitted to go into a test pit until he has tested it for gas by lowering a lighted candle, and he cannot remain in the pit without keeping a lighted candle near the bottom of the pit. If gas accumulates the candle will go out and he will be warned to leave the pit. A similar precaution would protect well diggers and workmen in gaseous man-holes.

A recent fatal accident from a bucket falling while being hoisted has forcibly emphasized the need of the safety hooks now used to fasten bucket handles, when

lowering buckets into the pits. All tools must be fastened to the buckets.

In underground mining safety must be a product of safe methods of working, skill, and effective supervision. Principal dependence must be placed on the unfailing carefulness of all underground men. Nevertheless there are many mechanical means of accident prevention. This is brought out by the safety rules of the corporation, and more vividly still by the devices in a typical Minnesota underground mine—the Spruce mine at Eveleth, Minn.

At this mine the timber shaft on the surface is railed and properly "toeboarded" with boards six inches high to prevent men or objects falling down the shaft. The timber shaft beside which the ladder runs is boarded up solidly to prevent miners from crawling across the beams which form the frame-work of the shaft to sublevels ordinarily reached only by going down to the level beneath and climbing back to the sub-level by

another ladder. This effectively prevents such accidents as that on July 18, 1908, to John Onic, an Austrian miner twenty-three years old, employed at the Shenango mine, who was instantly killed by being caught by the counterbalance of the timber cage. A small opening was made to the shaft at this place to get timber through for the sublevel. He attempted to reach the ladders by crawling across the timbers and leaving the shaft by this hole instead of at the entrance of the ladder road twenty feet below. Such accidents, inexcusably careless on the workman's part, will nevertheless occur unless the timber and skip shafts are absolutely inaccessible from the ladder ways.

One of the most important features of the Oliver Company's safety work is the effort to prevent falls, the cause of 10 per cent of all the industrial accidents in Minnesota. Every construction on their properties, indoor and out, surface or underground, from which a workman might fall, is being railed or otherwise protected. But even so, during the past year eight men were killed in shafts and raises. One case was apparently a suicide; of the others, one might have been saved by a toe board, the others by wearing safety ropes around their waists.

The ladder road has been another fruitful source of falls in underground mines. The guarding of ladder roads now begins at the surface. As one approaches a ladder road he is confronted by a closed door, so that he cannot stumble into the ladder road opening. The ladders are also extended about four feet above the floor so that one may get on them without crawling into a hole to do so. All are at least four inches away from the side of the shaft to allow a good hand and foot hold. The landings are normally twelve feet apart, though under exceptional conditions they may run from ten to twenty-five feet. The man-hole from a landing to the ladder below is always directly beneath the ladder above which is placed at an angle across the hole so that it forms an absolute protection against falling more than the length of one ladder. Under these conditions long, deadly falls down ladder roads become impossible, and men

are enabled to rest every twelve feet. The significance of this system may only be appreciated by one who has stood at the foot of a ladder road and heard some agile young miner come down, his hands and feet simply gliding from rung to rung with a sound on the steel rungs resembling the swift, steady rat-a-tat-tat of the wood-pecker pounding a hollow tree.

In order to guard against fires the men are absolutely forbidden to set candles on shaft timbers or any other timbers, no hay or manure is kept underground, unless stored in a fireproof room, and no more powder than is necessary to last a single day. All electric wires are insulated, wherever possible, and fire-extinguishers and fire hose kept where accessible. Telephones afford communication with all parts of the mine and with the surface.

The calcium carbide lamp is now being generally introduced, which will entirely do away with the dangers that have accompanied the use of candles. "There is always danger," says Mr. Harvey, "from hot grease or snuff from the candle falling into caps when handling explosives, or of the men forgetting to put out their candles when leaving the mine at quitting time, and thus causing a fire, as recently happened at the Chisholm mine, though without serious damage. The calcium carbide lamp is a much better and safer light than the candle, and 50 per cent cheaper."

Mr. Harvey's reference to cap explosions calls attention to a serious danger that has at last been successfully grappled with, and in an exceedingly simple manner. At the Spruce mine on October 14, 1910, Emil Pohja, a Finnish miner, in taking a cap from a box dropped a spark from his candle into the box. He was instantly killed. The cap box was so constructed that when opened all the caps were exposed. A new type of cap box is now being made by the powder companies which exposes but one cap at a time.

Besides providing the safer cap boxes the companies are seeking to protect the miners against explosions by specific instructions relative to the handling, storing, and thawing of dynamite, powder

and caps, that are too detailed and technical to discuss here.

The chief underground risks center about the danger of ore or ground falling and the handling and use of explosives, though fatalities occur each year by falls and by crushings under skips and timber cages.

Eleven men were killed underground during the past year by caves of ground. On March 11, 1911, Philip J. Stone, an Englishman, and Joseph Bomash, an Austrian, were boarding up the sides of a room forty-five by fifteen feet, when they heard a timber crack. Before they could escape the room caved in and killed them both. Joseph Binney, the mine captain, was seriously injured in the same accident. On January 4, 1911, Joe Degaspén, was working in a "slice" that had a sloping rock bottom, which allowed the timbers to slide out, and the roof to cave, smothering him. On October 8, 1910, Martin Caesar, was instantly killed by a cave that occurred while he was picking holes in the back and breast of his slice to put up poles to support the back.

Two regulations are of particular importance with respect to these accidents. Where the ground is soft and loose the miners are required to secure the roof of their working place by extending poles horizontally from the cap timbers of their finished set of uprights into holes in the ground. This secures the roof when only a small amount of ore has been removed. In all openings in soft ore mines the timbers are required to be put in place as soon as there is sufficient room, and to be kept up close to the breast in all openings, whether on main or sublevels. The greatest care is also required in trimming the loose dirt from the backs and sides.

Though the timbers supplied by the company are of great strength and carefully inspected, some of them break every year under the tremendous and sudden strains that result from the "slicing and caving" system of mining, and the elimination of cave-in accidents is one of the most difficult problems with which Minnesota mine operators have to cope.

The enforcing of rules regulating the

dangerous work of underground blasting is difficult because the men are so widely scattered that the shift boss cannot keep them under close supervision. Most powder accidents are of one of five general types: premature firing of loaded holes; delayed blasts; "walking into blasts"; explosion of a stock of powder; and dirt falling on men who return too soon after a blast.

Premature explosions generally occur because a fuse has been cut too short or a metal tamping stick used. Each fuse is cut by the miner according to his judgment to fit the particular conditions from a long piece. The men are forbidden to use anything but wood for tamping sticks and are warned not to attempt to force a stock of powder into a hole with a fuse already attached.

Some explosions which we class as premature are not premature in fact. The miner, when lighting several holes, will sometimes delay too long, because one of his fuses does not start well, and be caught by the blast. The company has three rules to facilitate escape in such cases. No man is permitted to light more than five holes at one time; each man is supposed to have a partner to assist him if necessary, and he must keep a light burning some distance away to guide him when hurrying from the room or drift where the blast is burning, so that if the light that he is carrying is blown out, he will not be killed by blindly walking back toward his blast.

The delayed blast and the missed hole cause many more accidents each year than the premature blast. On October 4, 1910, Simon Mustich and his partner were firing three holes. He was to light two, and his partner one. Mustich had some difficulty in lighting his, and both of them appeared to go out. After his partner's hole had exploded, he returned to light his fuse again, when one of his holes exploded. He was fatally injured.

Impatient miners, thinking that the hole is not going to fire, return to find out what is wrong and to light it again, just as a small boy looks into a fire-cracker. Only they do it with heavy charges of powder or dynamite. The result is death

or mutilations worse than death. Here as in all underground work reliance must be placed upon the obedience of the men to instructions, which are, "Don't hurry in seeking an explanation of a misfire. Take plenty of time before you approach a misfire" and "report all misfires to the shift boss or foreman in charge of the work *immediately*, and in no case whatever try to blast such missed hole without acting under the instructions of the shift boss or foreman. When changing shifts also notify opposite shift partners of such missed hole."

In most cases the persons killed or injured by "walking into a blast" are not the workmen doing the blasting, though in some cases these walk into their own blasts when their lights go out. To prevent such accidents the company requires that each opening leading to the place where the blasting is being done must be guarded.

The ore, when mined, is put into cars pushed by hand, taken to a "raise" or chute, and dumped down to the tramming level, where it empties into tram cars and is hauled to the hoisting shafts. In the operation of these tram trains, which are generally drawn by an electric motor, several dangers arise. To avoid collisions a system of green and red lights at junctions, operated by the motormen has been installed. No one except the motormen and brakemen is allowed to ride on these cars. The trains are being equipped with automatic gongs to ring while they are in motion. Drift

timbers are almost uniformly at a safe distance from the cars, and drifts are kept free of all obstructions, such as might cause an accident.

Reference has already been made to the chutes through which the ore is carried from one level to another. A number of men have been killed in chutes, and all chutes into which ore is dumped from the cars by releasing hopper doors, as in the soft ore mines, are therefore protected by a "grizzly" or set of bars horizontally across the top of the chute, low enough not to interfere with the dumping of the cars. The maximum openings must not exceed 280 square inches. All other chutes and raises are protected by fences at least three feet high.

At those mines which use "cages" to hoist and lower men these must be enclosed with plates or wire screen and equipped with safety catches. Hoist ropes, cages, and catches must be inspected daily and all defects immediately remedied; catches are tested once a month. No spliced ropes may be used on man cages, and no man is permitted to get on or off a moving cage. No tools or timbers can be carried on a cage with men, and when hoisting or lowering men, *two competent* men are kept at the hoisting engine so that if one becomes incapacitated the other may take his place. The writer saw a mine accident in Michigan where a similar precaution would have saved four men a fall of eighty feet, with serious injuries.



THE ALABAMA COAL OPERATORS ON HEALTH PROBLEMS

ETHEL ARMES

AUTHOR OF THE STORY OF COAL AND IRON IN ALABAMA

Four years ago, as brigade surgeon of the Alabama state troops, it was my duty during the strike up there [in the Birmingham district] to visit nearly all the camps, and they were "camps" at that time—typical disease spreaders, houses built on the hillside, privies draining into open wells, and residence back of residence.

I am glad to hear that you are "waking up."

Dr. W. H. Oates of Montgomery, the Alabama state inspector of jails and factories, facing what was for him and every speaker present a new audience, made this frank declaration at a meeting of Alabama coal mine officials held last June at a mining camp in the Pratt coal field (Docena) under the auspices of the Alabama Coal Operators' Association. For the first time in the history of this or any state in the Union, men were called together by coal operators for the discussion of sanitary and health problems.

Representatives from the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, the United States Bureau of Mines, the Alabama State Board of Health and the Jefferson County Medical Society were present, as well as the heads of the representative coal companies of the Birmingham district, the chief state mine inspector, the assistant state mine inspectors, mine superintendents, mine physicians and engineers, mine foremen and fire bosses from five counties around—Jefferson, Walker, Shelby, Bibb, and Tuscaloosa. Altogether there were between 600 and 700 men.

The meeting was called to order in the chapel at Rogers Hall, formerly the barracks of the state convicts, by James L. Davidson, secretary of the Alabama Coal Operators' Association. W. B. Bankhead of the Bankhead Coal Company presided.

"The question of sanitation is the keynote of this meeting today," he said before introducing the first speaker on the subject, Dr. S. C. Hotchkiss of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service.

Dr. Hotchkiss heartily commended the Alabama Coal Operators' Association for its initiative in inaugurating a systematic campaign for the improvement of sanitary, hygienic, housing and social conditions of the mines and mine villages of the Birmingham district which, broadly speaking, means the mineral region of Alabama. The employment by the association of Morris Knowles as sanitary expert was a step in the right direction, said Dr. Hotchkiss.

He gave a quick, live discussion of the kinds of diseases (soil pollution diseases) which particularly affect the health of miners all over the world. He told of hookworm, typhoid fever, Cochin-China diarrhoea and the dysenteries, and of the conditions which might serve to prevent the spread of these diseases in Alabama. Typhoid and malaria are the dragons-in-chief of the district here. Dr. Hotchkiss concluded:

From the health and safety points of view, it seems to me that the coal mining industry has two important problems. One is the prevention of accidents and disasters; the other the prevention of infectious diseases. These diseases are not harmless; they are real dangers to life and health. If a miner dies from typhoid fever, the loss to the community is as great and greater than if he had been killed in a fall of roof or in an explosion, and the prevention of this disease is easier and more certain than prevention of the falls of slate or explosions.

Managers and miners should work together to reduce these diseases to a minimum. The men should not think that the state or the mine company is trying to work a hardship on them by requesting or insisting that the mine and mine villages be kept in a sanitary condition. The miner and his family are the

ones most directly benefited by sanitary improvements and should take interest in them, and observe the rules issued to bring them about.

Plates were exhibited showing the eggs and embryo hookworm, etc.

The next speaker, a man well known to the audience and to the readers of THE SURVEY for his work on the great Pittsburgh filtration plant, was Morris Knowles, who, with his assistant, Maurice Scharf of Natchez, Miss., has been in the employ of the Alabama Coal Operators' Association for nearly a year. The sum and substance of nearly everything said at this big meeting revolved about the investigation made by the sanitary experts and was related point to point with their suggestions and recommendations. Their commission was a broad and comprehensive one, as illustrated by the formal announcement of the association in November, 1911. This referred to the earlier interest of the organization in first aid and the prevention of tuberculosis, and outlined the social and sanitary survey as follows:

The work embraces housing conditions, the more strictly fundamental sanitary features including drinking water supplies, closets, sewage and garbage disposal, etc. The rather difficult problems of education and recreation will also be given proper consideration.

As a result of concerted effort along these lines, it is hoped that living conditions throughout the state will be such as to entitle Alabama to first rank in matters of this character. This is perhaps the first instance noted in which the operators of any important district have undertaken such a concerted and scientific study of camp life.

In nine months eighty-five mines and fifty-seven camps in all were inspected not once, but in some instances several times. Besides general data as to location, output, life of mine and number of resident people, etc., the following points were taken up in detail:

Water supply, disposal of waste, care of commissary, food and milk supplies, medical organization, sanitary organization, changing house and baths, nature and condition of dwellings, provision for schools and churches, the description and relation of same to the company, and such matters as intemperance, recreation, insurance and pensions.

Vital statistics were gathered and tabu-

lated, and reports and recommendations made solely to the individual companies concerned. While a general report outlining the progress of work was made to the executive board, the information gained at the camps visited is kept on a private confidential file and copies of the same, together with criticisms and suggestions regarding particular camps, are furnished to the owner only and on his direct request. In addition several pamphlets have been issued on the fly and mosquito pests with instructions for exterminating them and on the sanitary privy, isolation and disinfection, safe well supplies, water distribution and methods of purification. Certain fundamental points were included in a report to the association at large, and distributed to all the companies. The following recommendations were based on this report:

That sanitary privies be installed to replace the present unsanitary, open back surface privies. Such a sanitary privy should be provided with a water-tight receptacle, on a tight floor, beneath a seat rendered fly-proof by tightly closing, hinged covers on the back and top. Such privies, in numbers, can be built and equipped for about \$12 each, or old privies can be changed into sanitary ones for about \$5 each. We will be glad to furnish drawings and specifications for such privies to any member of your association upon request.

Even if no improvement is made in the present methods of final disposition of excreta, the improvement of privies as suggested will be a distinct advance. If any of the operators desire to go further, however, one of the following suggestions may be adopted:

(a) Dig a pit at the point outside the camp, fencing it to keep out hogs and empty the cans into it. Since the surface of excreta occasionally by burning kerosene in the pit, lime occasionally, and refill pit, when filled to within about two feet of the surface.

(b) Complete incineration would be the most satisfactory method of final disposal. We have prepared plans for an incinerator, which would cost about \$500 to construct. This would take care not only of excreta, but also of garbage and rubbish. We will be glad to furnish copies with complete information to members of the association on request.

(c) Where a sufficient quantity of running water is available, as from a distributed water supply, or from a dependable spring, and where there is a stream or branch to carry away the effluent, liquid disposal may be used. The cans may be dumped into a septic or liquefying tank, and the effluent oxidized by means

of a filter. Under favorable circumstances, such a plant could be built for \$500 to \$700, and should require no attention except occasional cleaning of the tank.

2. That a system of collecting vital statistics be instituted, to secure the prompt reporting of infectious diseases, and to determine needed improvements and the value of reforms accomplished. Blank forms have been prepared for making such reports and will be furnished members of the association upon request.

3. That a moving-picture machine be secured, and that a series of shows be commenced in the camps, under the auspices of your association. It is believed that such an amusement, appealing to men, women, and children of all races and classes, will tend to make a more contented, and hence a more stable, laboring population. Moreover, by replacing more vicious forms of relaxation, and by competing with saloons and blind tigers, it will indirectly decrease drunkenness and consequent interruptions of operations.

4. That during the coming spring and summer an effort be made, by improved handling of stable manure and garbage, to prevent the breeding of flies; and that draining and oiling of standing water, and collection of empty cans, be actively taken up, to prevent the breeding of mosquitoes, and to prevent a recurrence of the large amount of sickness and inefficiency due to malaria last year. We will be glad to advise regarding such work on request and to inspect the work if undertaken.

In addition to these general problems, certain special problems were also investigated, and in two cases sketches and specifications were prepared for water filters. In accordance with the terms of their engagement the engineers' services were at the disposal of any member of the association free of cost, for study, report and advice.

As to the direct practical results, nothing ever comes the next minute anywhere. Last spring certainly marked the first organized plan to destroy flies and mosquitoes ever undertaken in the Birmingham district, not only in some mining camps but in the city at large.

A number of the coal and iron companies handled screens at their commissary at cost, while dodgers and pamphlets were distributed such as the following which reflects the spirit of the southern management of the Republic Iron and Steel Company:

SCREEN YOUR HOUSE.

Flies and mosquitoes are not only annoying but they are the worst germ distributors known. Cities and counties have spent large

sums of money to destroy them and thus stop their spreading typhoid fever, malaria and other diseases. We want to improve the health conditions in this camp and want you to help us. We will keep the camp as clean as possible with your co-operation. We want you to screen your houses and will sell the screens at our commissaries to you at cost. Give your family this protection and save the baby and the doctor bills.

In his talk at the operators' meeting Mr. Knowles said: "Your association is a leader in this work, but conditions as they exist today are much the same as they are in mining districts elsewhere." His paper on The Relation of the Employee to Sanitary Improvements was addressed chiefly to mine superintendents, foremen, bosses, and physicians, and through them to the great army of employees and their families, to the thousands who live and work in the mineral fields of Alabama. To quote:

The modern motive in this work is not so much to prevent the extinction of race nor to prevent death, as it is to prevent unnecessary waste. There really is a tri-partite interest in industry, whether we wish it or not. We can no longer live unto ourselves alone; what we do, may affect everyone else. People have a right to demand that industry shall not be the cause and disseminator of disease, ignorance, or immortality. Labor is interested because the conditions of industry affect the health, happiness, and efficiency of the workmen, and of the members of his family. Capital is interested because improved conditions mean better labor, greater profit, and better relations between employer and employee. We are all welded together, and no success is possible without that about which I want to speak to you next, co-operation.

Sometimes the operators desire to make improvements, but hesitate for fear of lack of appreciation and misuse. You have no idea how discouraging it is to start something which you know is good, and then to have it badly abused—to see bath tubs used as coal bins, shingles torn off and burned, and cellars used as chicken pens. Abuse, of course, does not excuse negligence, but only makes education the more necessary. Abuse is due not so much to perversion of human nature, as to habits due to long continuation of bad conditions. It may take just as long to change people to the habit of proper use of good conditions. The operator cannot accomplish much unless the people help, and so we want to appeal to every man, woman, and child to co-operate with him by showing their appreciation and trying to understand such improvements as are put into effect.

The main subjects treated in his paper



W. H. OATES, M. D.

State prison inspector who has been vigorous in cleaning up the county jails.

were the introduction of the new idea of sanitation in mining and construction camps comprehending cleanliness and prevention of disease as opposed to the old-fashioned idea of mere shelter; the necessity for sanitation as borne out by classic instances such as the failure of the French at Panama and the horror of the typhoid plague during the Spanish-American war; and the necessity for co-operation.

What can an employe accomplish for his own salvation without the authority, the money, and the encouragement of his employer? On the other hand what can an employer do or his money and his trouble avail if his men and their folks do not stand with him in the conservation of life and health?

Mr. Knowles, urging the idea of co-operation, pressed his recommendations as to water supply, prevention of malaria, fly and mosquito protection, house quarantine, personal hygiene and education. The response came from the ranks of the operators. "Ben" Roden, the young president of the Roden Coal Company, who has inaugurated a mining camp at Marvel, Ala., which does not belie its postmark, said: "If we are to find the

men for an annual output of from 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 tons, we must have good camps and make them attract the labor we desire."

Since the Roden Coal Company has within the past year shown an actual increase of 80 per cent over its coal output of the season preceding, his words caught the audience. "Sanitation in a mining camp," said he, with emphasis, "is the 'ounce of prevention that is worth a pound of cure'." Then he went on:

No one will deny that health is essential to good work. As miners work in pairs to get out coal, and in a small measure for safety, one man's illness means two men not at work. Several men's illness on the same heading, where you have a pitching seam, means a rearrangement of cars and haulage. Typhoid does not come for a day or limit itself to one person. More houses, more working places, more cars, more deadwork, are the concrete results of bad sanitation. A decrease in fixed charges, and prompt service to customers, are more certain, if men can be counted on, for work.

Among the best preventives against sickness are: sanitation; proper care of person; good food; a reasonable amount of work, and some play.

Sanitation, as applied to mining camps, does not imply expensive water, garbage and sewer systems. Wells, properly equipped and located, will do, if water from a pure source cannot be piped within a reasonable distance of the house. Garbage collections in properly constructed retainers and a quarterly cleaning of all refuse from under and around the houses should be made, not by the house holder, but by an individual employed by the company.

Chickens, hogs, all animals in fact, should be kept as far away from the house as possible. Closets of any pattern, which do not allow the ground to become saturated, and so arranged as to prevent flies, should be cleaned at short stated intervals. Most of our mining camps in Alabama have good, natural drainage and the houses are well scattered on the hill sides. A suggestion for keeping the company barn yard clean, and also an aid to lower the cost of living to the miners is—Why not furnish manure free for vegetable gardens? A charge to cover the haulage would prevent the shiftless from applying. Fumigation with formaldehyde, after contagious diseases, is so easily done that no camp doctor, surely, can neglect it. While coverings for rain barrels, not only strains the water as it comes from the roof, but also keeps mosquitoes away from the houses. Surely Alabama mining camps can be freed from mosquitoes, if Long Island, where all the mosquitoes in the country seem to summer, has been so greatly benefited by the work of

one able scientist? Just imagine how busy the whole world would be exterminating flies and mosquitoes if these homeless insects looked like snakes! Yet snakes are nice, tame animals, really quite companionable, when the death rate from snake bites is compared with that from malaria, typhoid and yellow fever, not to mention the possible transmission of pneumonia and tuberculosis. Mosquitoes and flies, unless carried by winds, stay within a few hundred feet of their breeding places. So again, one camp doctor can do much, besides filling his fever and chills patient full of calomel and quinine.

A miner's occupation necessitates and gets personal cleanliness. A bath house is most desirable and certainly would be a great aid. It seems reasonable to suppose that a house wife, plus the small boys and girls who draw and haul the water for father's bath, would welcome a place which would send him home clean and dressed, ready for his meal. These bath houses have proved successful when properly managed.

The standard, as well as the cost of living, has risen rapidly during the last ten years. Stores, which buy wholesome food of good quality, fresh produce, and meats, properly screened and iced, are a necessity. Good brands of canned goods, jellies, pickles, etc., always have a ready sale, but must not be bought in great quantities. The floors, shelving, meat blocks and counters should be cleaned often. The miner earns good wages, wants the best and will pay for it.

Any idea that the miner is an object of charity in all this talk of improved living conditions, must be removed. They are a self-respecting, independent people, perfectly willing to pay for what they get, only they want to see the worth of their money. Initial expense is always encumbered upon the company, but the men always respond liberally to any demand within reason. They want schools and have to pay for them, as the Alabama school money is so small as to pay only a fraction of the teachers' salaries. So that our schools are more the result of the choice of teachers than anything else. Frequently pupils are advanced so rapidly that they do not understand their work. That instant they lose interest; but start them on something they know, and their interest revives. Flower and vegetable plots, cookery and manual training are all desirable, but difficult to have without quite an expenditure of money; but small beginnings can be made in all. Children love pictures; so occasional illustrated lectures on their lesson subject are bound to aid discipline and keep their attendance good. A school library can be started, allowing books to be taken home. Most miners are members of lodges of good standing; so lodge rooms are greatly appreciated.

At Marvel we have found the Saturday night moving picture show a pleasing form of amusement to old and young. It has an average attendance of 300.



BENJAMIN RODEN.
President of the Roden Coal Company of Marvel,
Ala.

A man's family must be satisfied as well as the man; else he keeps moving from camp to camp, usually losing more on the wear and tear on his furniture and the cost of moving than he makes up in months; while to the operator it means from at least three days' to as many weeks' loss of that man's coal output until he is replaced.

And again he drove the point that a first rate mining camp in itself helps to project a coal mine, double the output and to control and maintain a good class of labor. "A large number of employes," he held, "who have been with you for a number of years is a decided asset. They are satisfied, and soon your camp means home." There is the whole thing in a single phrase: "Soon your camp means home."

The speakers called upon informally to take part in the general discussion during both sessions were: Dr. W. H. Oates, state inspector of jails and factories; Dr. H. G. Perry of the State Board of Health; Dr. H. N. Rosser, county health officer of Jefferson County and Dr. R. M. Cunningham, chief surgeon of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company; Marion Whidden; H. M. Wilson, engineer in charge United States Bureau of Mines; Erskine Ramsay, vice-president Pratt Consolidated

Coal Company; and J. B. McIntyre, chief engineer Birmingham Southern Railroad. Chief State Mine Inspector C. H. Nesbitt summarized what most of those present thought of the meeting.

I don't know how it happened, whether we were all feeling extra good or how it was, but every paper read was downright interesting, and everything said was interesting. It certainly was the largest and most successful meeting the operators ever had. In spite of the heat we listened and learned. Then the hall was so well ventilated, electric fans going, windows screened, everything ship-shape, and the band playing. And you ought to have tasted that barbecue they served, the best ever.

The mining camp Docena (Spanish for "twelfth"), where the meeting was held, was formerly Mine No. 12 of the Ten-

nessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, where the state convicts worked. It is pleasantly situated among pines on high rolling ground, miles away from dust and smoke. The camp is being gradually transformed into a village which when completed will be a charming place. It is the first mining camp in Alabama to sheer off from the deadly monotony of the uniform house—the stultifying row on row of cabins alike as peas in a pod, refreshing as a quarter section of the Sahara—which has ever been a part and parcel of mining camp plans in the South, even so-called “models,” until Frank Hearne Crockard swung the notion upside down with the Tennessee Company's Docena Camp.

A PRAYER FOR THE BABIES

WRITTEN FOR THE MILK AND BABY HYGIENE ASSOCIATION OF BOSTON



GOD, since Thou hast laid the little children into our arms in utter helplessness, with no protection save our love, we pray that the sweet appeal of their baby hands may not be in vain. Let no innocent life in our city be quenched again in useless pain through our ignorance and sin. May we who are mothers or fathers seek eagerly to join wisdom to our love, lest love itself be deadly when unguided

by knowledge. Bless the doctors and nurses, and all the friends of men, who are giving of their skill and devotion to the care of our children. If there are any who were kissed by love in their own infancy, but who have no child to whom they may give as they have received, grant them such largeness of sympathy that they may rejoice to pay their debt in full to all children who have need of them.

Forgive us, our Father, for the heartlessness of the past. Grant us great tenderness for all babes who suffer, and a growing sense of the divine mystery that is brooding in the soul of every child. *Amen.*

WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH.

ATLANTIC CITY: A STUDY IN BLACK AND WHITE

MARGARET
L.
BRETT



Don't forget the sculptor,
Kind words I like to hear,
To praise I'm differential—
Criticism—I get it now and
then
But the coins are essential.

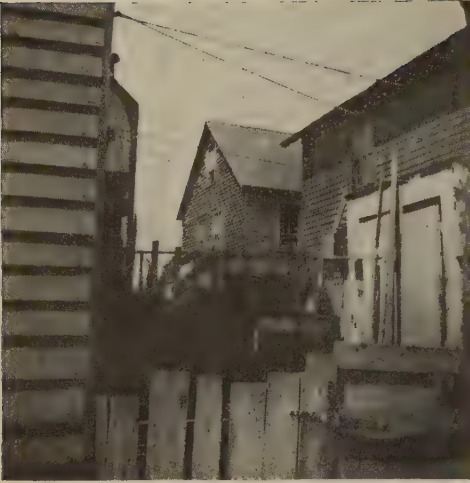
Atlantic City viewed by the charity organization worker becomes a study in black and white. On the avenues are the visitors served hand and foot by an army of blithesome Negroes. In the alleys throng Negroes who are taken care of when necessary, which is often, by the resident whites. "In season and out of season"—that is Atlantic City. "In season"—relatives and acquaintances are urged to come to this El Dorado, and come they do in battalions, happy with the vision of picking up like shells from the beach gold that the visitors waste. And then they wake up. "Out of season"—a city of 300,000 all of a sudden in the moisture of a cold wave has dissolved to 100,000, and in two weeks the recently arrived are paying room rent with promises and subsisting on the sea breezes.

We tidied over one youth and girl who came to Atlantic City for their honeymoon, evidently under the impression that the railroad ticket included indefinite shelter and sustenance, for their supplies ran dry in one gay thoughtless week. On Sunday evening they spoke to the minister, who found for them cheap lodgings and assumed the rent. Next night they decided that to return home without funds would be a disgrace. The following day they both got

work and the bride bravely wrote for her trunk. Her position held out for a week; the boy's for three days. The next Sunday night, with hearts bowed down, they humbled their pride, allowed us to telegraph their parents to prepare a welcome, and accepted the railroad fares which ended the honeymoon.

One Philadelphia youth left a good job as a stenographer which he had had for two years, confidently relying on somebody's advice that all you had to do in Atlantic City was to stroll along the boardwalk and decide in which hotel you would rather be an amanuensis. During a short sojourn he accumulated boardwalk feet, nervous prostration and a plentiful lack of clean linen, all of which he took back with him to the "City of Steady Jobs."

Irregularity of employment, the most serious problem of modern life, reaches its climax in Atlantic City. None of her occupations is of the industries. The population is continuously changing with the seasons. The resort in 1880 was a marshy island dotted with cottages. But there was an incomparable beach and a magic climate and through the efforts of railroads and natives the town thrived. Fashion came. Hotels were built and built until the streets are shaded with sign-boards. Shops sprang up along the



DRYING ROOM OF A LAUNDRY.

The summer months keep the energetic women busy over washtubs and ironing-boards.



A FRONT YARD ON THE MARSHES.

Many of these house-boats are so low that it is impossible to stand upright in them.



WHERE THE NEGROES LIVE.

With the large colored population the lack of facilities for combating tuberculosis is serious.

famous boardwalk, while amusements of all sorts were devised for the entertainment of the guests. The boundaries spread so that today the resident population is 46,150 and the average transient population 130,000. Atlantic City exists primarily for the visitor. In his wake came thousands of Negroes and others looking for work of which there seemed to be an inexhaustible supply.

That supposition only aggravates the season and the weather as a cause of irregular employment. At Easter, Christmas, and for the two midsummer months, there is no reason why an honest worker should not be earning his daily wage. In the intervals honesty avails nothing. The slack seasons mean that vast numbers are "laid off" while only the "steady" is kept on. Results—deserted families, unpaid landlords, over-taxed city funds. The Negroes dwell in a state of intermittent prosperity. Always living from hand to mouth and with rents in arrears, they take refuge in the morrow. In winter, they reason with cheerful philosophy that it is the city's duty to care for them.

To those whose occupation is out-of-doors, the weather is the actual employer. Atlantic City, because of its situation, receives the full effect of every passing phase of the elements, and chair-pusher or flower-vender, cement-worker or slate-roofer is buffeted by "nor'easters." The fishermen suffer alike from seasons and climatic conditions, although to a less degree.

Yet in ignorance of these drawbacks hundreds arrive monthly to seek employment. The few fortunate ones drift about from one lodging-house to another until some temporary work is at last found. The many unfortunate finally become stranded and appeal to charity for transportation back home.

When the city first commenced its development, no thought for the housing of the serving class was given. Huddled at the back of the luxurious hostleries, the present living quarters of the poor man are precisely the outcome of what such a planless plan would be. Two-room shacks, worn-out homesteads, ill-constructed houses, all cellarless and few sanitary, situated with no regard for



THE NEW MUNICIPAL HOSPITAL FOR CONTAGIOUS DISEASES.

established thoroughfares or other buildings, their accesses form a labyrinth of alleys, lanes and streets. Within the last few years rows of six-room brick houses are gradually taking the place of the wooden shanties. The rents for these are high and are raised in the summer. Still, the tenant with that understanding in view always, hopes to make up the deficiency by renting rooms with the "privilege of the kitchen" throughout the open seasons.

The worst living conditions are found among the families of the bay fishermen. With few exceptions they abide in house-boats hauled up on the marshy islands of the inlet. For the most part these boats are neither sanitary nor weatherproof. Many are so low that it is impossible to stand upright in them. Others are so narrow that one has to squeeze between the pieces of furniture. The parents and any number of children sleep in one bed, while during the winter ventilation is unknown. In one house-boat, sixteen feet long and four wide, lived a family of six. A bed occupied precisely half of the interior, an oil stove and wooden bench the other half. What dishes and provisions there were were thrown together in a pocket-like cupboard under the fore part of the boat. In order to wash, to cook or to comb

her hair, the woman was obliged to kneel. Should it happen that during the night the father rolled unregardedly, one or two children tumbled over the edge of the bed.

June, July, August and September keep the energetic women of every household busy over wash-tubs and ironing-boards. Their combined labor would form a huge laundry plant which might prove more effective for the clothes of the 250,000 maximum transient population. Any boys in the family from six years of age upward are put to selling papers, caring for the riding ponies on the beach, or modelling heroes in the sand along the boardwalk.

A small body of philanthropic persons maintain such institutions for relief as there are. The county almshouse is neither large enough, nor is it connected with a hospital for chronic cases, a much needed place, as the two hospitals (one supported by annual contributors, and the other municipal) treat acute illnesses only. The organized charities, founded in 1909, does the greater part of the relief work. The last two years it has handled the city appropriation fund. The Salvation Army conducts an industrial home and the Volunteers of America a transient lodging-house for men and women. One day nursery does excel-



THE ONLY DAY NURSERY.

lent work, but is far from sufficient. A branch of the Florence Crittenden Mission does commendable work, of which there is considerable need. The churches co-operate in what way they can, but

as all are supported by voluntary contributions, little material relief is given.

With the large colored population (nearly two-fifths of the whole), the lack of proper facilities for combating tuberculosis is a serious question. Absolutely no provision is made by either city or county. However, the city holds the lowest record for infant mortality in New Jersey.

A settlement house could certainly accomplish much, both in assimilation and education of the newcomer. A city which is host to more public weal conventions than any other in the United States should adopt the motto: "Charity begins at home." New Jersey's distinguished governor has recently urged Atlantic City to cultivate a moral spirit, and laid the corner stone of a Y. M. C. A. building erected for that purpose. A sanitary spirit is necessary too. Opportunity invites somebody to lay the corner stone of an institution founded to study and solve Atlantic City's unique problem of poverty.

MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

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Comparatively few people in the United States have any conception of the extent to which Mexicans are entering this country each year, of their geographical distribution, or of their relative importance in the various industries in which they are employed after their arrival. Nor are the social problems resulting from the influx of Mexicans fully appreciated by many persons who are not acquainted with the situation at first hand. This is primarily because the attention of students of the race problem has been focused upon the more important development of European and eastern Asiatic immigration to the eastern states, and upon Chinese, Japanese, and East Indian immigration to the Pacific coast. Other factors in

diverting attention from Mexican immigration have been the relatively non-competitive character of their employment in certain parts of the country, and the lack of adequate data with regard to their numbers.

Previous to 1900 the influx of Mexicans was comparatively unimportant. It was confined almost exclusively to those portions of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California which are near the boundary line between Mexico and the United States. Since these states were formerly Mexican territory and have always possessed a considerable Mexican population, a limited migration back and forth across the border was a perfectly natural result of the existing blood relationship. During the period from 1880

to 1900 the Mexican-born population of these border states increased from 66,312 to 99,969—a gain of 33,657 in twenty years. This increase was not sufficient to keep pace with the growth of the total population of the states. Since 1900, however, there has been a rapid increase in the volume of Mexican immigration, and also some change in its geographical distribution, with the result that distinct social and economic problems have arisen.

Until 1908 the officials of the Bureau of Immigration who were stationed upon the Mexican border concerned themselves chiefly with the examination of Japanese and Syrians who sought to enter this country by the way of Mexico. Since that time some effort has been made to secure data with regard to immigrants of Mexican birth, but the results obtained are so obviously incomplete as to be of little value.¹ In 1908 it was estimated that from 60,000 to 100,000 Mexicans entered the United States each year.² This estimate, however, should be modified by the well known fact that each year a considerable number of Mexicans return to Mexico. Approximately 50 per cent of those Mexicans who find employment as section hands upon the railroads claim the free transportation back to El Paso which is furnished by the railroad companies to those who have been in their employ six months or a year. Making allowance for this fact, it would be conservative to place the yearly accretion of population by Mexican immigration at from 35,000 to 70,000. It is probable, therefore, that the Mexican-born population of the United States has trebled since the census of 1900 was taken.

This rapid increase within the last decade has resulted from the expansion of industry both in Mexico and in the United States. In this country the industrial development of the Southwest has opened up wider fields of employment for unskilled laborers in transportation, agriculture, mining, and smelting. A similar expansion in northern



REPAIRING TRACKS IN LOS ANGELES.

Mexico has drawn many Mexican laborers from the farms of other sections of the country farther removed from the border, and it is an easy matter to go from the mines and section gangs of northern Mexico to the more remunerative employment to be had in similar industries of the southwestern United States. Thus the movement from the more remote districts of Mexico to the newly developed industries of the North has become largely a stage in a more general movement to the United States. Entrance into this country is not difficult, for employment agencies in normal times have stood ready to advance board, lodging, and transportation to a place where work was to be had, and the immigration officials have usually deemed no Mexican likely to become a public charge so long as this was the case. This was especially true before 1908. Thus many penniless Mexicans who would be rejected at an eastern port have been admitted without question on the Mexican border.

The employment agencies are well organized and supply a large number of immigrants to the various railroad companies operating in the Southwest, and to employers in other industries. The more important agencies are located at El Paso, Texas. One of the larger companies supplied from there no fewer

¹The reports of the commissioner-general of immigration for 1908 and 1909 report 5,682 and 15,591 Mexican immigrants, respectively.

²U. S. Bureau of Labor, Bulletin No. 78, page 466.



A SECTION GANG AT UPLAND, CAL.

than 6,474 Mexican laborers to four railroad companies during the period between January and September, 1907. During eight months falling in the latter half of 1907 and the early part of 1908, six employment agencies operating in El Paso supplied 16,479 Mexicans to the various railroad companies, or an average of 2,060 per month. These supply companies have been in existence from one to five years and report a fairly constant business during that time.

The profits in the business are derived primarily from supplying board to the laborers *en route* to their place of employment, and from the sale of food and merchandise to them while at work. Charges for such services and sales are deducted in favor of the employment agencies by the employers from the first wages earned by the men. In addition an employment fee of \$1.00 per man is ordinarily charged. In cases of desertion before enough money has been earned to offset the debts due the agencies, the loss is borne by the latter. The supply companies use such losses to justify the higher prices charged at the commissary stores, which in some instances are admittedly fixed at from 5 to 10 per cent in excess of the ordinary retail rates.

Transportation to points where laborers are needed is furnished by the railroad companies, and also, as a rule, by other industrial concerns which secure Mexicans in considerable numbers from the employment agencies. The railroad companies agree further to return the men to the Mexican border free of charge after they have worked six months (on

the Santa Fe) or a year (on the Southern Pacific). Since most of the Mexican immigrants expect to return to Mexico, and since they are too improvident to save enough from their earnings to pay for their transportation back to the border, this offer is very attractive to them, and enables the railroad companies to hold their employees of this race at lower wages than are customary in other industries of the same locality. Some Mexicans, however, do desert railroad work when especially attractive employment offers elsewhere, as for example in the harvest fields of Kansas and Oklahoma, or the sugar-beet fields of southern California.

Most of the Mexican immigrants have at one time been employed as railroad laborers. At present they are used chiefly as section hands and as members of construction gangs, but a number are also to be found working as common laborers about the shops and powerhouses. Although a considerable number are employed as helpers, few have risen above unskilled labor in any branch of the railroad service. As section hands on the two more important systems they were paid a uniform wage of \$1 per day from their first employment in 1902 until 1909, except for a period of about one year previous to the financial stringency of 1907, when they were paid \$1.25 per day. In 1909 the wages of all Mexican section hands employed upon the Santa Fe lines were again raised to \$1.25 per day. The significant feature is, however, that as a general rule they have earned less than the members of any other race similarly employed. For example, of 2,455 Mexican section hands from whom data were secured by the Immigration Commission in 1908 and 1909, 2,111, or 85.9 per cent, were earning less than \$1.25 per day, while the majority of the Greeks, Italians, and Japanese earned more than \$1.25 and a considerable number more than \$1.50 per day.

In the arid regions of the border states where they have always been employed and where the majority of them still live, the Mexicans come into little direct competition with other races, and no problems of importance result from their

presence. But within the last decade their area of employment has expanded greatly. They are now used as section hands as far east as Chicago and as far north as Wyoming. Moreover, they are now employed to a considerable extent in the coal mines of Colorado and New Mexico, in the ore mines of Colorado and Arizona, in the smelters of Arizona, in the cement factories of Colorado and California, in the beet-sugar industry of the last mentioned states, and in fruit growing and canning in California. In these localities they have at many points come into direct competition with other races, and their low standards have acted as a check upon the progress of the more assertive of these.

Where they are employed in other industries, the same wage discrimination against them as was noted in the case of railroad employes is generally apparent where the work is done on an hour basis, but no discrimination exists in the matter of rates for piece-work. As piece-workers in the fruit canneries and in the sugar-beet industry the proverbial sluggishness of the Mexicans prevents them from earning as much as the members of other races. In the citrus fruit industry their treatment varies with the locality. In some instances they are paid the same as the "whites"—in others the same as the Japanese, according to the class with which they share the field of employment. The data gathered by the Immigration Commission show that although the earnings of Mexicans employed in the other industries are somewhat higher than those of the Mexican section hands, they are with few exceptions noticeably lower than the earnings of Japanese, Italians, and members of the various Slavic races who are similarly employed. This is true in the case of smelting, ore mining, coal mining, and sugar refining. Specific instances of the use of Mexicans to curb the demands of other races are found in the sugar-beet industry of central California, where they were introduced for the purpose of showing the Japanese laborers that they were not indispensable, and in the same industry in Colorado, where they were used in a similar way against the German-Russians. More-



MEXICANS WITH AN AMERICAN FOREMAN.

over, Mexicans have been employed as strike-breakers in the coal mines of Colorado and New Mexico, and in one instance in the shops of one important railroad system.

Socially and politically the presence of large numbers of Mexicans in this country gives rise to serious problems. The reports of the Immigration Commission show that they lack ambition, are to a very large extent illiterate in their native language, are slow to learn English, and in most cases show no political interest. In some instances, however, they have been organized to serve the purposes of political bosses, as for example in Phoenix, Arizona. Although more of them are married and have their families with them than is the case among the south European immigrants, they are unsettled as a class, move readily from place to place, and do not acquire or lease land to any extent. But their most unfavorable characteristic is their inclination to form colonies and live in a clannish manner. Wherever a considerable group of Mexicans are employed, they live together, if possible, and associate very little with members of other races. In the mining towns and other small industrial communities they live ordinarily in rude adobe huts outside of the town limits. As section hands they of course live as the members of the other races have done, in freight cars fitted with windows and bunks, or in rough shacks along the line of the railroad. In the cities their colonization has become a menace. The unwholesome conditions of the Mexican quarter in El Paso, Tex., have been described with

photographic illustrations in previous articles in *THE SURVEY*.¹ In Los Angeles the housing problem centers largely in the cleaning up or demolition of the Mexican "house courts," which have become the breeding ground of disease and crime, and which have now attracted a considerable population of immigrants of other races. It is estimated that approximately 2,000 Mexicans are living in these "house courts." Some 15,000 persons of this race are residents of Los Angeles and vicinity. Conditions of life among the immigrants of the city, which are moulded to a certain extent by Mexican standards, have been materially improved by the work of the Los Angeles Housing Commission, upon which Johanna Von Wagner has served as an expert social worker. However, the Mexican quarter continues to offer a serious social problem to the community.

As is to be expected under the circumstances, the proportion of criminals and paupers among the Mexicans is noticeably greater than among the other foreign-born or among the natives. In Los Angeles county, California, the Mexicans comprised 11.4 per cent of the total number of persons bound over for felonies in 1907. In 1908 and 1909 the percentages were 12.6 and 13.4 respectively. During the year ending July 1, 1908, the chief of police of Los Angeles estimates that approximately 20,000 police cases were handled, in 2,357 or 11.8 per cent of which Mexicans were the defendants. In Arizona, where the proportion of Mexicans to the total population is greater than in Los Angeles, a correspondingly large proportion of the inmates of the various penal institutions are of this race. In 1908, 24.2 per cent of the prisoners in the jail at Tucson, Ariz., were Mexicans, while in the Pima county jail they comprised 62 per

cent of the inmates. The territorial prison reported in the same year that 61 per cent of those incarcerated were Mexicans. In both Arizona and California the offenses for which they were committed were in the large majority of cases traceable to gambling or excessive drinking. Most of the serious trouble with Mexicans, however, arises from quarrels among themselves which interfere very little with the white population.

In the matter of poor relief, Mexican families were concerned in 11.7 per cent of the cases dealt with by the Associated Charities of Los Angeles in 1908. The proportion has increased since that time, and in 1910 it was estimated that Mexicans comprised fully one-third of those given relief from this source. The county authorities had charge of approximately 3,000 individuals in 1908, of whom about one-third were Mexicans. The proportion of Mexicans among those dependent upon the County Board of Charities has continued about the same, for in the month of November, 1910, which was said to be typical of that year, 30.1 per cent of the applications for aid were made by members of that race.

In conclusion it should be recognized that although the Mexicans have proved to be efficient laborers in certain industries, and have afforded a cheap and elastic labor supply for the southwestern United States, the evils to the community at large which their presence in large numbers almost invariably brings may more than overbalance their desirable qualities. Their low standards of living and of morals, their illiteracy, their utter lack of proper political interest, the retarding effect of their employment upon the wage scale of the more progressive races, and finally their tendency to colonize in urban centers, with evil results, combine to stamp them as a rather undesirable class of residents.

¹Where Overcrowding and the Open Prairie Rub Elbows, by B. Rosing, in *THE SURVEY*, December 11, 1909; Passage to Texas, by Francis H. McLean, in *THE SURVEY*, November 19, 1910.

THE GREATEST SHOW ON EARTH

The newer park service, which aims to serve the all-round recreation needs of the community, and includes social leadership and promotion, has been nowhere more happily exemplified than in the Chicago South Park System of Recreation Centers.

To measure the advance made in a decade or two, imagine the staid and dignified officials of ten or twenty years ago announcing a "one-ring circus" with a list of attractions ranging all the way from "Monkey's Frolic—a Holiday in the Jungle, Including the Famous Simian Fire Patrol," to an "Auto-Aeroplane Contest—the Race of the Century." There were performing horses; Jobul, king of the trained elephants; a champion strong man; a minstrel troupe in latest songs; jugglers; dancers; tumblers and pyramid builders; a "tight rope trickster" alleged to "stand or fall by his claim to originality"; and a clowns' carnival, including such "side-splitting specialties" as a "hobble skirt race," "Reno Renovated," "Mutt and Jeff" (by special arrangement), and a "dance of the jesters." All the partici-

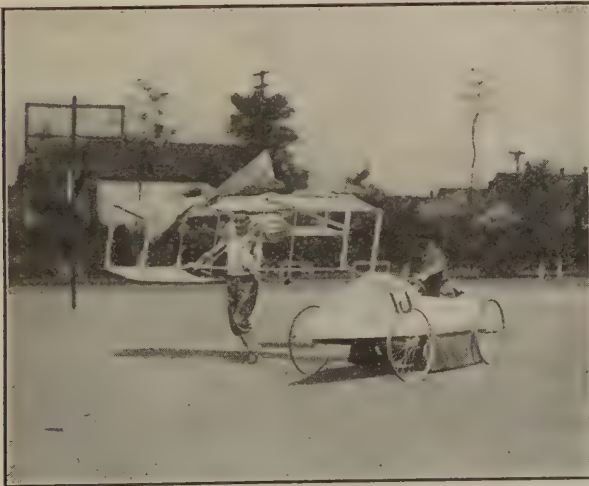


"SOME" CHICKEN.

pants came from the immediate neighborhood.

The grand climax was "the evolution of the race," which involved a primeval race—contested by camel, elephant, bear, lion, giraffe, and horse; a chariot race, a steeplechase race, a land reproduction of a Lipton cup race, and the auto-aeroplane contest.

Such a circus, admission free, was given with success by the young people of Cornell Square community and large posters describing the great occasion, under the auspices of the South Park commissioners, announced it to all the neighbors. To say that the circus was a success is putting it far too mildly. To every boy in the neighborhood of Cornell Square it was certainly "the greatest show on earth."



AERO-AUTO RACE.



SOME FEATURES WORTHY OF BARNUM.
A group of the dancers; the happy lion; ready for the chariot race.



THE "GREATEST SHOW ON EARTH" AT CORNELL SQUARE, CHICAGO.

The fire patrol in which a milk can played a prominent part; the "King of the Elephants," followed by the "Most Extraordinary Giraffe in Captivity"; a yacht which supplies its own wind and water; a thoroughbred, if not registered.

RELIGION IN SOCIAL ACTION

XII

CHURCH AND COMMUNITY—THEIR INTERRELATION AND COMMON AIM

GRAHAM TAYLOR

Common words, such as "community" and "communion," lose much of their significance in being specialized. The institutions which exclusively appropriate their special usage thereby lose the vital meaning and force which their common use carries. On the other hand, this specialized significance of common terms may give an added and higher meaning to the ordinary things of life which they usually designate.

All human interests need nothing so much as to have the ordinary things of life invested with extraordinary importance, common experiences with special interest, the natural relationships with exceptional significance, routine with zest, the most human with the divinest meaning. It is the genius of religion to do just this thing. The state also dignifies and enhances the lesser things of individual life by massing them together into great public interests and by raising them out of mere personal concern up to the plane of public policy and national significance. While both the church and the state do this thing for the common life, yet each of them needs the common life to do it for them.

For, by special and exclusive religious usage, the terms of common life do lose significance. "Righteousness" thus became an abstraction, something unreal, fictitious, apart from personal experience, when it lost the simple sense of "right" with which it is always invested in common use. Its religious value therefore can be kept vital only by keeping it in constant connection with the common use of the term which describes right relations between man and man. And yet the religious emphasis upon the necessity of right relations with God furnishes the standards and the power to realize those between man and man. So, also, the political use of common terms empties them of meaning. For instance, "the

city" in the parlance of the politician, the job-giver and seeker, and the caucus regulars, stands only for what they, one and all, can get out of the body politic for themselves, their faction or their party. It is thus emptied of all those human values, which are even ignored by multitudes of the very people who thereby permit their most personal interests to be bartered away and lost. Political usage needs to have put back into it the common human sense of the city, the town, the county, the village, as a group of human beings, as families of men, women and children, with all their experiences of loss and gain, pain and pleasure, death and life. What is this but religion's "City of God"?

From this point of view we may best approach our inquiry as to what the church and the local community have to do with and for each other. In both the ordinary and special use of these terms, "community" and "communion," there is more of spirit than of form. Each breathes the sharing spirit. Both express, within different spheres or relationships of life, the having-in-common and the sharing-in-common. This idea lies at the one tap-root, from which both of these terms derive their origin. And each of them carries the likeness of their common family lineage into the spheres of religious and political action. In the church's "communion," there was the fact and idea of fellowship long before the term was connected with a sacramental rite, or with the membership of an organization, in which senses the term is almost exclusively used within certain circles. So also in the local "community," as it is regarded by its members, there is still more of the fact and idea of a community of interests than of any organized agency of government or of party.

Back of, and above, all our modern forms and ideas of local government, especially

city government, lies the primitive conception of the "ancient city" in its original use, descriptive of the earliest experiences of the race. The "city" was not any kind of an organization, political or administrative. It was not even a locality, or a collection of streets and houses. It was a federation of tribes or families. Two of them met in the wilderness of their wanderings. Finding more to unite than to divide them, they thus entered into a pact of peace. They built an altar of stones. They dug a little trench about it. They encircled both with a light fire of brush. Then representatives of each tribe or household ran through the fire to show that everything that could divide them was consumed, and they filled the trench with handfuls of earth from native soils to show that every cleavage that could separate them was filled up. At the altar, thus doubly sanctified and safeguarded, they offered a sacrifice to the gods, who were considered members of the tribes. And thus they founded their "city" as a federation of families. Around that altar grew the citadel, about which the aged, the weak and the young with their protectors, gradually came to linger, while the many and the strong moved on to pasture their herds and flocks, but to return now and again when the moon marked the time for reunion.

Here, then, at the heart of the home, the village or city community, as well as the synagogue and the church, had their common origin. For the synagogue was more like a household than like the ancient temple, and the earliest church was the "church in the house," with households for its membership. However necessary the organization of the church and the state may have been, whatever agencies the polity of the one and the politics of the other may take on, it is still necessary to go back to the idea of a federation of families, in order to define what both church and local government are for, and how to make the organization and agencies of each fulfil their purpose. Local government is an extension of house-keeping. The local church should be the source of power, and the very breath of life, for home-building. The officials of each fulfill their highest functions in aiding and supplementing the priesthood

and kingship of the parents. The sacraments of the Passover and Holy Communion could find no symbol more sacred than the family supper, no service more holy than to pervade the household of faith with the family feeling. The city could discover no more dignified title for its governing officials than "aldermen," and the church than "elders," that is "city fathers" and "fathers of the faithful" or "elder brethren." So we may take the homelike church and the family-like community to be both the formative ideals and the constructive forces of religion and politics alike.

The function of the church in the political sphere as in that of the family, the neighborhood and industry, is threefold; to have and give a formative ideal of what the community is to be and do; to initiate, inspire and support movements and agencies for the realization of civic ideals; and to generate and apply the power of a self-sacrificing public spirit, which is the only force adequate to promote social progress.

To reveal the idealism of religion has always been the unique prerogative and distinctive service of the church in human life and society. Art and literature have shared this function, but the church has brought ideals far more directly to bear upon many more people and kinds of people. It has used art and letters more effectively to this end than they have been put to use apart from religion.

It is not true, as is so often asserted, that the church has had an ideal only for the individual, not for society. It has always had a golden age, a millennium, and beyond it a heaven, to hold up as its social ideal for the world. But it has almost always reserved these social ideals for "the last days," and taught them as a part of its "eschatology,"—its teaching about last things; as its "apocalypse,"—its vision of the end. Indeed some schools of its teachings have forbidden any hope of a social ideal, or even of human progress, by putting all hope beyond the earthly end and allowing for a progress only from worse to worse, until the final catastrophe annihilates the present order for the better one which is to take its place.

Spasmodically, now and then, here and

there, through the Christian centuries, leaders and groups, filled with the Pentecostal spirit, have attempted to realize in life or literature the ideal of a Christian community, which began to be achieved at Pentecost. St. John, as the last of the apostles, saw it from afar to be "the New Jerusalem." Augustine, greatest of the fathers, reconstructed it in his "City of God." Sir Thomas More dreamed it in his Utopia. Constantine and the imperial popes attempted it in the Holy Roman Empire. St. Francis of Assisi, child of the earth and sky, reunited nature and spirit, the human and the divine, in the one realm of his love and life. Savonarola gave his life to make over Florence after the pattern of the heavenly city. John Calvin ruled Geneva in the fear of God. Oliver Cromwell established the commonwealth of the Covenanters. John Knox struggled to make Scotland a regenerate land. Our Pilgrim Fathers established commonwealths governed by church members. Joseph Mazzini tried to make old Rome new, as the democratic center for the Association of the Peoples. Thomas Chalmers wrote of the Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns, and applied it to Glasgow and Edinburgh. Our own Mulford held high our American ideals in his lofty thought on The Nation and The Republic of God. Some of these attempts were more theocratic and theological than civic or democratic.

But only in our own times have our religious social ideals been held close enough to earth to be applicable to the local community. Only just now are we beginning to ask, "What is a town for?" And for an answer we are putting our ideals into town planning and municipal policies. Should not the whole church of a town and city think and say something of the town and city as a whole? Should those who claim to have "the oracles of God" and to interpret the prophecies, have nothing to say or suggest as to the immediate or remoter future of their own town or city? Should they who bear "the burden of the soul" have no part in determining the conditions, and in shaping the public policies and plans which will influence the destiny of souls? If in the life to come

heaven is held up as "the mansions of our father's house," a "place prepared" for each, surely in the life that now is some care should be taken to provide some place for men, women and children, and for the kind of house a "soul" can live in.

The community cannot fail to profit by being faced with a religious ideal of what it ought to be. And a church cannot fail to gain by having and proclaiming an ideal for its community. The mere effort to form its own ideal of what its town should aim to be will enlarge the church's view of its own function and field. Its purpose and policy will be more public and practical, and no less personal. To be looked to for some contribution toward the community ideals and progress, will lead the church to look beyond itself for its *raison d'être*. To be identified with the life of the whole community will deliver it from that institutional self-consciousness which paralyzes spiritual purpose and power. For, with strange and fatal facility, men do forget the purpose of established institutions, and the reason for their existence. They thus lose the value and even the sight of the ends for which they exist in forgetting that all institutions are means.

This institutionalism which substitutes means for ends, and subverts the ends in slavishly serving the means, is the very insanity of history,—political, industrial, educational and ecclesiastical. Thus the state, the municipality and the town lose their hold on the life and the loyalty of the people by becoming partisan machines instead of public service utilities. Thus commercialism overreaches itself in sacrificing the many to the few and prevents a gainful co-operation in order to promote a destructively unrestricted competition. Thus schools and universities, by making knowledge an end instead of a means, and apotheosizing culture for culture's sake, fail in their mission, which is not only "to minister to industrial advancement, but to enable technical advancement to minister to the life of the people." Thus, too, the churches lose not only their power, but their very soul in building themselves up out of the community, instead of the community up out

of themselves. The consciousness of being identified with the greater cause of the whole community and with the Kingdom of God, of which it is a part, magnifies even the greatest institutions, gives power to every least agency, dignifies each humblest duty, and adds zest to every most routine service. Quite as much, then, for the church's own sake, as for the community's sake, should there be a religious ideal of the community life and progress. Worship—worth-ship—is the church's means of expressing and holding high overhead what is worthiest, the divine ideal of human life, individual and collective. Public worship is the flag of the Kingdom. The church which maintains it is the color guard of the community.

To initiate, inspire and support the movements and agencies for realizing these ideals practically and progressively is the second civic and social function of the church. But in and through its own organization, the church is seldom, if ever, to attempt to be the executive even of its own initiative, much less that of the community. The social ideals of the gospel have born their best fruits in society when the churches have given the initiative toward higher conceptions of civic and national life; have supplied towns, cities, state and nation with citizens inspired with these ideals of Christian social relationship and with the willingness to sacrifice to realize them; and have given no suspicion of making any attempt, either formal or virtual, to usurp the functions of government. The churches should be the last to tolerate, much less to claim or secure, special legislation for their own or others' benefit, for they stand for all if for any. Not in their corporate capacity should the churches assume the function of reformatory agencies for the enactment or enforcement of law. For, on the one hand, neither in their constituency nor in their form of organization are they adapted to or effective in such service; and on the other hand, if they were, theirs is the higher function and even the harder work of maintaining the standards and generating the sacrificial spirit that make such strife at law unnecessary, or, if necessary, triumphant.

If, therefore, the churches may not be the executive of social action, even in the effort to realize their own ideals, they may give initiative to every such effort by fulfilling their function of inspiring, educating and unifying the people. Whether other institutions of the community—the homes, the neighborhood centers for culture and social intercourse, and the municipal provisions for social needs—can be made to meet and minister to the wants of the people, the church should inspire and support them in so doing, and not supersede or duplicate them. Where they fail, it is not only justifiable but obligatory for the churches to provide substitutes for them. Thus “institutional” churches and social settlements are the ministering body of the Son of Man, incarnating the spirit of Christ in their ministry to the physical and social, educational and civic, moral and spiritual necessities of our city centers, not only saving souls out of the wreck, but also helping to save the wreck itself. But rarely, if ever, is it necessary or advisable to turn the pulpit into a lectureship on economics and politics, or the Sunday service into a free forum for the discussion of social theories. Far more effective is it for the churches to take the social point of view, and thence faithfully and fearlessly, by word and in deed to extend the application of the righteousness of the prophets, the gospel of Christ, and the ethics of the apostles, from their old work of righting the one man's relation to the one God to the new work of righting the relation of each to all and of all to each. To unify all the forces which make for righteousness and inspire them to realize the highest ideals attainable, is the formative function of the churches in a community. It will have far more of a reformatory effect than all the effort they could make to lead reforms which are always more effectively promoted by other agencies. This function of the church is more formative than reformatory. There can be no reform without the concept of the ideal form. Reformation, therefore, must ever be subsidiary to the creative function of forming the ideal. In the language of Horace Mann, “Where any-

thing is growing, one formatory is worth a thousand reformatories."

The history of the English people began when upon the tomb of a forgotten hero might have been inscribed the words which Charles Kingsley in *Hereward*, wrote over his name, "Here lies the first of the new English, who by the grace of God began to drain the fens." So it is said the imperial supremacy of the English people dates from the time the nation went home from Waterloo to attend to her own housekeeping, to work for her daily bread, to care for her women and children, to build roads, shops, and schools, to cleanse houses and streets, and care for her sick. And the church which will initiate this world-work of the kingdom will begin to write a new and glorious page in the history of the commonwealth of Israel and the covenants of promise.

The final function of the church, the fulfillment of which is most essential to all social and civic organizations, is to generate that public spirit and self-sacrifice which serve the common interests at the cost of personal ease and gain, or of class and institutional aggrandizement. Without this social self-denial no patriotic, philanthropic, or progressive organization of a community can succeed or survive. It is the very soul of the body politic, without which it is dead while it lives. It is the dynamic of progress, without which the community is powerless to make any real advancement toward higher ideals. For the generation of this social power and for putting each citizen in possession of it the community rightfully looks to the church more than to any other agency. The school should inspire the children with this spirit, but the church only can carry on and out the cultivation of self-denial among people of all ages and classes. The sign under which it claims to live and work, and by which it has ever conquered, is the cross. Only by raising up cross-bearers in social and civic self-denial will it win from the state and society its crown. Only by yielding this service as its most fundamental obligation to the community can it expect the popular recognition of its right to be and its room to work.

Imperious in the interest of both

church and community is the religious imposition of the duty and privilege of self-sacrifice in public service upon every conscience and heart. To impart this power of self-denial the church must be mastered by it herself. To give it she must not only have it, but exemplify it. Upon a much farther-sighted view of non-sectarian policy and of interdenominational comity and co-operation, will depend not only the importance of the church in the life of the community, but also the moral and financial support which the church may expect from the people. It is sure to become more of a question whether the churches can survive if they do not sacrifice self-interest in saving the life of the people, than whether the people's social life can be saved without the church. Christ's works are as true of his church as of his disciples, that the church which "will save" its life shall lose it, and the church which is willing to lose its institutional or denominational life for Christ's sake and the people's may "find it."

With the passion of love for the church, consistent with his larger loyalty to the kingdom, William R. Huntington pleaded before the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church the demand which the organization of the world makes for the co-operative unity of the churches. He said:

Four great questions confront the American people at this solemn hour when they are passing from an old century to a new. These questions are: the sanctity of the family, the training of youth to good citizenship and good character, the purification of the municipal life of our great cities, and the relation of capital and labor. But towering above them all, as a snow mountain towers up over the more conspicuous but less important foot hills that cluster about its base, rises the question of every American citizen who is a believer in the religion of Jesus Christ: How may we correlate and unite and consolidate the religious forces of the republic? Those other questions are in a measure independent of one another, whereas the question of correlation of the religious forces of the republic touches every one of them intimately, vitally.

Our whole attitude toward the unity question depends upon our notion of what the church to which we are attached is really like. One view is that each church is a little working model of what a true church ought to be, kept under a glass case, provided with its own little boiler and its own little dynamo, the admiration of all who look at it, but by

no means and under no circumstances to be connected either by belt or cable with the throbbing, vibrant religious forces of the outer works through broad America, lest they wreck the *petite* mechanism by the violence of their thrill. We sit here debating these petty technicalities, devising the ingenious restraints, and meanwhile out-of-doors the organization of the world goes on.

Wherever the churches are endeavoring to meet the demands of the world's organization they do not find any basis for practical unity in trying to think alike, or worship alike, or be governed alike. As the bond of comity between themselves is the Christian spirit, so the basis of their common service to the community is their co-operative unity. How reasonably practical it is for the churches in any community, large or small, to co-operate for the common good, Washington Gladden long ago set forth in his story of *The Christian League of Connecticut*. The churches in the state of Maine were among the first to form an interdenominational committee to act as a final court in preserving comity and promoting co-operation. That state of rural communities is thus beginning to find relief from the ungodly sectarian rivalry which is dividing the forces of righteousness hopelessly and is overburdening every little village with a multiplicity of paralytic churches. In New York the Federation of Churches and Religious Workers has successfully set the type for the National Federation of Churches which is pressing the cause of co-operative unity. But prior to these newer movements the foreign missionaries of all our churches have found it so necessary and feasible that they should unite their forces in the overshadowing presence of the united forces of evil, that the churches of the home-land are likely to receive the boon of their own unity in return for the chivalrous service bestowed abroad.

A working example and demonstration of the advantage of combining our religious resources may be seen in many rural communities in the consolidation of school districts, which make one strong and effective educational center possible. Why may not several denominational churches, too small for any effective service, unite at least in a common effort to inspire the people of their community

with the highest ideals of social and civic relationship, to educate the citizens in organizing progressive movements and in supplying the self-sacrificing spirit which must always be necessary to realize every hope of progress?

The final test of the capacity and right of the churches to fulfil their high function in the community is not the attitude of the people toward the church, but the willingness and capacity of the church to serve the real interest of all the people. The country, town, or city church which thus serves its community the most will serve itself the best, and, within the bounds of its legitimate function, will be a source and center from which will proceed ideal, initiative, and power to the people.

Democracy, coming to its own in local self-government, especially in cities, challenges our times with no more categorical imperative than the question, "Will the church become the democracy?" It is conceded that, as another has said, "The reformer's conscience earns the right to audit the books of society, must enter politics and conquer the earth. The Holy Land to be redeemed is under the feet of the peasant and the laborer." But speaking as a churchman the writer who makes this concession also admits that democracy

lays on the will the heaviest tax of all. The sincere believer in democracy must have a dogmatic conviction that the principle of individuality shall some time have the widest possible spread. His right to be an individual himself puts him under the highest conceivable obligation to create individuality in others. He is a gentleman in a true democratic sense just in the measure that he has the art of finding himself in an ever-growing number of persons of all sorts and conditions. He must carry the campaign against caste into larger issues. He must face all that is disagreeable and problematic in democracy, concealing nothing, blinking nothing away, and at the same time he must keep his will strong and temperate, so that its edge will never turn. To meet all his social obligations properly, to pay all his political debts joyously, never to throw a glance over his shoulder to the monastery—this is a mighty day's work.

The question whether the church will be the democracy is raising the question whether the democracy will be the church. One of the keenest, satirical critics of conventional ecclesiasticism which current

fiction has produced, makes this startlingly frank and final answer:

Nothing but a church will do. All the other schemes of democracy come to naught for want of that. The lecture platform is no substitute for Sinai. Democracy is a religion or nothing, with its doctrine, its forms, its ritual, its ceremonies, its government as a church—above all, its organized sacrifice of the altar, the sacrifice of self. Democracy must get rid of the natural man, of each for himself, and have a new birth into the spiritual man, the ideal self of each for all. Without religion, how is man, the essentially religious animal, to face the most tremendous of all problems,—social justice?

The social ideals of Christianity have all along the history of their revelation inspired the initiative of many others than men of the spirit. Over the men of 1798 there hung like a mirage in the desolation of their desert, the dimly seen ideals of that kingdom which is "righteousness, peace and joy." Had their initiative been "in the spirit," then "liberty, equality and fraternity" might have been the translation of those ancient terms in Pentecostal tongues to the modern world. Then the revolution might have been the world's second Pentecost, the spirit's social regeneration, the birth of the coming nation in a day. For the social regeneration is the function of the Messianic spirit. But that spirit has never wrought the social

regeneration without having the cross of self-sacrifice to work through, without having as at Pentecost, and at every social revival since, Messianic people to sacrifice themselves to bear away the sin of society and to bring in the "Kingdom of the Father." The cross of social self denial is the Christ-man's burden now as ever—now, in some respects, as never before. For there is an ethical tragedy at hand, such as has not tested Christendom since the Reformation, such as did not test it then at a point of such close contact with the people of the whole world. It remains to be seen where the cross-bearing spirit will find the Messianic people—"the servant of Jehovah" to serve the peoples, the community-serving church, and therefore the church of the community.

[THIS IS THE CONCLUDING ARTICLE IN PROFESSOR TAYLOR'S SERIES ON RELIGION IN SOCIAL ACTION, WHICH HAS BEEN RUNNING PERIODICALLY IN THE SURVEY. PREVIOUS ARTICLES WERE: I. LIFE AND RELIGION, DECEMBER 2; II. THE HUMAN POINT OF VIEW, DECEMBER 16; III. PERSONALITY, A SOCIAL PRODUCT AND FORCE, JANUARY 6; IV. THE CALL AND EQUIPMENT FOR EFFECTIVE SERVICE, JANUARY 20; V. CHANGING CONDITIONS OF A WORKING FAITH, FEBRUARY 3; VI. THE RELIGION OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS, MARCH 2; VII. THE FAMILY: FIELD, FUNCTION AND TRIBUTARY AGENCIES, APRIL 6; VIII. SURVIVAL AND REVIVAL OF NEIGHBORSHIP, MAY 4; IX. INDUSTRY AND RELIGION: THEIR COMMON GROUND AND INTERDEPENDENCE, JUNE 1; X. ORGANIZED RELIGION, JULY 6; XI. CITY AND CHURCH REAPPROACHING EACH OTHER, AUGUST 3.]

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To rob the stars of their stupendous powers;
When he has probed the bowels of the earth,
And gathered up the breath of all the flowers;
Will he then pause awhile to count the dead
Whom poverty and steel have ground to dust?
Will he then heed the children's cry for bread?
Or hear the mother's wail for what is just?
Will he then square himself with God and man?
Will he repudiate the vice and crime
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God! can he do all this? Will there be time?*

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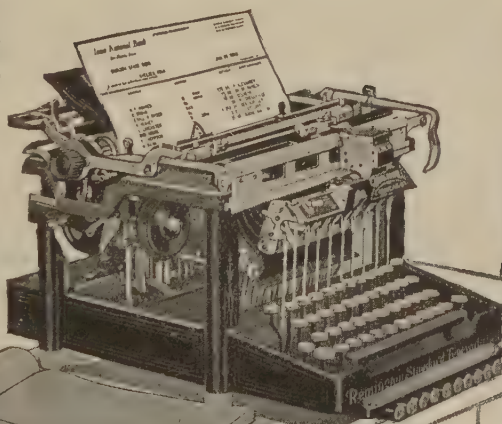
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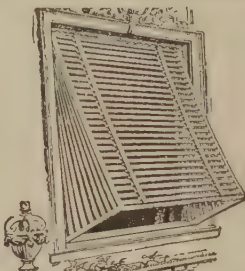
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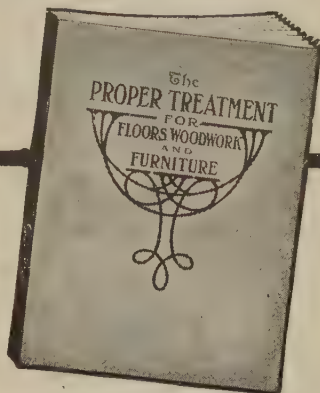
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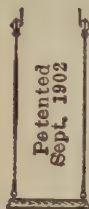
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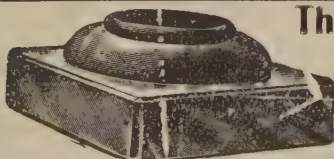
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Volume XXVIII, No. 24

Week of Sept. 14, 1912

THE SURVEY

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FATHER NEPTUNE, A TENEMENT HOUSE DEITY, WITH HIS WHITE-WASH TRIDENT.

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THE PITH OF IT

VOTING more lightly than expected the citizens of Ohio last week expressed their opinions on forty-two proposed amendments to the state constitution. Among the major proposals which were approved were the minimum wage, initiative and referendum, municipal home rule and licenses for traffic in liquor. The woman suffrage amendment was defeated. A fuller review of the vote will appear in a later issue.

ANNOUNCEMENT was made last week that William R. Gorge, founder and for years head of the George Junior Republic at Freeville, N. Y., and lately identified with the work of establishing such institutions elsewhere, will sever his connection with the Freeville Republic.

CHAIRS of eugenics in universities, safeguarded sterilization, compensation to the dependents of convicts and laboratories for mental diseases in the various states were some of the things approved by the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. P. 741.

FAST on the heels of the Southern Sociological Congress, which has been put on a permanent basis by the gift of a Nashville resident, came other conferences and meetings which struck the alarm-bell of southern social awakening. P. 744.

THE constitutionality of the law providing for the sterilization of habitual criminals and those convicted of unnatural crimes was upheld by the supreme court of Washington. The court in passing upon the case of Peter Fielen of Seattle, a life prisoner who appealed from a sentence of sterilization, held that since medical authorities agree that the operation is neither dangerous or painful the punishment cannot be deemed cruel or inhuman. This is the first case of its kind to come before the supreme court of the state.

EMILY RAY GREGORY in Social Work in Backward Countries, as the result of personal experience in Constantinople, makes a plea for non-sectarian social service work as distinct from missionary labor in foreign countries. This field she urges offers unusual opportunities for true helpfulness. P. 745.

ERNST J. LEDERLE, commissioner of health, in reply to charges of the New York Milk Committee concerning the quality of milk sold in restaurants, hotels and lunch rooms, has announced that it is his intention to require all hotels and restaurants to have permits by which they will be authorized to sell only milk of grade A or B. In a letter addressed to Stephen G. Williams of the milk committee he says that on account of possible detriment to the consuming public the Health Department could not immediately bar all sales of Grade C milk, the kind of

THE SURVEY

EDWARD T. DEVINE,
EDITOR

GRAHAM TAYLOR, JANE ADDAMS,
ASSOCIATES

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THE COMMON WELFARE

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which especial complaint was made. Dr. Joseph J. O'Connell, health officer of the port of New York and a member of the Board of Health which is distinct from the Department of Health, has promised to take up with the other members of the board the reports of the milk committee regarding the quality of milk sold in restaurants and hotels. P. 743.

GIVING children who live in a tropical climate minute lessons about snow and snowballs, while neglecting practical instruction calculated to help them earn a livelihood in a country mainly devoted to agriculture is the gravamen of criticisms of the public schools of Porto Rico made by Meyer Bloomfield of the Boston Vocation Bureau in a special report recently submitted by request to the United States War Department. P. 741.

CHILDREN in the "Buckeye State" owe big debt to the memory of an unlettered German teamster in Cincinnati, Joseph Heberle. Heberle whose first successful public service was to stir up an avalanche of letters demanding a city appropriation for drinking fountains became the editor of the *Child Labor Record* and was largely responsible for the passage of the Ohio Child Labor Law. P. 745.

THE COMMON WELFARE

PROBLEMS OF CRIMINOLOGY

Among the reports submitted at their recent meeting by the various committees of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology those of general interest were on prison labor, the sterilization of certain classes of criminals and compensation to the dependents of convicts. The report on the latter subject advocates such compensation and deplores the fact that in the various states it has been merged with the problems of family desertion, prison labor and prison discipline.

The primary motive of the committee on compensation to the dependents of convicts, says the report,

centers in the condition and want of the *families* of convicts because the state, in the administration of its criminal laws, has deprived them of their means of support, regardless of whether the imprisonment be for desertion and non-support, or for any other crime. And the committee believes that on that primary consideration the fact that the convict behaves himself or not, or the fact that the prison management produces profits or not, has but little bearing. The question involves, directly, general considerations of economy in preventive criminal administration. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. The convict's wife is a better citizen if the community establishes a substantial bond of sympathy and helpfulness, rather than leaving her dependent upon and subject to a criminal husband. The convict's child must be educated against inherited criminal tendencies, and against the influence of criminal environments. On a broad estimate, it will cost less to support all the needy families of convicts in the state than it does to send a single murderer to the penitentiary.

The subcommittee on prison labor, whose report was written by E. Stagg Whitin, has this to say on the general subject:

The economic progress in prison labor shown in recent legislation is toward more efficient production by the elimination of the profits of the lessee; more economical distribution of the products by the substitution of a preferred market, where the profits of the middleman are eliminated, in place of the unfair competition with the products of free labor in the open market; and finally the cur-

tailment of the slave system by the provision for wages and choice of occupation for the man in penal servitude.

The report of the committee on sterilization brings together an array of cases gathered from various sources, which tend to show the effect of heredity on criminality, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, alcoholism and other forms of unfitness. The report notes unexpected idiosyncracies in some of the cases, and deplores our ignorance of the laws of heredity. On the whole the committee favors sterilization practised with the safeguards provided by laws of the type which failed to pass the Wisconsin legislature last year. It gives a summary of laws now existing in eight states, and recommends the compiling of genealogies of our institutional charges, the establishing of chairs of eugenics in the various universities and the establishing of at least one laboratory for mental diseases in each state.

SCHOOLS, LABOR AND LIFE IN PORTO RICO

The patent fact in Porto Rico is the rapid and enormous wealth of a few, the wretched poverty of the many, and the relatively insignificant return made by large capital to the public welfare.

—Thus writes Meyer Bloomfield of Boston to Secretary of War Stimson in a report just made public on his recent Porto Rican surveys. R. Colton, governor of the island, joined with the present administration in the United States in asking Mr. Bloomfield to study the educational, social and economic problems of Porto Rico. The reason for the study is said to lie in the fact that the administration "is not satisfied with merely doing good work but wants to do its very best for the island people just as soon as possible."

In amplification of the statement quoted at the outset Mr. Bloomfield continues:

Outside of the anti-tuberculosis society, the projected Y. M. C. A. in San Juan, and one or two small industrial training projects, the

rich men of the island show little appreciation of what they owe the island for their prosperity. There is a lamentable absenteeism both in spirit and in body on the part of the highly fortunate. Without any stretch of the imagination, one can see developing class hatred and a menacing unrest, somewhat concealed for the time being by an unparalleled prosperity devoid of unemployment problems, yet on the increase. Two or three of the big employers I talked with sense the state of things I am describing. But nobody I talked with seemed disposed to take preventive measures in an organized way. A few employers have built workmen's homes, donated school sites, and initiated some minute welfare work. They are candid enough to own that these things were done to keep their help, because labor has been for a while a very scarce commodity.

One of the things needed to remedy the situation, thinks Mr. Bloomfield, is good officials. He says:

Until American officials are sent into Porto Rican service as to their life-work, paid better salaries than now obtain, and on secure tenure based on good behavior and efficiency, we shall not get the kind of service the island needs and knows that it is not getting.

Scarcely more than a beginning has been made in the island, says the report, in safeguarding the economic welfare of the children by fitting them to cope with their environment. So far as needed vocational training is concerned, the day and night schools, excellent though the report admits them to be from the academic standpoint, "might as well be in Massachusetts or New York." To quote:

The island schools are helping to make good citizens. It is a grave question whether the present arrangements contribute materially to the making of home-makers, producers, skilled workers, self-reliant, and efficient bread-winners.

And this situation is declared to exist in spite of the apparently unanimous desire for trade and agricultural instruction in both day and night schools. Mr. Bloomfield cites one school in which he heard minute instruction about snow and snowballs—things never seen on the island—and yet nowhere could he find the schools preparing the children to take part in the actual industrial development going on around them. Domestic science in the island is declared "to represent a pious wish rather than an accomplishment."

Believing that agriculture will for a long time be the predominant pursuit of the Porto Ricans, Mr. Bloomfield thinks there is a social as well as an educational demand for this change of emphasis in the school curriculum. Unless capable young Porto Ricans, it is declared, find it not only worth while but intellectually stimulating to stay in a rural environment, the cities will soon find themselves faced with the same problems now afflicting our own northern cities.

The country districts will be left to an unambitious sediment of population, while the city streets teem with parasitic youth unwilling to do honest labor, the island meanwhile importing the food which if it raised would help keep down the cost of living.

In Mr. Bloomfield's opinion "labor troubles are sure to break out before long among the tobacco workers particularly, unless prevented by tactful work of a labor department which has the confidence of both labor and capital." That there is also in his opinion a social gulf is evident from this passage:

A comparatively small number of sugar planters and other very rich men, and a slightly larger number of dependents, retainers, professional advisers and shop-keepers are to be found on the one hand, and a vast number of poor laborers living from hand to mouth on the other hand. An abyss yawns between them. There is no gradation or intermediate group of interests and of people—that is, no middle class, and the fundamental social problem of the island and the fundamental aim of the education there must be to develop that backbone of any population—an elevated and progressive working class, self-supporting, independent, adventurous, and ambitious.

BETTER CONDITIONS FOR POSTAL CLERKS

As finally passed by the Senate and signed by the President, the Post Office Appropriation Bill contained substantially all the amendments passed by the House. The percentage of promotions to the highest grade of clerks and carriers was increased from fifty to seventy-five, and the minimum wage of railway mail clerks and certain groups of laborers was raised. Provisions slightly better than last year's were made for sanitary and safe mail cars.

An amendment which will go into effect in March, 1913, provides for clerks

an eight-hour day worked within ten, with pay for overtime in emergencies. The "anti-gag" clause makes removal without cause or removal for membership in a labor organization impossible. A proviso added to this clause denies postal employes the right to strike and may result in their exclusion from the American Federation of Labor.

The Sunday closing clause has aroused strong opposition. It is largely owing to the influence of religious bodies that the demand which led to its enactment did not take the form of one day off in seven. Some of the opposition comes from church-going farming districts where the people depend on Sunday trips to town for collecting mail after church is finished. The eight-hour day clause contains a six-day provision applicable to special letter deliverers and other clerks still forced to work on Sunday, which many urge could have been made to cover the whole situation.

The changes incorporated in this year's bill for improving the postal workers' condition are due mainly to the agitation of the "insurgent" element among them. *The Harpoon* and the National Federation of Post Office Clerks made labor conditions in the post office an issue before Congress. The organizations more in sympathy with the department took little part in the agitation.

PURE MILK DEMANDED FOR N. Y. RESTAURANTS

Following shortly after the enforcement by the Department of Health of the new system for grading milk for drinking and manufacturing purposes, the New York Milk Committee presented discomfiting statements concerning the milk offered for sale at many hotels, restaurants, lunch rooms and soda water fountains. A great number of these serve daily to thousands of patrons Grade C milk which is intended for cooking and manufacturing purposes only.

The statements of the milk committee, which have been presented in report form to the health department, are based upon laboratory tests of 905 samples of milk taken on consecutive days from 230 different places. From two to four tests

were made of the milk served at each of the hotels, restaurants and soda counters visited. The estimated daily patronage of these places is 230,000. The results of the examinations conducted show that if the supply of milk sold at the places investigated is figured on a percentage rating, according to the recommendations of the National Commission on Milk Standards, thirty-seven of the samples would score 100 per cent, 108 would make 90 per cent, 132 75 per cent and 628 would have a rating of 50 per cent or less. The average rating on the basis of the bacteria for 905 samples taken was found to be 35.2 per cent. The National Commission recommends that no milk be sold for drinking purposes that is below 75 per cent rating, or, in other words, that contains more than 100,000 bacteria to the cubic centimetre when served to the customer.

As the result of its investigation the committee will urge the adoption of more adequate and effective methods of exerting official control over milk served in hotels, restaurants and lunchrooms. The committee is preparing recommendations to be presented to the Department of Health and to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment which, if adopted, will change materially the system now employed in supervising the milk supply.

Dr. Walter Bensel, sanitary superintendent of the Department of Health, in interviews declared that the report of the committee is unfair on the ground that its experts analyzed milk poured into ordinary glasses which, because they were not scalded, were responsible for the high bacteria count discovered. He intimated that the milk served on the breakfast table at home would prove to be as impure, if tested, for the same reason. "As a matter of fact," he said, "the report of the milk committee showed a very fair condition. It will take time to bring Grade C milk up in standard for drinking purposes."

Dr. Charles E. North, a bacteriologist and a member of the milk committee, countered by declaring that the samples were taken from the glasses in which they were served because the committee wished to ascertain the number of bacteria the patrons of restaurants were

obliged to take when ordering milk. Dr. Ira S. Wile, editor of the *Medical Review of Reviews*, stated that the samples were taken immediately after the milk was served so that the bacteria on the glasses did not have time to propagate enough to materially raise the count. He further said: "If the glasses were so dirty that they contaminated the milk in a momentary contact with it, we regret to call the attention of the sanitary superintendent of this city to his utter neglect of such unsanitary conditions."

One fault with the present conditions, according to the milk committee, and a defect which made possible the controversy, is the fact that the health department in fixing the qualifications for Grade B and Grade C milk which are for adults to drink and for cooking and manufacturing purposes did not specify clearly the maximum bacteria count.

EDITORIAL GRIST

THE SOUTHERN SOCIAL AWAKENING

GRAHAM TAYLOR

The awakening of southern people to their social obligations and opportunities grows apace. Since the adjournment of the Southern Sociological Congress called by Governor Hooper of Tennessee, a resident of Nashville offered \$7,500 a year to meet the administrative expenses of the permanent organization of the congress. A full report of the addresses and discussions which it elicited has been published.¹

The conference of the Education Board also gave unusual emphasis to industrial conditions, agricultural interests, and the problem of child labor. The next in the series of southern public gatherings was the Commercial Congress which dealt directly with factory conditions, wages and hours of labor, working children, and housing. None of these subjects can be discussed in the South without raising the ever overshadowing race problem, which was

frankly and freely thrashed out at every point of contact by southern men. The rural schoolhouse and the country church received their share of attention with other religious issues. A speaker from the North expressed his surprise at the way in which the religious aspects of these commercial, educational, and social interests were continually emphasized. A friend replied, "We who have been south before have grown used to this religious jostling."

It was not surprising, therefore, to have the biblical institute, at which hundreds of ministers from twelve or more southern states convened at the call of the Divinity School of Vanderbilt University, devote a large part of its program, for the first time, to the direct discussion of the social, civic and industrial applications of religion. The women of the churches, notably those of the missionary society of the Methodist church south, have led the men far and away in this direction. Their social settlements, bureaus for receiving and guiding immigrants, agencies for the prevention of vice and the rescue of its victims, protest and propaganda against child labor, give their work the credit of being among the most advanced efforts put forth by the churches in any part of the country to lead or support movements for social progress.

The consistent note of social obligation which ran through all these meetings was not less striking than the absolute honesty with which speakers from the South faced the critical questions relating to the Negro, to ecclesiastical sectarianism, and to the need and opportunity for the united work of the churches for their respective communities. These great assemblies of widely representative people, held in such rapid succession, struck the keynote of a new era of frank dealing, of self-criticism, of genuine, practical, social service.

In Nashville where all these gatherings were held, many of the ideals thus expressed are in process of realization. A center of Negro educational, commercial, and social agencies is being created in a territory lying between the center of the city and Fisk University. A Negro high

¹The Call of the New South. Edited by James E. McCulloch. Nashville Southern Sociological Congress. 1912.

school building is being erected, and the land opposite has been purchased for a Negro park to cover several acres. A Negro Board of Trade building and a library for Negroes are contemplated. Around these institutions it is hoped to attract the growth of the Negro populations now centered at several adjoining localities.

SOCIAL WORK IN BACKWARD COUNTRIES

EMILY RAY GREGORY

Formerly Professor of Biology, American College for Girls, Constantinople

We have had social settlements of various kinds in this country for more than twenty years and have found them of the greatest value in promoting a good understanding between the different elements of the community. No one comes to give alone, no one comes to receive only. The friendly atmosphere leads to an exchange of ideas that is helpful to all who share it; the spirit of brotherly love and a broad human sympathy are roused and developed.

These things are needed in less favored countries as much or even more than here. Then why not start this work in those lands? We send hundreds of missionaries to teach our religion to those of other faiths, and we do many good things in the way of establishing schools and hospitals in connection with the missions, but if there is need of settlements as well as churches here, there is an even greater need of both in other lands. In fact a social settlement where people simply lived their religion and proved their faith by their works would be an excellent form of mission. This would prove to be especially true in Moslem countries, such as Turkey. The success of the hygiene lectures for Turkish women, held in 1909-10 and 1910-11, under the auspices of the American College for Girls, is certainly a proof that social work would be welcomed by hundreds of Turkish women who would not think of attending Christian services or probably even of sending their daughters to Christian schools.

We cannot expect to see the standard of family life raised very much among

the Moslems until we reach the women, and the women are crying for this help. Let me quote a few lines from an article written by Halideh Hanum for *The Nation* soon after the promulgation of the constitution. "The actual cry of the Turkish women to more civilized womanhood, especially to England and America, is this: 'You go and teach the savage, you descend into the slums. Come to this land, where the most terrible want, the want of knowledge, exists. Come and help to disperse the dark clouds of ignorance. . . . Simple, healthy, human teaching, such as Anglo-Saxons are able to give, is what we want. Give us living examples of your great serious women. More than for bread and water, more than any other want, we cry for knowledge and healthy Anglo-Saxon influence.'"

Can we refuse this summons? Surely if we do, we condemn our humanity as narrow and of limited range. Let us go and give of ourselves, freely and fully, and let our deeds rather than words prove that we, too, love the one God and "our neighbor as ourselves."

OHIO'S DEBT TO A "COMMON DUTCHMAN"

J. W. MAGRUDER

General Secretary Federated Charities of Baltimore

The discussion of the minimum wage at the National Conference of Charities and Correction brought to mind an experience the writer had back in the 90's with a lately deceased president of the teamsters' union of Cincinnati, Joseph Heberle. I was then a resident of that city.

Heberle was a German, born in the old country, and accustomed to his beer. He had become aroused, however, against the crookedness and oppression involved in the exactions of saloon-keepers throughout the town, who had installed watering-troughs in front of their saloons and got city water free of charge, but who made it uncomfortable, not to say intolerable, for teamsters to water their horses at these troughs without patronizing the bar.

He registered his protest in no uncertain words and began to agitate for "free public drinking fountains for man and beast," to be erected at convenient points throughout the congested business districts. But, to use his own expression, he was "nothing but a common Dutchman," and nobody paid much, if any, attention to what he said. The indifference only inflamed him the more, and he started out on a personal canvass among clergymen, labor leaders, social workers, and influential men and women, urging them to see in person or write letters to the Board of Public Affairs, and to get their friends to do likewise, demanding a city appropriation for free public drinking fountains.

It was not long before the Board of Public Affairs was flooded with letters and petitions, and it seemed as if suddenly and for some inexplicable reason the entire city of Cincinnati had gone mad on the subject of drinking fountains and would hear to nothing else. I have often wondered whether the board ever found out that only one man was back of all the hubbub, and he "only a common Dutchman."

Heberle had come to my home to enlist me in this fight. We were in the midst of an earnest discussion of the plan of campaign, the persons to be seen, the points to be argued, and all the rest, when into the room there toddled a baby girl. Instantly the man of one idea forgot me, forgot drinking fountains, forgot everything except the child. He crooned over her, fondled her, talked baby talk to her.

"Heberle," I finally interrupted, "why don't you get married?"

I ought to have known better. The man's face fell; he turned upon me almost fiercely, and, with eyes flashing, fairly hissed at me: "I'm nothing but a teamster. I earn only ten dollars a week. The most I can ever hope to earn is eleven dollars. And I'll never ask any woman to share that income with me and undertake the responsibilities of a family."

I awoke to the fact that I was looking into the face of a middle-aged man of

warm domestic nature, who, rather than subject a wife and children to the privation and slow torture of less than a living wage, was subjecting himself to involuntary bachelordom and suffering in his own domestic soul a daily martyrdom.

This explains what was in later years puzzling to some Cincinnatians, to whom Heberle was a fanatic and more or less of a nuisance—his consuming zeal in the child labor movement. Himself unlettered, if not illiterate—I have letters from him, the deciphering of which would do credit to a postoffice expert—almost uncouth, and in every way handicapped; nevertheless he founded, financed, managed and edited the *Child Labor Record*, the first publication of the kind in Cincinnati and Ohio, and one of the first in America. He was at it early and late, weekdays and Sundays, year in and year out, with never a vacation. He literally wore himself out and went down into a premature grave. The tactics which he had successfully followed in the campaign for free public drinking fountains (I forgot to say that the Board of Public Affairs actually appropriated \$2,500 or thereabouts for this purpose, thereby making a beginning at placing the city, so to speak, "on the water wagon"), he pursued with equal success for a Child Labor Law. I believe that the National Child Labor Committee will not accuse me of exaggeration if I say that to this unlettered Dutchman, the driver of an express-wagon and president of the teamsters' union, more than to any or all other persons, is due the credit for having placed the first Child Labor Law on the statute books of Ohio.

When I told a part of this story at the section meeting of the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and closed by saying that if ever there was a man who deserved a monument to his memory, it was Joseph Heberle, the chairman of the meeting, Owe! R. Lovejoy, greatly to my surprise and gratification, announced: "A monument is being erected to his memory. It is a free public drinking fountain."

THE TREND OF THINGS

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS

ROSE TRUMBULL IN THE INDEPENDENT

"O MOTHER, see the mill lights in the darkness glow!"

"I see but candles for my dead
At foot and head."

"Nay, see how wrought by childish hands, world-fabrics grow!"

"I see my babes, decrepit, bowed—
They weave a shroud."

"Yet see their golden wage: the purse of wealth is deep."

"The tide of barter at its flood
Gives bread for blood!"

"O mother, with thy visions dark, dost thou not weep?"

"For slaughtered babes upon such biers
There are no tears!"

* * *

Among its August contributors, just at this time when the alliance between crime and the guardians of the peace dominates the news columns of the papers, the *Review*, organ of the National Prisoners' Aid Association, numbers a gunfighter, whose account of the race gangs and the gang activities brings in names with which we have grown familiar. Here is his account of a "side-line" and the regular activities of the "Jack Zelig bunch." "They're the babies what rakes in the coin," says he. "They're on velvet all the time. Take 14th street an' a lot of other streets what's good for Johns, it's only the Zelig gang's girls what can walk them. Their women is only a side-line; nothin' much in that compared wid what they get out of the stuss games. Every once in a while they pay a sort of friendly visit to the backrooms of the Second avenue, 14th street and Lenox avenue cigar stores, interrupt the stuss games long enough to collect all the silver dollars in sight. Besides dat the 'prop' what runs the game is got to hand them a big piece of change to keep off the guerillas. They get theirs comin' both ways."

This gunman's analysis of his relation to the law-making part of the community is "class-conscious" in the extreme.

"What are you trying to hand me?" he asks. "The laws was made for my protection's well as for other peoples. I don't know about dat. Who made the law? The people in good. For who did dey make dem laws if not for demselves? Huh! Dem laws was never made for the benefit of the likes o' me an' mine. Dat's why, Mr. Man, we got our own laws—see?"

* * *

One of the most significant trends noticeable at the recent Pittsburgh Conference of the American Association of Instructors of the Blind, was the changed ideal manifest among those who are training the country's sightless youths. A decade ago superintendents thought the mission of their schools had been fulfilled if graduates could pass examinations

equally difficult with those passed by seeing students of the same age. Today, the test of economic independence is applied, and unless graduates are able to go out into the world and earn their own livings, it is thought that the schools have not accomplished all that they should.

"There were still echoes," says an editorial in the *Outlook for the Blind* dealing with this Pittsburgh meeting, "from those who (theoretically) believe that a moral and scholastic training is all that is necessary, but even those with the strictly academic point of view agreed that the supreme test of our schools is that we shall fit our pupils to take an honorable position in the world. The only question, after clearing the air of a difference of opinion as to terms, seemed to be how to accomplish the much desired end."

* * *

The *Medical Review of Reviews* believes that no more fitting and practical Titanic memorial could be set up than a hospital ship for deep-sea fishermen, along the lines of the resolution recently introduced into the House by Congressman Gardner.¹ The memorial for the dead at sea, should in the opinion of the editorial writer in the *Review*, also be a monument to an interest in those living on the sea. At the present time, it is a "sad commentary on the interest of our government in the American seamen . . . that our fishermen on the Great Banks receive their medical aid from a French hospital ship supported in part by charity and by a small grant from the French government. If the funds now being collected could be united for the purchase of a hospital ship possibly a presentation to the nation might secure an appropriation from Congress sufficient to maintain it."

* * *

A straight from the shoulder argument for workmen's compensation legislation from the standpoint of the manufacturer, was that of the German-American Button Company of Rochester during the last legislative session. This company telegraphed the leader of the New York senate majority as follows:

"Manufacturers are absolutely dependent on good relationship with their employees. Our employees are in justice entitled to compensation in all accidents. They know this and the people of the state recognize the justice. On behalf of manufacturers and their employees we demand proper constitution amendment permitting accident compensation legislation. We ask for your action in this matter, especially on behalf of manufacturers. Established concerns are quite as solicitous for the future as they are for the immediate present. There is no question about the justice involved in accident compensation. If you people at Albany fail to provide for such legislation you are doing the manufacturers above all others a great injustice. The people are going to get such legislation in time, but if you put it off until

¹See THE SURVEY of June 15, 1912.

hatred and bitterness have developed we manufacturers will suffer in the end."

* * *

Within the last four months the National Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage, 29 W. 39th St., New York city, has established a national organ, the *Woman's Protest*, which expresses the views and comments on the suffrage movement of those who believe that "women do not yet realize the enormous opportunities that have been given to them in the past forty years, and that they have not yet been able to adapt themselves to new conditions and do all the work which is now within their power. By throwing women into the arena of active politics and the holding of elective offices, with all that it implies, we are confident that neither women themselves nor the state will be benefited, but we earnestly believe that the serious purpose, ability and experience to be found among women in many walks of life should be used for the benefit of the community and that women of judgment and energy should be appointed on such educational, charitable, sanitary and reformatory boards, commissions and committees as the safest methods of utilizing their capacities and interest in the public welfare."

The *Woman's Bulletin* of Los Angeles, published by women who not only believe in the suffrage, but have it, has a different plan of constructive work among women, or one phase of constructive work, from the *Protest*:

"The *Woman's Bulletin*," says the editorial announcement, "is a magazine for the woman citizen. It enters the field in response to a demand. This demand comes directly from the women of California themselves. As voters, sharing now the civic responsibility of choosing their public servants and passing judgment upon measures of government, they realize the necessity not only for some means by which they may be kept impartially informed upon political issues, but, more particularly, the necessity for some medium through which their special needs, problems and interests shall find expression and answer."

* * *

One method of meeting the immigrant problem was presented last winter by Bertha Hirsch Baruch before a club of settlement workers in Los Angeles, and later got wider publicity through an article by Mrs. Baruch in the *West Coast Magazine*.

Mrs. Baruch suggested the forming of a Patriots' League whose objects shall be:

"The education and conservation of all Americans, native or naturalized; and of all prospective Americans who come as immigrants or foreign aliens, to our city of Los Angeles.

"The unification of all educational and social forces by means of co-ordinated and concentrated effort to produce the most valuable product in a democracy—capable, conscientious citizens, and the highest possible order of American patriots."

A "patriot," in contradistinction to the passive aspect of man as a citizen should in Mrs. Baruch's view, be an active propagator of the ideals of American independence (in the relation of the United States to other countries), and liberty and equality of the citizen. By a proper application of its two general principles Mrs. Baruch believes that the league could make "patriots" out of the immigrants who are now "problems."

* * *

THE IRISH OLD-AGE PENSIONER

SEOSAMH MACCATHMAHAIL IN THE IRISH REVIEW

He sits over the glimmering coal
With his ancient face and folded hands:
His eye glasses his quiet soul,
He blinks and nods and understands.
In dew wetted, in tempest blown,
A Lear at last comes to his own.

For fifty years he trenched his field
That he might eat a pauper's bread:
The seasons balked him of their yield,
His children's children wished him dead.
But ransom came to him at length
At the ebb-tide of life and strength.

And so he sits with folded hands
Over the flag of amber fire:
He blinks and nods and understands.
He has his very soul's desire.
In dew wetted, in tempest blown,
A Lear at last comes to his own.

* * *

An indication of the spreading interest in improved housing is shown in the selected list of material on this subject published by the New York School of Philanthropy as a library bulletin. This brief bibliography of fifty-seven titles furnishes a compact, descriptively annotated catalogue of the most important books and periodical articles on the general subject of improved housing. There are in addition references dealing particularly with conditions in England, France, Germany, and the United States. Nearly two-thirds of the titles are those of publications issued in the last five years which makes the bulletin a directory of fresh material which has not become outlawed by lapse of time.

* * *

"It looks as though one of the by-products of these men's movements of recent years was going to be just this elevation of the man who expresses his religion in service instead of raptures to sainthood. Indeed, as one looks over the long list of the leaders of the brotherhoods, it is this latter type of saint or spiritually-minded man who predominates. He is young, energetic, more intent on doing than talking; practical, not emotional; full of the social gospel; desirous of creating not a band of preachers, but of organizers, reformers, and enthusiasts for a clean-up city. This type of man is evidently quite displacing the older type, and is our modern saint. But he is just as spiritual as the dear saints of the prayer meeting, for he is expressing the life of Jesus Christ in his heart."—NEW YORK EVANGELIST.

COMMUNICATIONS

SOCIETY MEETS THE "HUNKIE"

TO THE EDITOR:

A recent experience has suggested what seem large but generally unappreciated possibilities of awakening broader social interests in "society" people.

In a manufacturing town of Ohio last week a little party was organized for visiting one of the steel mills. The young men as well as the young women were bored at the prospect, and the invitation had to be accompanied by a bit of pressure. When, however, one or two "pourings" were witnessed and a few "pigs" were watched through the rolls, the party became a huge success, and its organizer was smothered with thanks. The result of it all was that for several days there was injected into the conversation of the "guests" the discussion of the wages of "Hunkies" and similar "phenomena," usually quite outside the range of interests of these persons.

The noises and the smoke of the mills will from now on stand for a big human problem to these residents of the other part of the city. In their minds also is the memory of so interesting and enjoyable an evening that it suggests the wisdom of other such "parties" informally organized by social workers and others possessing enough social interest to be willing to slip some of it over on their unsuspecting friends.

CHARLES WHITING WILLIAMS.

Oberlin, Ohio.

TEMPERANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM

TO THE EDITOR:

It is my desire to congratulate you upon the editorial in *THE SURVEY* of July 6 because I think it puts a desirable constructive program before social workers and the public generally in a very logical and comprehensive way. Your reference to the questions of drink, congestion of population and mental defect, are particularly gratifying to me, for I believe that our progress as a nation is very much bound up in the satisfactory solution of just these problems.

I am strongly convinced that we cannot make great progress as a people while the thinking apparatus of the members of our body politic is befogged by the use of two and a half billion dollars' worth of intoxicating drink a year, nor while we house such a large part of our population in a way to make the saloon more attractive than the home.

When we add to these factors of destruction that of mental defect, we face a situation that is so serious as to demand the best thought of every social worker and of our best public men and women outside of social work as well. One of our most serious bars

to progress is the inability of many of our citizens to think straight and consequently to act straight, not only at the polls but elsewhere. When large numbers of the voters have their brains injured by drink and another large class is of defective mentality, we face an amount of mental inertia hard to overcome when we are seeking to secure the adoption of reforms. Hence, the necessity for curbing the sale of drink by every legitimate means possible, and of segregating the mentally defective in order to prevent the growth of the dangerous germ plasm responsible for it. That the evils of congestion of population have a direct relation to both these questions seems too evident to call for extended comment. But until we can have straight, clear thinking, undisturbed by drink or mental defect, by the great body of the people, it will continue to be difficult to secure the reforms that are so evidently necessary in our social life.

ROBERT W. HEBBERD.

New York city.

MORE PAY FOR MARINE DOCTORS

TO THE EDITOR:

I have noted with pleasure your article on page 640 of your issue for August 15, 1912, on the subject Higher Pay for Marine Physicians. The article is both true and just, and I appreciate your publishing it.

You will be pleased to know, I am sure, that on August 10 the House of Representatives, and on August 13, the Senate, passed a bill which has hitherto been known as the Mann bill, changing the name of the service to United States Public Health Service, increasing its functions, and somewhat increasing the pay of its officers.

RUPERT BLUE.

[Surgeon General Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service.]

Washington, D. C.

GREENWICH SCHOOL EXPENDITURES

TO THE EDITOR:

I have been troubled several times by what has seemed to me the misleading use of statistics in *THE SURVEY*, but I have made no protest, except in one case which fell in my particular field. I cannot, however, keep silent after reading the statistics which preface Miss Ayres' article in the issue of August 3, since they appear to have as their immediate object inferences which are quite preposterous.

It may be true that the inhabitants of Greenwich do not properly support their schools, but of course the expenditure compared with the wealth does not offer the least proof of the fact, any more than a high infant death rate as compared with the total death rate is any proof that the number of babies dying is relatively high—the opposite may, in truth, be the case.

Unscientific, inaccurate or partisan statements, I am sure, cannot in the long run ac-

comply with the purposes THE SURVEY has in mind, and they may alienate the interest and support of intelligent people.

It is because I am so keenly interested in what you are trying to do and feel such warm sympathy with your point of view that I venture to make this criticism.

MARION TALBOT.

Holderness, N. H.

There are three reasons why Miss Talbot's interesting criticism on the article concerning the Greenwich school situation is not convincing.

First, abundant evidence demonstrates that school conditions in Greenwich are bad. In view of this, it is distinctly pertinent to point out that Greenwich is rich.

Second, Miss Talbot has apparently not clearly thought through her analogy between statistics of expenditure and statistics of infant mortality. Rates of infant mortality are computed by comparing the number of deaths of infants with the number of infants. Following the same process of reasoning, it is entirely proper to make deductions concerning expenditures by comparing expenditures with wealth.

Third, Miss Talbot's use of such words as "misleading," "preposterous," "unscientific," "inaccurate," and "partisan" does not impress the reader with the conviction that her criticism is wholly calm and unbiased.

MAY AYRES.

New York city.

SATURDAY HALF HOLIDAY

TO THE EDITOR:

An interesting fact concerning Waltham with reference to THE SURVEY's recent discussion of the Saturday half holiday is that here the problem of a half holiday has been met by using another afternoon, Tuesday. The grocery and provision stores observe this half holiday the year round while the other stores limit the observance to July and August. The great watch company, which is the chief industry of the city, observes the half-holiday on Saturday afternoon, working ten hours other days. This arrangement at least has in its favor the fact that the people of the city's chief industry may do their shopping during their off hours while the store folks still have their holiday.

A. AUGUSTUS HOBSON.

Waltham, Mass.

ABOLITION OF POVERTY

TO THE EDITOR:

THE SURVEY is great. I read it carefully every week. I do all I can to get people to subscribe for it. It is a *reductio ad absurdum* of our vaunted civilization. But it is not fundamental. You say the abolition of slavery came "as an incident of a costly and ghastly civil war and might have come peacefully and constitutionally long before if men had been willing to pay the price". That is an easy judgment. Mr. Lincoln's seemed to be that

the blood of that war was the natural outcome of the bloody scourge of slavery. In that war, the Judge of all the earth was doing right.

And you say that "the abolition of poverty can be accomplished more easily, with less expense, and with no great delay. The means are known. The only doubt is as to whether again men are willing to pay the price." I wonder what you mean to suggest as the price, especially as you speak of the "expense". You mention the seven wonders of the modern world, but do not include the fundamental injustice of property in land. Suppose you had banished every infectious disease, had reduced work to six or four hours, had relieved congestion, had made temperance as to liquor universal, had curbed mental degeneracy, had improved educational methods to the highest degree, had given up everywhere our obsolete penal system (and must we still go on with a penal system, however improved?) suppose all this had been accomplished, what would be the effect on poverty?

When the community has need of 1,000 workers, but finds from this vast improvement in the general morals of workers that it has acquired 10,000 or 50,000 reliable workers, what would be their wage value? The redemption of the industrial world stands, not in moral perfection, but in equal opportunity to the bounties of nature, and the land is the one only storehouse of those bounties. A moral, physical, intellectual saint, barred from the soil, lives, if he live, only by suffering, or rather dies of necessity, from the selfish oppressions of the robbers of natural opportunities. If I did not invincibly believe that God is stronger than man, and that the truth is mighty and will prevail, all the work THE SURVEY and hundreds of other instrumentalities are doing would appear to me only splendid hypocrisies and soulless inanities.

JOHN K. LEWIS

Santa Barbara, Cal.

THE SINGLE STANDARD

TO THE EDITOR:

I note in THE SURVEY of June 22, page 462, your review of the article of Governor Dix, of New York. Your criticism of his acts, you say, in connection with the Letchworth Village—"Feeble minded young women will have continued to bear feeble minded children to spread venereal diseases and depravity." I suggest that "feeble minded young women and feeble minded young men" be written. Scientists and social workers seem frequently to forget that both men and women are parents. That the feeble minded man can and does bring forth children like himself and can and does spread diseases and depravity. To be truly scientific, to take the true stand with regard to the single standard of morality and the result to the country of the reproduction of the unfit by either parent, we must include both sexes when speaking of results.

LAURA B. GARRETT.

New York city.

JOTTINGS

PUBLIC HEALTH AND SOCIAL WORK

The meeting at Washington, D. C., this month of the American Public Health Association will be significant, among other causes, for the first program of the sociological section created recently. The subjects for discussion by this section, with the names of the principal speakers, are as follows:

Report of section committee, John M. Glenn, general director Russell Sage Foundation, chairman; Diagnosis of the Sick City, George Thomas Palmer, M.D., superintendent health department of Springfield, Ill.; Rural Sanitary Surveys in the South, Wickliffe Rose, secretary Rockefeller Sanitary Commission; The Health Department—Social Worker & Co., a Profitable Partnership, Otto P. Geier, M.D., superintendent Department of Charities and Correction, Cincinnati, Ohio; Points of Contact between the Health Officer and the Social Worker, Homer Folks, secretary State Charities Aid Association, New York.

LABOR'S TURN AT WASHINGTON

No less than twenty bills characterized as labor measures have been passed by the House of Representatives at the session just closed, according to the statement of Chairman W. B. Wilson of the Committee on Labor. These are as follows:

1. The eight-hour bill, extending the operation of the eight-hour law to work done for the government as well as work done by the government. "This act alone," Mr. Wilson says, "will reduce the hours of labor of hundreds of thousands of workmen, directly or indirectly employed by or for the government, giving greater opportunity for rest, recreation, and mental development to those who are affected by it."

2. The children's bureau bill.
3. The anti-injunction bill.
4. The contempt bill.
5. The Department of Labor bill.
6. The industrial commission bill.
7. The investigation of the Taylor system.
8. The seamen's bill.
9. The convict labor bill (requiring the sale of convict-made goods in the states in which they are sold).

10. The Bureau of Mines bill, widening the scope of the bureau.

11. The dredge-worker's eight-hour bill.
12. An eight-hour provision in the fortification bill to apply to civilians engaged in the manufacture of ordnance and powder for the government.

13. An eight-hour provision in the post office appropriation bill for post-office clerks and letter carriers.

14. An eight-hour provision in the naval appropriation bill making the eight-hour

workday apply to workmen employed under the current appropriations.

15. A provision in the post office appropriation bill removing from post-office employes the "gag rule," and thus making it possible for them to bring their grievances to Congress.

16. The "phossy jaw" bill.

17. The bill to extend the provisions of the compensation-for-injury act to the employes of the Bureau of Mines.

18. The bill to give official papers of trades unions and fraternal organizations second class mail privileges.

19. A provision in the naval appropriation bill requiring all coal purchased for the use of the navy to be mined on an eight-hour workday.

20. The masters' and mates' bill to reduce the hours of masters and mates, making it impossible to require them to continue on duty for indefinite periods.

One labor bill upon which the House refused to take action because of suddenly developed differences of opinion among those who would have been most affected by its passage was the Workmen's Compensation Act, passed early in the session by the Senate. It is probable that this measure will come up next fall.

CONSUMERS' LEAGUE IN CALIFORNIA

Through the efforts of Maude Nathan, the first vice-president of the National Consumers' League, a new branch of that organization has been established in Santa Barbara, Cal. Mrs. Nathan gave an address on the work of the Consumers' League to the students of the summer session of the State Normal School of Manual Arts and Home Economics, which led them to ask for help in formulating a plan for co-operating with the national league. The following officers were elected: pres., Maude Garvey; vice-pres., Alice M. Craig; treas., Irene Williams; sec., Cordia Umstead.

The officers of the national league hope that after the students have graduated they will carry on work in their home towns. The Los Angeles Consumers' League Committee of the Civic Association has sent an application to the National Consumers' League for affiliation.

NEW STEP IN SEX HYGIENE WORK

Recognizing the frequency of gonorrheal vaginitis among children and believing that it is impossible to treat these cases successfully without a special organization for the purpose, the Mount Sinai Hospital Dispensary of New York city has inaugurated a special class for the treatment of these cases, and has appointed to the department a special physician who is assisted by a graduate nurse. The cases enrolled since the inauguration of this class are so numerous that the dispensary has been compelled to restrict its treatment to children resident in its immediate neighborhood.

KENTUCKY AND CHILDREN

Committees have been chosen and plans laid for holding in Louisville, Ky., in November a Kentucky Child Welfare Conference and Exhibit. Outside help in preparing the program and arranging the exhibit has been sought from the Russell Sage Foundation which sent Florence Lattimore to Louisville last winter and from Dr. Anna Louise Strong, who had charge of the Chicago Children's Exhibit and of the Child Welfare Exhibit held this year at Northampton, Mass. The local committee calls itself a Conference Planning Organization and consists of Mrs. Morris B. Belknap, president, Mrs. Alfred Brandeis, vice president, Charles Allen, treasurer, and Adeline B. Zachert, secretary. The chairmen of general committees are: Place, Mrs. P. H. Callahan; hospitality, Mrs. S. Thruston Ballard; Publicity, D. B. Boode; Programs, Bernard Flexner; Ways and Means, Charles W. Allen. The chairmen of exhibiting committees are: Homes, Mrs. Barbour Minnigerode; Health, Dr. Henry E. Tuley; Philanthropy, Frances Ingram; Recreation, Fred Levy; Settlements and Educational Movements, Mrs. John C. Little; Schools, Supt. E. O. Holland; Entertainments, Pauline Witherspoon; Industrial Conditions, Mrs. R. P. Halleck; Installation, George H. Gray.

A PEOPLE'S "COUNTRY CLUB"

The opening of the Joseph T. Bowen Country Club by the trustees of Hull House was made the occasion for interchanging memories of the man whose name it bears. The scene among the white birch trees, on the rolling bluff overlooking Lake Michigan at Waukegan, forty miles from Chicago, was significant in its simplicity. How much Mr. Bowen thought of the neighbors of Hull House, and they of him, Jane Addams told by touching incidents. His rector showed how identical were Mr. Bowen's religious and social faiths. A citizen friend pointed to this living memorial as so much more expressive of such a vital life than any monument in bronze or marble could be. His physician, Dr. Henry B. Favill, spoke of the service to health and happiness which this country club will render, not only in satisfying, but also in creating the love of nature, and the craving for outdoor life and pleasure.

Seventy-two acres of charmingly varied, wooded land, a farm house surrounded by new dormitory cottages, a barn, which with its yard and pasture provide "sample" horses, cows, chickens and sheep, give a setting of country life for the girls who in groups of sixty will be sheltered here by turns. The spirit of this country house memorial, the gift of Mrs. Bowen, reminds one of Tom L. Johnson's wish that a playground for the children of Cleveland might be the monument over his grave.

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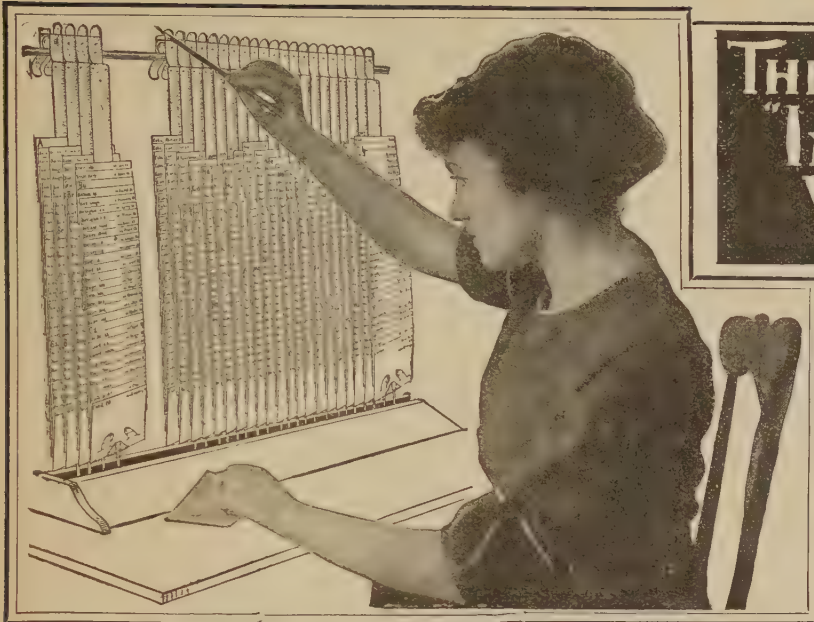
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By JOSEPHINE GOLDMARK

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FATIGUE AND EFFICIENCY comprises the greater part of the briefs prepared by Miss Goldmark and submitted by Mr. Brandeis in the defense of the 10-hour laws for women before the Supreme Courts of Illinois and Ohio, and before the United States Supreme Court in the famous case of *Curt Muller v. the State of Oregon*.

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THE SURVEY

SOCIAL CHARITABLE CIVIC

*How a Minnesota Concentrating
Plant Saves Human Life and Limb*

Don D. Lescohier

*What Shall We Do to Readjust the
Social Relationships of Hospital
Life, Now Sadly Out of Joint?*

Joseph Collins

*The New Constitution of Ohio, Most
Democratic in America, if not in World*

Frederic C. Howe

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105 EAST 22D ST., NEW YORK

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INFORMATION DESK

The following national bodies will gladly and freely supply information and advise reading on the subjects named by each and on related subjects. Members are kept closely in touch with the work which each organization is doing, but membership is not required of those seeking information. Correspondence is invited. Always enclose postage for reply. *Continued on next page.*

Child Labor

National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22d St., New York. Owen R. Lovejoy, Sec'y.
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National Conference on the Education of Dependent, Backward, Truant, and Delinquent Children. Conference reports \$1 each, including membership in conference. Address Elmer L. Coffeen, Sec'y and Treas., Westboro, Mass.

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Committee of One Hundred on National Health. E. F. Robbins, Executive Secretary, Room 51, 105 East 22d St., New York.
To unite all the government health agencies into a National Department of Health to inform the people how to prevent disease.

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National Women's Trade Union League, to better industrial conditions through organization and legislation. Information given. "Life and Labor," events in industrial world. Three months for 25c. Mrs. Raymond Robins, Pres., 127 N. Dearborn St., Chicago.

White Slave Traffic

American Vigilance Ass'n, Central office, 105 W. Monroe St., Chicago; Eastern Office, Library and Bureau of Information, 156 Fifth Ave., N. Y. Purpose: to suppress commercialized vice. Carries on investigations, assists in prosecutions, etc.

Prison Labor

National Committee on Prison Labor, 27 E. 22d St., N. Y. City. Thomas R. Slicer, Chn.; E. Stagg Whitin, Ph.D., Gen. Sec.; R. Montgomery Schell, Treas. Prison labor conditions throughout the U. S. examined with recommendations for constructive reform. Pamphlets free to members. \$5 a year.

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National Municipal League, 703 North American Bldg., Philadelphia. William Dudley Foulke, Pres.; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Sec'y. Charters, commission government, taxation, police, liquor, electoral reform, finances, accounting, efficiency, civic education, franchises, school extension.

Child Helping

Department of Child-Helping, Russell Sage Foundation, 105 East 22d St., New York.
Correspondence and printed matter relative to institutions for children, child placing, infant mortality, care of crippled children, Juvenile Courts, etc.

Athletics in the Public Schools

Division of Recreation, of the Russell Sage Foundation, 400 Metropolitan Tower, New York city.
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Tuberculosis

National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, 105 East 22d St., New York. Livingston Farrand, M. D., Exec. Sec'y. Reports, pamphlets, etc., will be sent upon request. Annual Transactions and other publications free to members.

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American Association for the Conservation of Vision, New York, D. C. McMurtie, Acting Sec'y, 1 Madison Avenue. To prevent blindness and impairment of vision from diseases, defects, accidents and abuse. Literature and exhibits. Ten state organizations. Membership \$1. Charter \$5.

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National Consumers' League, 106 East 19th St., New York. Mrs. Florence Kelley, Sec'y. Annual Report and other literature free.
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Young Women

National Board, Y. W. C. A. 125 East 27th St., New York City. Pres., Miss Grace H. Dodge. Gen. Sec'y., Miss Mabel Cratty; the advancement of physical, social, intellectual and spiritual interests of young women. Official Publication, "The Association Monthly" \$1; free literature.

The American Seamen's Friend Society

Rev. J. B. Calvert, D.D., pres. George McPherson Hunter, Sec'y.
The national seamen's society has stations in the United States and abroad, relieves shipwrecked and destitute seamen. Annual membership includes all literature, \$5.00 a year. C. C. Pinneo, Treas., 76 Wall Street.

The Smoke Nuisance

Send 25 cents, stamps or coin, for American Civic Association Bulletin on "Smoke Abatement; How to Organize for Pure Air; Model Ordinances, etc." Address American Civic Association, 914 Union Trust Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Recreation

Playground and Recreation Association of America, 1 Madison Ave., New York City. Howard S. Braucher, Sec'y.
Play, playgrounds, public recreation. Monthly magazine, *The Playground*, \$2 a year.

Probation

National Probation Association. The Capitol, Albany, N. Y. Arthur W. Towne, Sec'y.
Advice and information; literature; directory of probation officers; annual conference. Membership, 50 cents a year.

Sex Hygiene

Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, Tilden Bldg., 105 W. 40th St., New York. H. P. DeForest, Sec'y 22 affiliated societies.
Report and leaflets free. Educational pamphlets, 10c each. *Journal of Social Diseases*, \$1 per year. Membership, annual dues \$2, includes all literature.

Mental Hygiene

National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 Union Square, New York City. Clifford W. Beers, Sec'y. Write for pamphlets on mental hygiene, prevention of insanity, care of the insane, social service in mental hygiene, State Societies for Mental Hygiene.

Labor Legislation

Workmen's Compensation; Industrial Hygiene; Labor Laws. Official publication: *American Labor Legislation Review*, sent free to members.
American Association for Labor Legislation, Metropolitan Tower, New York City. John B. Andrews, Secretary.

Remedial Loans

National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations, 31 Union Square, N. Y. Arthur H. Ham.
Reports, pamphlets, and forms for societies free. Information regarding organization of remedial loan societies gladly given.

Short Ballot and Commission Government

The Short Ballot Organization, 383 Fourth Ave., New York City. Woodrow Wilson, President; Richard S. Childs, Sec'y. National clearing house for information on these subjects. Pamphlets free. Publishers of *Beard's Loose-Leaf Digest of Short Ballot Charters*.

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National City Planning Conference 19 Congress St., Boston, Mass. Frederick Law Olmsted, President. Flavel Shurtleff, Secretary. A Seminar for the Discussion of City Planning Problems. Publishes Annual Proceedings. Membership at \$5 a Year Includes All Literature.

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INFORMATION DESK

Continued from preceding page

Charities and Correction

THE PROCEEDINGS of the National Conference of Charities and Correction sent free to each member. BUREAU OF INFORMATION on any topic of philanthropy, penology and kindred subjects free to members. Alexander Johnson, Sec., Angola, Ind. Next meeting, Seattle, July 2, 1913.

National Conference of Jewish Charities

Lee K. Frankel, president; Louis H. Levin, secretary, 411 West Fayette St., Baltimore, Md. Issues monthly "Jewish Charities," containing articles of interest to all concerned in Jewish social and philanthropic work. Subscription \$1 a year, includes membership in the Conference.

Organized Charity

National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity. Francis H. McLean, gen'l sec'y., 105 East 22d St., New York city.

To promote the extension and development of organized charity and of community co-operation in social programs, in the United States.

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Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, 105 E. 22d St., New York City.

To study, teach and publish in the charity organization field. Pamphlets on family treatment, community study, relief, transportation, etc., sent free.

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Conservation of Infant Life.

American Association for Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality. 1211 Cathedral Street, Baltimore. Gertrude B. Knipp, Exec. Sec'y. Literature on request.

Studies preventable causes of death and illness; urges birth registration, maternal nursing, parental instruction.

The Church and Social Service

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America operates through its Commission on the Church and Social Service.

For literature and service address the Secretary, Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, 215 Fourth Ave. nue (at 18th St.), New York.

Unitarian Social Advance

The American Unitarian Association through its Department of Social and Public Service.

Reports and Bulletins free. Lecture Bureau. Social Service Committees. Rev. Elmer S. Forbes, Secretary of the Department, 25 Beacon St., Boston.

Presbyterian Social Service

Bureau of Social Service, The Presbyterian Board of Home Missions; Rev. Charles Steitzle, Supt., 156 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Sociological surveys made. Clearing house for city problems of the Church. "Downtown Church" Labor Temple, New York. Literature free.

Home and Institutional Economics

American Home Economics Association, for Home, Institution, and School. Publishes Journal of Home Economics, 600 pp. per vol. \$2.00 per year. Conducts Graduate School of Home Economics. Meeting: Boston, December 31, 1912—Address, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.

Negro and Race Problems

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 Vesey Street, New York. O. G. Villard, Chmn. Exec. Com.; M. W. Ovington, Sec'y; W. E. B. DuBois, Director Publicity. Publishes *Crisis* magazine, and pamphlets. Investigation, information, lectures, legal redress.

Mental Deficiency

The American Association for the study of the feeble-minded, publishes the proceedings and papers of its annual meetings in the Journal of Psycho Asthenics. Address Dr. A. C. Rogers, secretary, at Faribault, Minnesota.

Studies in Social Christianity

July: Homes or Tenements. August: Marriage and Divorce. September: Parents and Children. See the lessons for classes and individuals in *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, published monthly by the American Institute of Social Service, 82 Bible House, New York city. Price 50c. per year.

Methodist Social Service

Methodist Federation for Social Service; Literature; Bureau of Information, Speakers' Bureau; Reading and study courses; invites all Methodists to extend its usefulness and use its facilities.

Rev. Harry F. Ward, Sec'y., 343 S. Oak Park Ave., Oak Park, Ill.

Church and Country Life

Department of Board of Home Missions of Presbyterian Church. Warren H. Wilson, Supt., Anna B. Taft, Asst., 156 Fifth Ave.; makes sociological surveys of rural populations; conferences, graduate summer schools for country ministers, literature for rural workers.

Baptist Social Service

Social Service Commission of the Northern Baptist Convention.

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S. Z. Batten, Des Moines College, Des Moines, Iowa, exec. ch'm.

Immigration

National Conference of Immigration, Land, and Labor Officials, 22 East 30th Street, F. A. Kellor, Sec. Information affecting aliens *after admission*, especially in reference to labor, land, education, protection and distribution. No matters of admission or restriction dealt with.

Social Betterment for Negroes

National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, 281 Fourth Avenue. E. R. A. Seligman, Chairman; G. E. Haynes, Director. Develops welfare agencies. Trains social workers. Aids travelers. Supports probation officers. Seeks industrial opportunities. Correspondence invited.

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CHICAGO VICE REPORT

The American Vigilance Association is reprinting a limited edition of the Report of the Vice Commission of Chicago. A single copy will be sent to any person interested or studying vice conditions who will make judicious use of it, but the book is not for sale or for general distribution. Address American Vigilance Association, 105 West Monroe Street, Chicago, for a card stating conditions on which a copy will be forwarded.

THE PITH OF IT

THOUGH an eastern state, containing many large cities, though ruled for years by established interests, and though seldom evincing radical tendencies, yet by her recent approval of thirty-three constitutional amendments, "Ohio," says Frederic C. Howe, author of *The City the Hope of Democracy*, "has adopted what is probably the most thoroughly and fundamentally democratic framework of government in America, if not in the world." P. 757.

"THE social situation in a hospital is not a normal one. The majority of the persons there are sick. The contact between these social elements should be in some term other than mere personal acquaintance." From this point of view Joseph Collins, member of the medical board of the Neurological Institute, New York, discusses society's obligation to the hospital patient. P. 760.

TO THE unknowing no social problem is so peculiarly centered in the big city as that of the housing evil. Yet, in sober truth, the tragedies of village slums are among the most heartrending and needless with which the social worker comes into contact. P. 767.

"SAFETY is the burning question of the day," said a machine-shop foreman on the Minnesota iron ranges. In *THE SURVEY* for September 7, Don D. Lescoghier told of accidents and accident prevention in the iron ore mines of that region. In this issue he tells of the movement for safety which has changed the appearance of concentrating plants in two years. P. 773.

A SPEECH by Mayor Hunt of Cincinnati describing the system of building inspection by firemen just started in his city, is seized upon as an argument for municipal reference libraries in all large cities. P. 769.

SUMMING up his experiences in 20,000 recorded cases, Dr. John F. Culp, recently retired surgeon of the Pennsylvania Steel Company, says that the best attitude for an employer to take toward his employees is that which in effect asserts: "I recognize the fact that you are helping me to create wealth, and if adversity comes to you in the shape of an accident it is only fair that some of this wealth that your hands helped me to create should be yours. I will care for you and yours." P. 778.

IS EUGENICS a science, or the "ideas, generalities and desires" of a few people? This was answered both ways at the International Eugenics Congress in London. P. 753.

SOME substantial signs of progress in Syracuse, N. Y. P. 755.

THE SURVEY

EDWARD T. DEVINE,
EDITOR

GRAHAM TAYLOR, JANE ADDAMS,
ASSOCIATES

A JOURNAL
OF CONSTRUCTIVE PHILANTHROPY
PUBLISHED BY
THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

ROBERT W. DEFOREST, PRESIDENT

J. P. MORGAN, TREASURER

EDWARD T. DEVINE, GENERAL SECRETARY

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A MOVING picture showing the malpractices of loan sharks has been added to the growing list of educational photo-plays. P. 756.

THE COMMON WELFARE

FIRST INTERNATIONAL EUGENICS CONGRESS

Starting with the thesis stated by its president, that our present selection of the unfit is a "grave and growing danger to the future of the human race" and that the science of eugenics must find a way out of this danger, the First International Congress on Eugenics, which gathered together in London delegates from all over the world, brought out the fact that the science is at the present time not ready to offer the solution of this problem. Though Peter Kropotkin was considered by most extreme when he said that eugenics is not a science, but the "ideas, generalities and desires" of a few people, the congress proved to be rather an "exchange of views and mutual instruction" than a scientific body equipped to work out a platform of concerted action, with the ultimate object of proposing legislation.

The incomplete information with which the eugenicist has to work was emphasized by A. F. Tredgold who explained how scanty is our knowledge of either family histories or the relation of transmissible disease to race degeneration. The discussion of such topics as the restriction of marriage of certain criminal classes, proposed by an American delegate and opposed by another delegate from this country, tended to bear out the statement of A. J. Balfour that there are less exact ideas, and more divergence of opinion today in regard to heredity than in the eighties of the last century. S. G. Smith of the University of Minnesota, who opposed the restriction of marriage, asserted vigorously that he would rather be the son of a healthy burglar than of a consumptive bishop. Believing that environment is vastly more important than heredity Sir John MacDonald, a leading English authority on judicial statistics, showed substantial agreement with Professor Smith when he maintained that in the majority of cases the habitual criminal is not born but made. In Professor Smith's opinion most babies

are well-born. What they need is to be well-reared, and with a wider knowledge of hygiene, a better distribution of wealth—or, in the expression of Edward T. Devine, a "fair and decent opportunity"—and a higher sense of responsibility on the part of parents, the problem of physical heredity at any rate, would in his opinion vanish.

Practical contributions to the study of race changes made by changed conditions, were given by Adams Woods, Soren Hansen and Vernon Kellogg of Leland Stanford University. The latter dealt with the effect of militarism on the race, by a comparative study of the physical characteristics of the children born in France during and soon after the Napoleonic wars.

EUGENICS AND SOCIAL WELFARE

On the ground that "efficient government contemplates not only the immediate happiness of the people, but also considers the citizens of the future, and therefore is concerned for the improvement of the race," the New York State Board of Charities a year ago established a Bureau of Analysis and Investigation, with special reference to eugenics.

The approaching completion of Letchworth Village, with its increased capacity for caring for the feeble-minded and the contention of experts that all mental degenerates should be segregated and not the fraction (one-seventh) which are now under control, have raised a peculiar interest in the work of this bureau. Its field and purposes have been outlined as follows¹:

To gather information regarding inmates of and proper subjects for admission to the state institutions for defectives, that the managers of such institutions may have data helpful in the care and training of inmates, and that immediate attention may be given to families or individuals not under public care, whose conditions and environment make them a menace to the morals and future welfare of the state.

¹*Eugenics and Social Welfare*, No. 1, a bulletin issued by the Department of State and Alien Poor of the State Board of Charities.

To investigate the relation between the various forms of defectiveness and the problem of pauperism, and collect data bearing upon epilepsy, mental defect, and other forms of degeneracy, and suggest measures whereby they may be controlled.

To aid and stimulate local authorities in the performance of their duties in relation to defective dependents, and the families to which such defectives belong.

To study the causes of defectiveness with relation to inheritance and environment, to determine in which families defectiveness is hereditary and in what localities such families are most numerous.

To compile an accurate census of the feeble-minded and of the epileptics, and maintain a permanent record of defective families in the state of New York.

To present the statistics of pauperism and other facts to the public from time to time, to show the need of further legislation and of additional institutional provision for the dependent, defective and delinquent classes.

"The study of mental defect requires the compilation of full information concerning family history," says the bulletin, "and social investigators will be of assistance if they include in all case records the maternal as well as the paternal family names. The bureau will be pleased to receive data regarding defective families, and other facts from institutions and social agencies interested in the application of the principles of eugenics for the welfare of the future population of the state."

The bureau declares that through it information relative to eugenics will be available to those interested.

A UNIQUE WAYMARK OF NEGRO PROGRESS

Chicago was interested and surprised by the proceedings of the Negro Business Men's League, the thirteenth annual convention of which was recently held there. The original "motif" of this league seems largely to have been to impart to younger men the secret of success which the older men had wrested from their hard experience. Organized in Boston twelve years ago, its founder and president, Booker T. Washington, reported local organizations in thirty-two states and ten state federations in the South. Among the affiliated offshoots of the league are the National Negro Press Association, the National Negro Bar Association, the National

Negro Funeral Directors' Association and the National Negro Bankers' Association. The latter reports a membership of twenty-five of the sixty-one Negro banks now doing business throughout the country, and has plans for establishing a strong central reserve bank in which the banks belonging to the association will be required to deposit a reserve fund for mutual support in emergency.

Co-operative buying is proving to be a success among some of the local leagues of farmers. Negro towns with no white inhabitants were represented, one of which, Boley, Okla., has a population of 4,000 with water works, an electric light plant, four cotton gins, five churches and a Masonic temple.

The program of the convention was enlivened by very human, concrete personal experiences. "My experience" or "my success" headed many a title which ended in farming, truck gardening, stock breeding; in dealing in railway ties, real estate or cotton; in brick making, building, or employment agencies. The details of conducting an antiseptic barber shop and of "making boot-blackening pay" were not regarded as being out of place in the program.

In his president's address, Mr. Washington said:

At the present time there are more than 270,000,000 acres of unused and unoccupied land in the South and West. In fact one-half of the land in the South and two-thirds of the lands in the West is still unused. Now is the time for us to become the owners and users of our share before it is too late. From ownership of the soil comes independence, self-support, happiness, and real manhood rights. Land that can be gotten at \$10 an acre now, a few years hence cannot be gotten for two and three times as much.

There are places in the South for 5,000 additional dry goods stores, and there are colored people enough to support them. In the South the Negro merchant is not dependent on the trade of his own race alone.

Not only the colored man trades at the colored man's dry goods store, but the best white people are not afraid to patronize a first-class Negro store. The same thing is true of other business enterprises owned and controlled by colored people.

There are openings in the South for at least 8,000 additional grocery stores, for 3,500 drug stores. There are openings in the South for 2,000 shoe stores, 1,500 millinery stores,

and there are communities in the South where 2,000 Negro banks can be operated and supported. Further than this, there are places in the South where at least twenty-five self-governing, self-supporting, self-directing towns or cities may be established, where the colored people can have their own mayor, their own board of aldermen, their own self-government from every point of view. In the last analysis, local self-government is the most precious kind of government.

All that I am here advocating and emphasizing does not mean the limitation or circumscribing of our race mentally, morally, civilly, or in other directions, but it does mean real growth and real independence in all these directions.

The Negro Year Book published at Tuskegee by Professor Munro N. Work furnishes an annual chronicle of the achievements and prospects of the Negro race.

The Chicago local league won praise by publicly disavowing and discrediting an attempt to exploit the occasion of the national meeting by a street carnival which purloined enough of the league's title to confuse the public. The league protested, after failing to have the permit withheld, against such "an inappropriate way of entertaining a gathering of the most distinguished and influential men and women of our race," and "against turning the public streets over to private individuals, giving them the right to barter and sell the use of the streets and public highways for any price they are able to obtain and to any enterprise that is willing and able to pay."

"CITY SENSIBLE" IS SYRACUSE STANDARD

"The 'City Sensible' is the Syracuse standard of excellence," writes a citizen of Syracuse, N. Y., which less than a year ago submitted itself to a voluntary social survey. "By that standard the various betterment agencies of the city are measuring their work and the community's needs. Good housing, good health, good care of dependent persons, the conservation of childhood, physically capable and adequately paid laborers, a city well planned, an efficient municipal government and churches organized to reach all the people are recognized as sensible things. Convinced of this and

with sincere enthusiasm the people of Syracuse have been endeavoring to learn, measure and meet the needs of their city."

On January 1, 1911, the total debt of the four hospitals was approximately \$400,000. In two campaigns of two weeks each, scarcely a year apart, that debt was cancelled. A hospital council was then formed consisting of members from the boards of directors of each institution. For several months experts on hospital management have been in the employ of this council, and when their work is completed Syracuse expects to have her hospitals under scientific management and working in close harmony. This marks an important step in advance—the four great hospitals have lost their petty jealousies in an enthusiasm to give maximum service at minimum cost.

The second notable advance has been the formation of a Central Council of Betterment Agencies, as it is popularly called. Properly speaking, it is a Central Council of the Associated Charities. Syracuse is a rapidly growing town of approximately 150,000 inhabitants. For a number of years it had an Associated Charities which was thought to be less alive to its opportunities than it should have been. The thirty-five charities and the ninety churches in the city have worked almost independently of each other. Naturally pauperism has increased, though to what extent cannot be determined. Furthermore, appeals for funds have become so numerous that the public has been crying for relief. To bring order out of chaos has been no simple task, but the Associated Charities now announces that all but two or three of the charities and more than half of the churches have joined hands in the central council. The mayor has named as ex officio delegates to this body, the commissioner of charities, the health officer, the chief of police, the president of the Board of Education and the director of the tuberculosis clinic. The result is that the Associated Charities now thoroughly represents the social work of the city. Catholic, Protestant and Jew are united in a Syracuse forward movement for social betterment.

Realizing that a city's greatest asset is an efficient municipal government, the Syracuse society went further and engaged the New York Bureau of Municipal Research to conduct a survey of the departments of education, health, charities and the methods of municipal finance.

THE LOAN SHARK IN A PHOTO-PLAY

To show the harm worked by loan sharks, the effect on borrowers of the fear of discharge, and the humanitarian work of employes' co-operative savings and loan associations, the Edison Company and the Division of Remedial Loans of the Russell Sage Foundation joined forces to produce a new educational moving-picture. This film, which is to be released on October 5, dramatizes the experience of a clerk who is forced, owing to the illness of his child, to borrow money from a loan shark.

The loan company, for three months' use of \$25, despite its alluring advertisement offering money at low rates, exacts a mortgage on the clerk's furniture and six bi-weekly installments of \$7.50 or a total of \$45. The borrower is unable to keep up the payments. He is discharged

when a woman collector goes to his place of work and loudly demands the overdue payments.

After days of disheartening search he gets another job, only to be again confronted by the woman collector who leaves her card on the employer's desk. This time, however, he is not dismissed. The new employer helps him to get a loan from the co-operative savings and loan association organized by the employes of the company. This furnishes him the money to repay the loan company.

Following the advice of his employer he also appeals to the district attorney. Accompanied by the prosecuting officer of the county he gets home just in time to save his furniture which the sheriff, at the request of the loan agent, is about to seize. The district attorney compels an accounting and the restoration of the usurious interest.

The next scene takes place several months later. The child is now well. Relief from financial troubles has brightened the home, and through his membership in the co-operative savings and loan association the clerk has been able to lay by a tidy sum against the proverbial rainy day.



THE JAWS THAT BITE

Two scenes in the new moving-picture film dramatizing the practices of loan sharks. The picture at the left shows the agent of the loan company retaining part of the principal loaned, this operating of course to increase the rate of interest. The other shows the loan company's "bawler-out," demanding payment in front of fellow employes and employer.

EDITORIAL GRIST

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF OHIO

FREDERIC C. HOWE

On September 3, Ohio adopted by vote of the people of the state what is virtually a new state constitution. Thirty-three of the forty-one proposed amendments to the existing constitution were approved. Each amendment required a separate vote upon it. The convention followed this novel method of constitutional revision in place of drafting an entirely new instrument as has heretofore been customary.

Of the forty-one separate amendments proposed all were approved by the people with the exception of those providing for woman suffrage, abolition of capital punishment, the admission of women to office, for voting machines, the control of outdoor advertising, the limitation of the use of the injunction in labor disputes, the provision for the issuance of \$50,000,000 in bonds for the building of roads and the elimination of the word "white" from the constitution.

Were it not for the overshadowing importance of Presidential politics, the big significance of the Ohio constitution would have received widespread attention. For Ohio is an eastern state. It has been ruled by reactionary interests for years. It has many large cities. Political reform has long been confused by the liquor question. The state has never shown radical tendencies. Yet Ohio has adopted what is probably the most thoroughly and fundamentally democratic framework of government in America, if not in the world.

Of the amendments approved, more than one half are radical, some are revolutionary in their significance. The first amendment states that in civil cases the legislature may provide for verdicts by not less than three-fourths of the jury. The amendment providing for the abolition of the death penalty and the substitution of life imprisonment was lost. Another amendment provided that the

amount of damages recoverable in civil actions in personal injury cases should not be limited in amounts by law as is the custom in many states.

Probably the most important amendment adopted was that providing for the initiative and referendum. Against this amendment privileged interests used all their power and agencies of publicity. The amendment provides that the constitution can be amended by petition, the proposed change being offered by 10 per cent of the electors and submitted to the electors at the next election. Provision was made for the enactment of laws by the same method, although the details are different from those of any previous initiative and referendum amendment. This section provides that measures may be initiated by 3 per cent of the electors, who file their petitions with the secretary of state who then transmits the proposed measure to the general assembly. If the general assembly enacts the bill it becomes a law. If, however, the assembly fails to pass the bill or passes it in an amended form, the proposed measure can be submitted to the electors in its original or amended form if 3 additional per cent of the electors petition for it. Referendums on laws passed by the legislature are made possible on petition of 6 per cent of the electors. The chief argument against the initiative and referendum was that it was being promoted by the single taxers of the state and the legislature limited the resolution by saying that it should not be used to classify property for taxation or for the levy of any single tax on land or land values. It was further provided that each of one-half the counties must furnish a percentage of the petitioners. In order to insure proper publicity and an opportunity for the full discussion of proposed measures it was provided that copies of proposed measures with arguments for and against them should be prepared and sent to all the electors in the state.

Advanced amendments were enacted in the interest of labor. The legislature was authorized to provide direct mechanics' liens against the property of the

owner; to regulate the hours of labor, establish a minimum wage and provide for the comfort, health, safety and general welfare of all employes. Such decisions as that of the New York Court of Appeals were made impossible by authorizing laws to provide compensation to workmen for death, injury or disease. The state was authorized to establish state insurance funds for the protection of industrial workers. Eight hours was made a day's work on all public work, whether done by contract or by the state directly. The abuses of contract prison labor were made impossible by requiring that prisoners should not be contracted out or made to work under the contract system. The element of private profit was eliminated in prison labor, and provision was made for the employment of prisoners in the production of things needed by the state. Conservation of natural resources was provided for by authorizing laws to encourage and promote forestry, to protect streams and lakes, and to regulate the use of water power. The introduction of the Torrens' land title system was made possible, by means of which land titles can be registered under public supervision.

Substantial judicial reform was secured by giving an intermediate court of appeals final authority in most cases. The most radical departure relates to the interference of the courts with legislation, for the Supreme Court cannot hold a statute unconstitutional if more than one of the judges dissent, although a judgment of the court below holding a statute unconstitutional may be affirmed by a majority of the Supreme Court. Judgments of the trial court can be reversed only with the concurrence of all the judges of the Court of Appeals on the weight of the evidence and by a majority of such judges upon other questions.

The amendment authorizing the legislature to pass laws providing for the conduct of cases in contempt proceedings, and providing that no order of injunction could issue in any labor controversy except to preserve physical property from injury or destruction, and that all persons charged with con-

tempt shall upon demand be granted a jury trial as in criminal cases, was defeated.

The direct primary was made mandatory for all offices. School districts were authorized to determine for themselves the size and organization of local boards of education. The double liability of bank stockholders was provided for as was the regulation of corporations.

The merit or civil service system was made obligatory on state, county and city offices, and the legislature was required to provide laws for competitive examinations.

The liquor question has been the most troublesome question in Ohio politics for years. The previous constitution prohibited licensing. The state could not recognize the traffic. An amendment was adopted authorizing the legislature to enact license laws with such restrictions and regulations as might be provided. The amendment contains many limitations on such licenses. It provides that they can not be issued to aliens or persons not of good moral character; that they shall not be granted to persons pecuniarily interested in other locations; that any licensee once convicted shall have his license revoked; that there shall not be more than one saloon to every 500 people; that municipalities may further limit the number of saloons and that nothing in the license amendment shall be construed to modify existing prohibitory laws.

Public service corporations bitterly attacked the municipal home rule amendment. It grants to cities almost complete autonomy in their local affairs. Under it cities are given power to determine their own form of government which can be proposed by a commission of free-holders and otherwise. They can adopt the commission plan of government, the federal plan or any other system. The widest power of municipal ownership was given. Cities can acquire, construct, own and operate any public utility. They are authorized to issue special bonds against the property itself, provided that the mortgage is a lien only on the property and revenues of the utility. The

power of excess condemnation was given to cities, and the power to issue bonds therefor.

In general, the constitution takes advanced ground on industrial and labor questions, on the arbitrary powers of the court, on judicial reform, and in providing for the fullest and freest expression of political democracy, through municipal home rule, the direct primary and the initiative and referendum. Through the latter instrument the question of woman suffrage can be resubmitted at each election as can the recall of public officials or any other important question. Ohio may fairly be taken as a cross-section of the average American state to the west of the Alleghenies, at least. And the reforms there adopted are likely to become part of the fundamental law of every non-Atlantic seaboard state within a relatively short period of time.

DAVID BLAUSTEIN

EDWARD T. DEVINE

David Blaustein was one of those guileless, sincere and original souls who inspire affection and confidence. He worked disinterestedly for the good of others. He worked without sparing himself, without counting the cost, perhaps without even reasonable discretion. Through the simplicity of his nature, his single-mindedness and his self-sacrificing, unflagging labor, he came to an understanding of many things which are hidden even from more learned and shrewder men. He brought sympathy and an open mind to the social problem and he was rewarded in the only way that pioneers can be rewarded—by the first glimpse of things which ordinary men would never discover, by the kind of possession which comes from the power to see and to comprehend.

It is no unusual thing for a resourceless immigrant boy to acquire a university education and achieve a professional career. It is not unusual for a Jewish Rabbi to become a welcome speaker in Christian churches and on the platform of all kinds of philanthropic and educational institutions. What is distinctive in Dr. Blaustein's career is

the extent to which he became a persuasive and eloquent interpreter of the best in our American civilization to many successive great groups of newcomers whose language, traditions and experiences were different from ours; and at the same time an interpreter to the native born, equally eloquent and persuasive, of the best in the traditions and experiences, the religion, literature and ideals, which these diverse peoples brought with them. On the one hand he could inspire immigrant children quickly with an ardent desire to salute the American flag, and bring them to an understanding of what that implies. Not quite so quickly but none the less successfully in very many instances he could bring prejudiced American citizens to a better understanding of the motives and impulses, the virtues and capacities, the charm and the humanity of the strangers.

Not all his plans were successful; but his place in our esteem and admiration is none the less assured for that. He was an experimenter and explorer. We may well wish that he had been endowed with the physical strength, health and long life and favorable conditions necessary to carry his plans into effect; but besides all our appreciation of the substantial things which he actually did, we who knew him best will treasure his memory even more for what he wished to do, for his faith in human nature, for his buoyant eagerness and indomitable cheerfulness, for the unembittered spirit in which he met discouragement, and the readiness with which he began again, taking into account the difficulties which his experiment had disclosed.

Who of us would be judged by his achievement? Who would not be judged rather by his aims, by his vision, by his devotion? David Blaustein had high aims, large vision and absolute devotion. Literally millions of transplanted Europeans have cause to bring a pebble of gratitude, of appreciation, to the great pile which our thoughts build for his monument. Let us whose fathers came a few years earlier bring our stones also, thus at least confessing one faith in that common humanity to which he pledged and gave the full measure of his life.

HEALTH

SOCIAL WORK IN NEUROLOGICAL INSTITUTIONS¹

JOSEPH COLLINS

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Recently an Englishman of nimble wit wrote a book entitled *What's Wrong with the World*. The answer that he gave was not entirely satisfactory, nor did all his readers admit there is anything wrong with the planet we inhabit, nor with its institutions. But many are sure there is something wrong with that branch of medicine commonly spoken of as neurology. Demanding as it does of its successful votary that he shall have a comprehensive knowledge of the body both in health and in disease and a profound insight of the soul which animates man and woman, that "he shall dream and not make dreams his master, that he shall think and not make thoughts his aim," the neurologist is singularly without influence, socially, politically, economically, or pedagogically, in the community.

Novitiates see us prostituting our talents to praiseworthy but ignoble ends, namely the cure of disease rather than its prevention, and after brief sojourn with us they go to fields that seem to them more promising.

If we are to give earnest of our existence and of our endowment we must enter the field of preventive medicine, and the high road leading to it is called "Psychological Avenue."

Dealing as we do almost exclusively with disease that has its origin in ignorance or sin, either we must endeavor ourselves "to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death" or we must ally ourselves with those who will do it under our direction.

The majority of nervous ailments are social in their origin and social in their implication. It is incumbent upon us, the people, to devise methods for the efficient administration of the social elements in each case. It is not consistent to treat the well human being as a social individual, and the ill human being as a detached individual. The individual who solicits and accepts aid without in turn proffering a *quid pro quo* becomes by so doing in need of more rather than less social consideration. The obligation to think of him and treat him as a social unit becomes greater rather than less. The obligation to maintain him in his full social relations is increased rather than diminished.

The advent of a patient in a public hospital or dispensary should not be the occasion of dislocation or severance of the ordinary social

relations. On the other hand society in establishing and maintaining such hospital and dispensary should reserve the right to determine whether the individual who solicits and accepts aid is more or less fit to participate in social activities after his contact with the institution than he was before.

The patient's consciousness of the social benefits conferred upon by him by the hospital or dispensary should be maintained at the right degree of intensity. It is the duty of the institution to regard and treat the patient as one who has been received in trust from society. When society provides for the thorough and scientific administration of the social life of the patient in his relation to the institution no institution can reject the incorporation of this work of social inspection and oversight into its general scheme of administration. When society recognizes that it has this right, and when institutions recognize that such a department of administration must be established within it as an integral part of its make-up, we believe that funds will be given as freely for this purpose as for any other purpose for which hospitals and dispensaries are established.

The work of supervising the spirit and the manner of approach of the patient to the institution to solicit its benefits, the relation sustained by him while these benefits are being received, and his relations to society subsequent to contact with the hospital are not benevolent or personal services. Even though they were, it would be so only secondarily because the observance of social duties and the acceptance of social rights and privileges uniformly bring into existence the highest form of social benefits.

Some of the administrative measures that grow naturally out of these principles may be stated as follows:

1. The sick person who goes to a public hospital or dispensary should be so handled that this shall not prove to be the first step toward loss of independence. There should be an actual inspection, from a social standpoint, of the attitude of each patient toward the payment of fees, in order that it shall not be easier for him to assume a more dependent attitude toward the institution than it is toward the physician consulted privately. This relation of the patient to the institution should be under inspection during the entire time of his connection with it.

2. In attempting to estimate the benefits conferred upon the individual who has sought

¹An address given by Dr. Collins before the American Neurological Association at Boston, June 1, 1912.

and obtained the hospital or dispensary's aid, we must endeavor to determine how far the individual has been readjusted to life in terms of occupation. This necessitates consideration of

a. *Former Occupation.*—Inquiry should be made as to the fitness of the occupation to engage the full power of the individual; its value to the individual, tending merely to support his existence or also his personal betterment; its value to society, whether economic or human; its success therefore in utilizing and maintaining the social efficiency of the individual from the standpoint of health and body, mind and spirit.

b. *Desire and Ability to be Occupied.*—Occupation may be pursued because of the satisfaction that flows from being at work. While the individual may be detached from permanent useful occupation, it is not necessary that the satisfaction which comes from being occupied should be withheld from him. Such satisfaction may be secured in a measure during the period of a patient's attendance in a dispensary or residence in a hospital by means of some simple manual work. The satisfaction that rises from being occupied is anticipatory, present, or reminiscent. The patient's anticipation of the inner satisfaction to be derived from occupation is not always equal to his present or retrospective satisfaction. It is for the institution rather than for the patient to determine whether failure on the part of the patient to anticipate satisfaction shall become the occasion of failure to obtain present and reminiscent satisfaction from having been profitably occupied during the leisure that illness has enforced.¹

c. *Preparation for Future Occupation.*—The result of being well occupied in simple and social work should be to create a new and fresh mental experience. To lead a sedentary life in a social group occupied largely with reading or conversation creates a mental experience which is not necessarily social in its implications. The social situation in a hospital is not a normal one. The majority of the persons there are sick. The contact between these social elements should be in some term other than mere personal acquaintance. The health-

iest relations that can be established are those foundationed in useful occupation, so that the most beneficial social relations are those of occupied rather than idle persons.

3. The new social situation arising from the recognition of the residential status of the patient contains opportunities for social instruction that should be fully utilized. It is vitally important to know what effect the costly process of curing disease is going to have on the future social relations of the individual. Science and common sense both agree that the individual must be defined in terms of his ability to put forth effort in economical ways toward well-chosen aims. A sound sociology, on a sound psychological basis, will insist upon studying an individual suffering from disease and resident in a hospital not only in terms of his native energy but of his natural or acquired tendencies in expending them. When this observation is carried on in connection with actual occupation a situation is created which is favorable for educational purposes and which should be utilized through persuasion, argument or actual demonstration.

a. *Return to Previous Occupation.*—Inquiry about illness or ability to resume some form of occupation which is still within the range of the individual's capacity should not terminate before it has been determined whether or not the way is open for the resumption of his previous occupation. Whenever the burden of restoring the individual to his status as an employed person can be thrown upon society at large it should, of course, be done. When society cannot help it devolves upon the social service department to make the restoration as complete as possible.

b. *Mental Readjustment.*—When the individual is ready to resume his occupation physically but is not yet ready in thought, the privilege and opportunity to secure a readjustment of his ideas is so immediate and critical that to postpone it is to take the risk of losing it altogether and of defeating the purpose of the individual's residence in the institution.

c. *A New Occupation Demanded.*—This readjustment of ideas must frequently take the form of some kind of new occupation, a difficult task. It is frequently the case that the difficulties which have brought the individual to the hospital have arisen from his former occupation. It may have been one to which he was poorly adapted yet he may not have the power to overcome the inertia which lay beneath his original choice of vocation. The occupation may have chosen him and he may have had no desire or inclination for it. The aboulia which stood in the way of his finding a more congenial occupation before he was ill will not shackle him even more securely.

d. *Limited Capacities of Individual.*—This task is sometimes even more difficult for it may include providing some special form of occupation which is adapted to the limited capacities of an individual suffering from an illness which has permanently depleted his ability. The social spirit which recognizes the

¹Society in the exercise of its rights of scrutiny of patients who seek and obtain aid from hospitals should determine the desire and ability of such patients to be occupied in connection with a concrete situation. The terms in which the inspection is carried on, and in which the results are stated will be abstract unless the conditions are such as provide for actually engaging the patient in some well adjusted occupation. There is little value in a statement of former desire and ability to be occupied, and much less value in a mere verbal definition of present desire and ability.

Residential occupation is an administrative measure which recognizes the rights of society to scrutinize the patient's attitude toward occupation in such a way as to discharge the assumed duties seriously, and with recognition of the right of the person to be fully understood. It also recognizes the right of the individual to make a self-definition which will show that he can do more than he has ever done. It also removes the temptation to give an obscure definition, either through over- or underestimate, and free from complications which might arise from purely subjective statements.

privilege of meeting the conditions is the same as that which impels the scientist to increased effort as well as to the practical application of new knowledge as rapidly as it is acquired.

The term "social service" is not strictly applicable to this part of the hospital administration. It not only fails to cover the ground, but it contains implications that are misleading. The term suggests that there is something in the department vitally different from that which is covered by other departments of the institution. As a matter of fact the work of this department is closely co-ordinated to that of the other departments. Its aim is to facilitate, to participate in and to extend the work of the other departments. The best designation that suggests itself after an attempt to use the term "social service" and such variations of it as "social research" or "social investigation" is the term that closely associates actual work of the department with the sciences which underlie the work of the other departments; namely psychology.

It may be that psychology is not so far advanced as a science as some of the other sciences which contribute to the successful work of the neurologist. It is, however, about as far advanced as a science as is physiology, and is in its present stage largely because physiology is no further advanced. The practical implications of psychology as a science may be few in number, but they are not for that reason less useful than the practical implications of the other related sciences.

No doubt a great deal depends on the sort of psychology that is being made the basis of the practical efforts of this department of administration. A psychology adapted for this purpose should first of all be conative. It should begin its study of cases and organize its treatment of them with an estimate of the amount and quality of energy or power to perform work resident in the organism. It should be functional in that it should take into account the readiness of the organism to perform the work that its resident energy equips it for doing. It should be social in that it should take into account the unification of the native power and functional capacity in a personality with the ability to be related in efficient ways to the life and activities of other persons. It should be educational in that it takes into account the possibility of maintaining and improving the total efficiency of the person by scientific methods.

There is much confusion in the minds of laymen about the meaning of the term psychology, but this will have to be carried along for the present and explained as well as possible. It is much less likely to call for explanation in the minds of those who are aware of the meaning of the term when it is applied to the work of such a department than is the term "social service." To maintain a department of psychology to assist in the definition of certain cases; to study these from a standpoint which is not occupied by any other observer in the neurological group and

to take active interest in the social and educational treatment of the cases, is a legitimate form of activity for an institution whose spirit is at the same time scientific and ethical.

To maintain a department of social service whose activities would be accurately characterized by that title may be desirable for such an institution, but it is not an obvious necessity.

The call for social service in hospitals is not an outcome of an increased desire to be philanthropic or benevolent toward the sick and poor. It is not an attempt to make the hospital carry any of the burden of philanthropic effort now largely in the hands of independent organizations. Society at large has at its command resources of time and energy and ability sufficient to establish and conduct all the purely benevolent work needed in the community. To relieve society of the conduct of its benevolences as independent institutions is to relieve it of some of the obligation to remedy the conditions out of which the need of philanthropies arises.

The call for social service really comes out of an increased interest in the better administration of the routine processes of diagnosis and therapy in the hospital. There was a time when the care of the sick in hospitals and dispensaries was itself regarded as a philanthropy. Many of those who gave themselves to the creation of these institutions from high altruistic motives did not conceive of the deeper social significance of their work. It was not apparent to them that these institutions were going to be taken out of their hands into the higher work of society in the prevention as well as the curing of disease. The hospital is no longer an institution descending from above upon society to remedy the harms done by society's mistakes or delinquencies, and really extra-social in its nature; it is a part of the machinery established by society to be used in diminishing the results of inherited ills, of accidental harms, and for the propagation of correct ideals about health and efficiency. In other words it is intra-social in its nature, and should be so in its administration. This point of view is not broader than that with which we regard other similar institutions in the democratic state. Its main merit is that it is as broad as it should be, and that it recognizes just those features of a truly social institution which appear whenever they become the object of consideration by earnest and energetic minds.

It is plain that any discussion of social service in hospitals properly begins with a recognition of the fact that the administration of hospitals is a part of the administration of the whole social order. To speak of it as the "social administration" of the hospital is not quite correct, since it implies that there is a part of the administration that is not social in meaning and method. It is best to use "social service" if at all, in the broadest possible sense, implying that there is a social standpoint from which to view hospital administration, which gives a new emphasis to

certain long standing problems, and suggests new methods of dealing with them. Or it would be better still to abandon the use of the term for the higher point of view that all hospital administration is social in implications and social in method, and to differentiate a part of the administration of the hospital under a heading which would recognize the scientific principles and methods employed. To clearly differentiate such a department of administration, with a basis of sufficient solidity to correlate it with the other departments, and then to call it a social service department is to retreat in nomenclature from the position established in fact.¹

The Neurological Institute of New York City, while retaining for the present the term "social service," is carrying on under that term broad work and one that corresponds closely to the general propositions laid down in this discussion. The department is in charge of Frederick W. Ellis whose principal training and experience has been in psychology and its practical applications to pedagogical and sociological problems.² Associated with him is a woman who has co-operated in psychological investigations, and who has been a successful teacher in special classes for exceptional children in the public schools and is a good investigator and director of the home life and home training of these children. Some of the visiting is done as volunteer work; much more is done through close co-operation with established relief agencies. A point is made of the fact that any case that

The term "social service" is the only possibly misleading element in the situation. It has served a good purpose in the course of development of a new point of view and a new method of approach to an important problem in hospital administration. It has gathered up and made more effective those features of the situation that appeal to true feeling, well-ordered emotion, and ripened sentiment. But it is so loaded down with these implications that it may be that the time has come when the term should be reserved for work outside the province of hospital administration, but in immediate proximity to it. The curative measures taken with the patient and the scientific approach to him in terms of his personal and social status, rather than in terms of his disease, is different from the reception of him again into the full movement of persons and groups in society at large. If society should build up an administrative department for receiving those who are handicapped temporarily or permanently, which should be juxtaposed to the department of administration within the hospital which takes cognizance of the fitness of the patient for such reception, the term "social service" would still be of use in designating the function and origin of such a department. It is possible that recognition of the close juxtaposition of these bureaus or administrative offices might go so far as to house the social service bureau in the building devoted to hospital administration where access to it would be most convenient and immediate. Objection might be raised to this, that it brings outside social agencies into too close material touch with the major administrative work of the hospital. That is a matter which will be worked out best in experimental efforts to find out whether the difficulties that naturally arise in extending any system of administration can be met by careful selection of the persons whose duty it will be to minimize these difficulties, or by some purely institutional device, such as requiring the social service bureau to be separately housed.

¹I am deeply indebted to Mr. Ellis for his co-operation and aid in the preparation of this address.

is too special to be covered by the investigators supplied through these agencies is important enough to engage the attention of the head of the department or one of his assistants working under his direction.

Other workers in the department are selected because of their ability to carry on certain investigations that are being conducted. The most significant of these, from the administrative point of view, is the investigation now being made into the relation of occupation work in the hospital to the treatment of nervous diseases and to the securing, for those who are handicapped by any form of nervousness, of employment that will help them in overcoming their illness or in bearing its hardships with greater fortitude. This investigation is being carried on by the occupation teacher who gives part of her time to teaching and part to working with an assistant on the records of the results obtained. Their inquiry covers the history of patients who have been for some time out of the hospital. A daily census is kept of the number, age, sex, race, faith, civic condition and previous occupation of the patient resident in the hospital, and the results of the inquiry made by the occupation teacher are used to determine the work each patient shall do, if any. The work given is selected with a view to its future as well as its present value, and with regard to its being followed for diversion, treatment, or gainful employment. This decision is not usually made without the advice of the physician in charge of the case, but in practice it is found that most physicians find the providing of occupation for their patients so helpful in the administration of cases that they are willing to leave a great deal to the discretion of the occupation teacher, advising only where necessary against any occupation or against certain kinds that are unsuitable. The director of the department is in attendance every afternoon during the clinic hours, and is frequently called on to assist in the definition of mental or dispositional states that are neither neurological or psychiatric in the strict sense. Cases that call for relief, for the provision of special foods, medicines, or apparatus, for employment, or for personal adjustment in family life or otherwise, are referred to him by any physician who feels that his study or treatment of a case will be helped in this way.

Most physicians realize that the administrations of medicines rarely encompass the cure of disease. The nervous invalid who would get restored must get in the good graces of Hygeia and Minerva, goddesses with a *noli me tangere* air once they have been outraged. The right kind of social service worker has great influence at Heliopolis, especially if he or she once offended Re and then successfully placated him. Such social service workers need be neither nurse nor psychologist. Modesty and understanding are the only qualifications necessary if they love their fellowmen. They need neither to preach nor to exhort. They supplement the work of the physician by carrying through that which he

initiates, outlines, and directs until such time as he feels it safe and satisfactory to leave it entirely to his lay assistant.

The fundamental task of the social service work of a hospital, therefore, is to see that the work of the physician, done with a scientific brevity which equals its scientific skill, is supplemented in a personal way, and, in accordance with modern medical, hygienic and psychological ideas, to see that this be done in even a more systematic and specialized way than it usually is when left to the individual effort of the physician.

Frequently the statement of the physician to the patient needs a more extended interpretation in simple terms than time permits. The first effect of the physician's verdict is often a state of depression or alarm which precludes any effort for the time being on the part of the patient. To many the whole fact of ill health, consultation with physicians, undertaking of the altogether new task of recovery, or adjustment to a more limited scope of living is highly bewildering. To initiate, direct, instruct, and persuade the persons struggling with these tasks is a work in itself of no small proportions. If done successfully it assures the work not only of the physicians, but of the institution whose purposes they seek to accomplish. At the foundation of many serious nervous states lies fear. Its grip on the emotional and intellectual life of the patient is often so tight that he cannot unaided shake it off. While it possesses him, all curative work of the physician is either annulled or greatly hampered. The demand of the physician that he rid himself of fear, his assurance that it is needless and harmful are often the beginning of a new life for such a patient. But the work of the physician in many cases needs the support of those who can patiently reiterate it, and wisely and skillfully point the way to the sources of courage, and impress on the sufferer the nobility and worth of fortitude. Here is to be found one of the most obvious fields of work for a department of social service.

It is a mistake, however, to assume that this is or should be the considerable part of the so-called social service work in a neurological hospital. On the contrary the work is educational in a much more comprehensive sense.

The clinical material selected for special study or investigation in the social service department of the Neurological Institute is most interesting from the standpoint of the psychological, pedagogical and sociological investigator. Out of the great variety of cases that come under this form of scrutiny a number of groups are formed for special study. Among these are:

1. Children who are backward, deficient, or incorrigible; also children whose development has been partially arrested through disease affecting the brain.
2. The more interesting and worthy group of children who are able to maintain their rating according to the intellectual

standards of the school, but who have various psychic disturbances usually emotional.

3. Children who display speech defects or who are backward in reading.
4. A group of young women, resident at the detention home of the New York Probation Association, who are delinquent in their social relations from the domestic, industrial and sexual standpoint.
5. A group of cases of men and women, not mentally disturbed and not subject to periodical episodic disturbances, who are subject to such a degree of physical and mental debility, that they alternate between work of superior excellence and a condition of inefficiency.

The work of this department is not principally one of investigation. The list of investigations under way is offered as an illustration of the unusual opportunity for study offered through the selective work of this department in its active relations to the clinic. The cases chosen for this form of social service are not primarily material for investigation. They are individuals who have a permanent right to be understood and a special need to be studied that they may be better understood. Investigation for this department means simply that these individual cases are to be studied by an adequate method, and that the individual will not be studied alone by himself. The fact that as individuals or as groups they are made the subject of systematic inquiry arrives "after the event," the great event being that the individual is being helped according to his permanent needs, and according to his clearly defined qualities as an individual.

There is no possibility of anything pretentious or sentimental about a department carried on in this way. It has a dignity which arises from its being carried on in the spirit and by the methods of the other departments, with which it exists on a parity that could not obtain if it were a device merely for social relief. Its serious purpose makes it easy to eliminate the trivial and the unworthy from the total list of applicants for its benefits. Insofar as it succeeds, either in its investigations or psychotherapeutic measures, it will not only help but contribute to the great object of all hospital administration—a better knowledge of the cause of illness and a better regard for the conditions that support health in body, mind and character.

PREPARATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE WORKERS

MARY A. MACKENZIE
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for Canada

Social service problems confront us every day and many are trying to decide what is the best preparation for social service workers. Some time ago in *THE SURVEY* Sara Parsons made some suggestions, and we were pleased to notice that they were made with some hesitancy.¹

¹See *THE SURVEY* for April 20, page 132.

There are very few phases of social service where a training in nursing is not needed. So closely is nursing linked with the curative and preventive agencies which deal with body, heart and mind that it is impossible to separate them. And when the last has been said on the question, it will be found that the trained nurse will be acknowledged the ideal social service worker; and the best preparation, a full trained nurse's course—no skimping of any kind—followed by a special course in district nursing, in which should always be included a training in social service principles. Then, we would have a worker ready for every problem.

The college-graduate, who is grounded in psychology, political economy, and so on, and trained to think in a connected way, will be much better fitted to profit by the instruction in hospital and district than the undisciplined mind.

Miss Parson's suggestions, it seems to me, are fraught with very great danger. The age is passed when we should tolerate, in the name of nursing, anything but the real article. We have had demonstrations, in almost every country, of the great mistake of having for any class of sick people half-trained nurses. And if there are any patients who should, under no circumstances, be left in the care of the incompetent, the partially trained, the dilettante nurse, surely it is those men and women who require the care of the social service worker.

How long will the trained nurses be content to stand by and let everyone who feels like it start some scheme in which participants are required to have only a smattering of nursing? There is no possible justification for the way our profession is being tampered with, and every trained nurse, from North to South and East to West, should let her voice ring out, with no undecided sound, against any suggestion to turn out any more half-trained women. It will only add more confusion and retard the time when every sick one will have the very best, most skilled care possible, no matter who or where he is.

Should social service workers have training as nurses? Then, by all means, let us insist on their taking the full trained nurse's course.

A CHALLENGE TO PUBLIC OPINION

"The knowledge that the results attained in twenty years of warfare against tuberculosis are not commensurate with the forces expended has not reached the public mind as yet, and the main purpose of this article is to help to that end, and at the same time, to attract attention to the reason for such meagre results from so much well-intentioned activity."

This statement appears in an article in the May *Journal of the Outdoor Life*, the organ of the National Tuberculosis Association, in which Dr. John F. Urie of Hull House, Chicago, challenges public attention to the rate of progress being made toward tuber-

culosis prevention and cure. A summary of the article, made by Dr. Urie, follows:

The public has been told much in regard to tuberculosis in the past twenty years or more. In that time a great educational movement has been developed—one aimed at awakening mankind to the huge menace of the disease and to the methods of averting it. A world-wide movement, it has become. In that time, the specific cause of the disease has been discovered and a promising method of treatment produced. The warfare in this period has been intense—warfare conducted by organized and fairly well-equipped forces in every large community, and laws upon laws have been enacted to give power to these forces. And through these influences and through wholly unreliable statistics that have been recklessly published broadcast, public opinion has been moulded into a belief that wonderful advance has been made. But those close in touch with the mass of huddled humanity in our large cities know that it is otherwise, and out of New York city comes the opinion that the disease seems on the increase there.

Surely many things are wrong in our management of the crusade against tuberculosis, and not the least of them is the complacent optimism with which the subject is presented to a public eager to know the truth. "Do not spit, and keep your head out of doors and the problem is solved." This is the situation as the person of average intelligence is made to see it to-day. But as neither the advice for out-of-door life nor the efforts to prevent spitting have accomplished anything of moment in twenty years, is it not time to advocate a change in program for shaping public opinion on the subject? And if so, in what way may a change be wrought?

A recent study of nearly one hundred instances of family contagion among the poor of a small section of Chicago demonstrated beyond question the importance of *contact infection* as a factor in the spread of tuberculosis and demonstrated it with many heart-breaking examples. In considering the organization of society, the analogy of the family to the community is apparent—the first is but the second on a small scale. Contact considered as the one strong influence in transmission in the family, must be accepted as an equally important cause in the community. And contact, given its proper place as a causative agent, fixes the method of prevention, for it is evident that to prevent contact infection it is only necessary to prevent contact.

There is only one sure way of preventing contact between the uninfected and the infected in communities as well as in families, and that is by segregation of the infected—legalized, compulsory segregation—and to teach that doctrine is not an easy task. Think what it means to persuade a public, to whom the very word brings terror, of the need and value of segregation. The impressions of generations must be wiped out and in their

place trust and hope implanted. Is this work for another quarter of a century? It is a mountainous undertaking, but if the work thus far done in the general effort against tuberculosis is used as a preparation, perhaps it may be accomplished in less time.

Fortunately it is not difficult to make segregation of the tuberculous attractive. And, as part of the successful treatment of those segregated, it is necessary that it *should* be attractive. Real out-of-door life is well established as the basis of effective treatment, and it is not difficult to picture attractively an out-of-door existence in properly planned and selected environment even though those leading that life are limited to a restricted area.

With every community maintaining its own segregation park or parks and maintaining them on a basis of efficiency, the balance sheet of the tuberculosis problem at the end of another twenty years would show a very different footing from that which a close examination reveals to-day.

There is no doubt that most of those who are working in the thick of it among the poor believe that a radical departure from the present methods is imperative. Two great needs are prominent in their work—the need of authority of law to provide for and enforce segregation and the need of means adequate to the requirements. In this last connection, it may be said that neither the public nor most of those dealing with the problem as a public welfare movement have any conception of its magnitude. They have not learned even to think in sufficiently large figures.

LAWS REGULATING MARRIAGE

The following summary and comment on state laws regulating marriage is from the last annual report of the National League for the Protection of the Family:

INSANITY, LUNACY, AND WANT OF UNDERSTANDING OR WILL TO CONSENT.—Thirty-four states or jurisdictions make restrictions under some one of these terms: Arkansas, New York, North Carolina, and Oregon,—Oregon using the last of the three terms given above. The other states are: California, Delaware, District of Columbia, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

THE IMBECILE AND FEEBLE-MINDED.—Eight states specify the imbecile or feeble-minded as follows: Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, and Washington.

IDIOTIC.—Fifteen states and the District of Columbia specify the idiotic as follows: District of Columbia, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi (providing divorce in such cases), Nebraska, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

INCAPABLE OF CONSENT.—Four states put a restriction in this form: Arkansas, New York, North Carolina, and Oregon.

EPILEPSY.—Nine states specify epilepsy. They are Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Utah, and Washington.

DRUNKENNESS is named in the statutes of only two states as a bar to marriage. Ohio specifies habitual drunkenness and Washington the common drunkard.

VENEREAL AND OTHER CONTAGIOUS DISEASES are a bar to marriage in four states. Indiana names only a transmissible disease and Michigan, by an act of 1899, and Utah and Washington, by acts of 1909, specify venereal diseases as a bar to marriage.

THE INDIGENT.—One state, Indiana, regulates with considerable care the marriage of the indigent.

As the suggestion is frequently made that the marriage of those afflicted with venereal disease should be legally regulated, inquiry has been made into the working of the law on the subject in Michigan,—the only state that has had the law long enough to fairly test it. The testimony of leading men interested in checking these diseases is that the law has no practical value. It is easy to see why such a law must be to a great extent a failure and that our hope must rest on the influence of education, in various ways, and on the direct action of the parties to be married, their parents, pastors, and physicians. The evils are of a grave character, both on account of their wide prevalence and their most serious effects on the parties immediately concerned and their descendants. But their legal prevention is difficult.

JOTTINGS

PRE-NATAL NURSING IN BOSTON

In order to formulate standards and methods of pre-natal nursing work in Boston, a committee has been appointed consisting of Dr. R. L. Du Normandie, Mrs. William Powell Putnam, Dr. C. P. Ruggles, Mrs. E. A. Codman and Michael Davis, Jr. The committee insists on early, intelligent, and continued medical supervision and believes that well-systematized work should include social as well as medical care. Uniform records for all agencies doing pre-natal work is recommended and as suggestions for social and medical records, regular card index forms have been agreed upon. It is hoped that eventually the various agencies now doing pre-natal work in Boston will agree upon certain boundary lines or districts in order that there shall be but one pre-natal nurse in each section.

INFANT DAMNATION

To the health officer, it appears that the most important phase of child welfare work is that of prevention of unnecessary sickness and death among infants. . . . It need only be pointed out that there are approximately 225,000 avoidable deaths among children under two years of age in the United States every year.—BULLETIN CHICAGO DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH.

CIVICS

TRAGEDIES OF VILLAGE SLUMS

KATHERINE PIATT BOTTORFF

Scattered all over our country are small towns and villages that to the casual observer seem to be the embodiment of peace and plenty. The vine-covered porches and streets where elms and maples arch across the way look restful and quiet to the traveler, hurrying from city to city. The man of business, weary of his ceaseless struggle for a fortune, thinks, wistfully, that if he could only end his days in the quiet of one of these lovely villages, he might forget the rush and hurry of the city, and have time to be a better man. He fancies himself in a pleasant home, with honest neighbors, and nothing to do but to watch the procession of sweet country days pass by to fill a changing year. But alas! how little he realizes that down those broad streets, and under those green trees are found conditions that are harder to deal with than the problems of the city slums.

Let me show you the homes of the poor in one beautiful Indiana town. Let me lead you from cabin to hovel and show you the close relation existing between physical and moral degradation; let me point out how much the environment means to a family of children, who reflect, inevitably, in conduct and character, every phase of the descent in social and moral scale. I want you to cry "Enough! These conditions must be remedied by legislation, and it must be immediate, and thorough."

Just where our main street becomes a country road, a little red cabin of two rooms stands back in an open lot. The ground around the house is a village dump, and is littered with tin cans and broken crockery. No attempt is ever made to cultivate it, although the renters that live here have needed, sorely, the potatoes and cabbages that might have been raised. There is no water supply except from a hole in the ground near the front door, where perhaps in ordinary weather two buckets of water may be secured in a day. When it rains the hole overflows with muddy seepage, and in the long hot summers it is baked and hard. A poor

washerwoman with a family of thirteen, ten children and three adults, lives here. She gives two days work every week to pay the rent for this apology for a home, and cheerfully tries to feed and clothe all of this flock with the money earned on the other five days.

At one time the oldest daughter lay in the front room with an illegitimate baby on her arm. Out in the lean-to shed the oldest boy was hiding from the marshal because he had stolen a suit of clothes from a village merchant, and the majesty of the law had been set in motion. During the heat of summer after a dry spring this poor woman would call all of her children to help her carry water for the next day's washing from a spring half a mile away. I can see this little procession now as they plodded along the dusty road, carrying their precious load, which would enable their mother to earn fifty cents the next day. One child stumbles, and gasps with dismay as a part of her bucketful splashes out. Another is crying softly, because she is so tired, and even the two year old baby, clinging with one hand to her mother's skirt, carries a tiny bucket made of a tomato can. And perhaps at this moment, the owner of the house was sitting on her vine covered veranda, swaying back and forth in her chair in the coolness, chatting with some neighbor about the unsatisfactory work that home laundresses do.

How could this mother keep her ten children clean? How could she be expected even to know their moral tendencies? In fact she did not, for she has wept bitterly over four illegitimate children that have come to her daughters. Personal cleanliness is more closely connected with moral uprightness than the superficial critic would think, and before we condemn these girls for their lapses in morals, we must try to fill the empty water pail.

A little further up the street is a four-room house set flat on the ground in a lot that is overflowed annually by a small river branch which dries up in summer. It is

owned by a man who boasts that he has a clear title to one hundred pieces of property in two adjoining counties. There is no water supply here when the branch is dry except one rain spout and a series of barrels, each lower than the other, to catch the overflow from its neighbor. Dogs, babies and chickens drink from the one nearest the ground. This family carries water for cooking from a well on the premises of a Negro family near by, but it is a rare thing for a bucket of water to be secured without a battle. All of the little Olcotts accompany the one deputized to draw the water, and all of the little Swans come out to repel the invaders. Sometimes the air is filled with profanity, sometimes they hurl tin cans and rocks at one another, but every bucket of water used by the Olcott family represents one step lower in the ladder of decency, down which those children are descending. Time and again has the town marshal interfered in these fights, and once arrested an Olcott boy for cutting a small girl of the other family with a piece of tin. The child was sent to Plainfield, and is still there, but the conditions of the two families have not been remedied.

Morals do not thrive in such surroundings—neither does physical health. When such a disease as tuberculosis occurs in a home of this sort, it is inevitably contracted by other members of the family. These poor little thin houses, flat on the ground, with walls reeking with dampness, leaking roofs, rotting sills, and the foul moisture from dish water and slops thrown around the door, are breeding places for those bacilli that thrive in filth. An epidemic disease such as scarlet fever or diphtheria is terrible in such a home. There can be no such thing as isolation of the patient. Every child in the family is liable to be a victim, showing symptoms one by one, till the family suffers severely from a protracted quarantine. More than this, disinfection cannot be thorough in a home of rags and tatters, torn wall paper and broken furniture. When the children go back to school, each becomes an agent for the further dissemination of disease.

Still, I would rather my children would sit beside a child with the scales from scarlet fever only half washed out of his clothing, than to listen to the tales that these slum children tell. Poor little untaught waifs! Who can blame them if they try to win friends and companions in school by telling

the tragic happenings of their daily lives. The drunken fight, the vile dance held in some vacant house, the time "pa" was arrested, the cold day when we were put out of our house for not paying the rent, the time the baby came—these are the tales your child and mine hear from their little classmates in the public school.

These village slums do not present the problem of the ill-nourished city poor. These neighbors of mine all have enough to eat. The problem is one of neglect and abandonment. The necessities for decency are not provided and they are too poor to supply them.

Last summer a baby was born in a hovel in one of our side streets; a dear, blue-eyed little fellow of whom any mother might be proud. This mother lay upon a mattress so filthy that the dirt came off in flakes, and vermin crawled under the pillow and in the seams. There was no closet, and the three other children did not, and really could not, use the commonest decency in their toilet. Flies swarmed over the food, the baby, the mother, the soiled clothes, the filth in the yard, and back again to food and baby. When the baby was two days old, this mother began carrying water from the spring three squares away, two bucketsful at a time, for cooking and washing. Do you blame her for not using any more water than was absolutely necessary?

I have heard persons say that there is no excuse for the very poor being so dirty, but I tell you, there is. Suppose you had not a single sheet in your house and not a towel, except ragged gray things made out of flour sacks. Suppose your children's underwear was made of wornout knit goods that someone had thrown away and that their stockings had been refooted until they had lost all semblance of stockings. Suppose that there was not a nightgown in the collection of clothing and that for warmth the children slept in their clothes, four in a bed. When you wake at dawn you must hurry to the spring for a bucket of water for breakfast and toilet purposes—then another bucket must be procured before the dishes can be washed. More water must be carried to get dinner and wash dinner dishes, and still more brought for supper. If any washing is done, that water too must be carried from the spring or neighbor's well. How long would one of these critics of the poor endure this servitude

to selfish landlords, who, to save a few dollars build these poor cabins without cisterns or outbuildings, and then rent them for 200 per cent more than decent houses bring.

When I think of a water bucket it obscures my vision. I want to hold it up so closely before the eye of the public that nothing can be seen but this perpetually empty vessel. I want hearts to ache with pity for the poor who see their little children converted into criminals just through lack of the common decencies of life. Sad as it is to see a child die it is sadder to see one live in such homes as these.

When my washerwoman's son was sent home from Plainfield dying with tuberculosis, the little town roused itself out of its self-complacency and murmured that the state should have provided care and medicines for the boy, instead of sending him home for his widowed mother to nurse. The child had been sent to Plainfield for some trivial offense—before the day of the juvenile court (he found a pocketbook with a little money in it, and didn't try to find the owner, but spent twenty cents of the money before the pocketbook was missed). His mother had a younger boy and when she went away from home she tied the little one to the table and left him in the room with Ferdie, who was dying of tuberculosis. The last week of Ferd's life the mother worked away from home every day. The baby would follow her to the door and say "Ferdie will take care of me, mamma—don't cry." Then he would climb up in Ferd's arms and sit quietly listening to strange stories that the dying boy would whisper to him. The last day he came to the door when his mother returned from work, and said "Ferdie's asleep—mamma—but he saw angels with white wings in the room all afternoon, and talked to them—he told them he was so tired, mamma—and so am I." It was only a few months before this baby too was found lulled asleep forever by the angels with white wings. Truly, the child of the slums is blest when he dies. These conditions of disease, vice, immorality and crime could be swept away. If our legislature would give us a housing law that would cover every piece of rental property used for habitations, from the big tenement house swarming with human beings down to the one-roomed cabin in the country town, their knell would be sounded.

A NEW YORK SOCIAL CENTER

CLINTON S. CHILD

Secretary New York Social Center Committee

New York has taken another step toward the socialization of her public schools. There is now a social center in operation at Public School 63 on Fourth street just east of First avenue on the Lower East Side. This center was started by the New York Social Center Committee with the consent of the Board of Education as an experiment for working out the problem of the social center organization and activities. The beginning was made last May when a committee of people in the neighborhood was formed to give an open-air dance to those who were members of the recreation center at the school, and people living close by.

Early last spring Dr. Maxwell, city superintendent of schools, wrote a letter to the Social Center Committee, quoting an authorization sent to him by the Committee on Special Schools which stated that "the Committee on Special Schools at its meeting . . . had under consideration your communication . . . in reference to developing at Public School 63, Manhattan, an extension of the recreation center work which will be designed to appeal especially to the family group, to working young men and women, and to the men of the neighborhood . . . and it was ordered that you be informed that the idea in general was approved." The Social Center Committee thereupon chose a secretary and began the work of making a social center at this school. The committee is composed of business men and persons interested in social work in New York, and was formed under the auspices of the People's Institute. Joseph M. Price is chairman, and V. Everitt Macy the treasurer.

A neighborhood civic club of adults had already been started at this school¹ and this club undertook to form a committee of management and organize the first open-air dance of the summer. A Friday Evening Dancing Club was organized, which anyone could join. Dues of five cents per week were decided upon as a means of covering the expense for music and incidentals. At the first dance there were about 550 persons, many of whom were adults. The affair was such a success that a dance for every Friday evening was assured. A real neighborhood spirit pervaded and everyone pronounced the evening "the best ever."

The numbers increased so that at one of the succeeding dances 800 people came. This was too many to accommodate in the courtyard and the limit had to be set at 550. Incidentally, the neighbors on the floor committee learned that one of the sure ways to stimulate improper dancing is to crowd the dance floor; and vice versa, that the first rule in controlling a public dance is to restrict the number on the floor to such an

¹THE SURVEY, March 23, 1912, p. 1963.

extent that each couple can always be seen and easily followed, and will have plenty of room for turning. The dances have become an established institution. A second dance night has been set aside for adults and the Friday evening dance was practically turned over to the young people.

Clubs have been meeting in the building all summer also; boys' clubs, girls' clubs, young men's clubs and young women's clubs; in some cases mixed clubs of both young men and women were formed.

The spirit of the social center has been admirably maintained by an orchestra which came in to rehearse one night a week. This orchestra is composed both of boys and girls and men and women of the neighborhood. Their wish is to furnish music for charitable and philanthropic purposes and incidentally to get the joy to be derived from music. They play free of charge for hospitals, schools, public meetings and other efforts for social well-being.

A singing society has also joined the center. Another musical society of boys and girls in the neighborhood is coming in and there are several dramatic clubs "itching" to develop and display their talent.

But better than all is the fact that adults in the vicinity feel the responsibility and spirit of the center and are anxious to make it a success. The men want to form a civic club and study the political and social situation. The women are anxious to organize and do something for the boys and girls of the neighborhood, many of whom are brought into the juvenile court. This and much more they will be helped to accomplish. The center is to become the property and expression of the neighborhood which "the people thereabouts" are to develop and set forth. It will appeal to mothers and fathers, sons and daughters.

The work being planned for the winter contemplates the formation of committees of people living in the neighborhood of the school, which shall push the development of the center in the various lines indicated. A mass meeting will be held the latter part of September at which the question as to what they wish to do with the schoolhouse will be put to the people and discussion requested. The committees to be formed are on finance, dramatics, moving pictures, music, dancing, debating, public meetings, clubs, festivals, outings, social welfare of the neighborhood, gymnastics and lectures. Activities in all these lines will be conducted. The finance committee is necessary to handle funds raised through entertainments or otherwise for the benefit of the center. There has already been a demand from many adults that such committees be formed.

The Social Center Committee hopes that in another year the city will see its way clear to take over the work. In the meantime the work grows fast and its requirements are such that the present construction of the school buildings cannot meet them. New

York should follow the example of Texas which has built fine schoolhouses resigned for social center purposes.

A PLEA FOR MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARIES

EDITH R. HALL

A short time ago a press bulletin sent out by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research called attention to a speech by Mayor Hunt of Cincinnati, describing the system of building inspection by firemen inaugurated this year in his city. The plan is in effect that firemen, who for the greater part of the time in our present system are idle, can be effectively utilized as building inspectors, and can by intelligent continuous inspection prevent fire losses by eliminating causes of fire. The system was inaugurated in Cincinnati last April and will probably be sooner or later adopted by every progressive city in the United States.

An interesting feature of the situation appears in letters which the bulletin evoked from fire chiefs in other cities. The secretary of the Fire Department in Minneapolis, for instance, writes that to Minneapolis and not to Cincinnati is due the credit of originating the inspection-by-firemen service. The fire chief of St. Louis also reports the system as having been in vogue there "for years." Incidentally, both these letters give interesting details of the working of the system as practiced in the two cities. But these bits of information of the customs and doings of other cities come by chance from voluntary letters of interested professional men. There is no machinery in most cities for systematically collecting complete information of current experience of other cities.

The incident is an argument for the establishment in New York and in all large cities of a municipal reference library. Unquestionably, if such fire inspection has, in so simple and practicable a manner, acted as a potent means of fire prevention in a few cities, it would do the same in others, and New York, with its dangerous high buildings, crowded lofts, and the wanton carelessness of high pressure business greed, should not above all other cities neglect the smallest tried improvement in preventive measures.

But how at present can New York or Chicago or Philadelphia officials, crowded with the pressure of daily routine duties and affairs, acquire a knowledge of the new expedients devised and tried in other cities? Or, having by special correspondence and inquiry learned the best tried out systems of today, keep abreast of the improvements devised and put in use tomorrow or next year?

The fire problem is only one of a hundred that have to be met and managed day by day—how know the most adequate sort of street sign; the least wasteful water supply system; the best method of city accounting; methods more successful than ours for housing our poor, flushing our streets, destroying

our garbage, dealing with our drunkards and delinquents?

A municipal library of the sort needed would make available for easy reference and study the data, reports and statistics of every city of importance in the world, as well as periodicals concerned with economic and civic problems and authoritative reference books on accounting, engineering, penology, etc. The proper management of such a library would not only have these documents at hand but would assort, collate, and analyze the information—would prepare it for quick and intelligent use by those who cannot be omniscient, and whose appointed duty is action and not research. We can make our public men doubly efficient by putting the proper tools and knowledge within their reach. Baltimore, Milwaukee, Kansas City, St. Louis have seen and met this opportunity and obligation. Can New York—or your city or your state—any longer afford to lag behind them?

THE PAGEANT OF ST. JOHNSBURY

ROSCOE C. EDLUND

In August nearly 10,000 persons witnessed the pageant that celebrated the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of St. Johnsbury, Vt. It was in St. Johnsbury that Thaddeus Fairbanks in 1830 invented the platform scale, thereby furnishing the town with its chief industry and at the same time giving accurate standards of weight to trade and commerce the world over. As the pageant of Thetford, Vt., last year was the presentation in dramatic form of the history of a typical agricultural community so the pageant of St. Johnsbury, which was under the direction of William Chauncey Langdon, presented the history of a typical industrial community.

The pageant grounds were on a hill close by the town, and on the links of the Old Pine Golf Club. Immediately in front of the grandstand is a level greensward twenty yards across, from which the hill slopes up to a grove of maples and hemlocks where, sentinel-like, stands the Old Pine. On the right thick woods afforded protection from the slanting rays of the afternoon sun, while on the left the roofs and steeples of St. Johnsbury, rising among the trees in the valley and outlined against the further hills impressed the spectator with the reality of the drama as it unfolded before his eyes.

Introduced and accompanied by the strident brass of the orchestra there appears on the hillside coming down from the Old Pine the Power of the Wilderness. He is followed by the Spirits of the Mountain-Tops clad in dark green draperies and purple veils, and of the Forests clothed in browns and greens and bearing branches of pine and maple. From below come the Spirits of the Valleys and the Rivers, the Rivers draped in shimmering blue with gleams of white, the Valleys clad in light green with garlands and filaments of meadow flowers.

With a clear trumpet call from the orchestra, reinforced by the strings, there enters majestically the Spirit of Civilization. In a dramatic dance she struggles with the Power of the Wilderness to win over the Nature Spirits. He retains his influence over the Mountain-Tops and the Forests while the Rivers and the Valleys follow joyously the Spirit of Civilization.

Thus the setting is given. The episodes portray the victory of rangers over Indians, the founding of the town by Dr. Jonathan Arnold, the life of the pioneer community, the establishment of the first church, the invention of the scales, the coming of the railroad, the building of the county court house, the summoning of troops for the defense of the Union, the prosperity following the strife of war, and the coming in of foreigners as trade develops and industries grow.

The pageant is not only of the past; it is of the present and the future. Men erect great scales on the hillside just as they are assembled in the shops of the town; children, led by a beautiful figure, Imagination, dance and play, make acquaintance with birds and flowers, and learn as Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls to carry on organized activities; members of the Commercial Club and the Woman's Club discuss community needs and plans for social and civic betterment.

Most impressive of all is the finale. St. John de Crevecoeur, for whom the town was named, using the words of Revelation, describes to the children the New Jerusalem holding forth the ideal of a city "all of true knights and ladies." Suddenly far down the valley near the town, as far as the eye can see, appears a medieval procession of knights on horseback and in full armor with brilliant red tunics embroidered with white eight-pointed crosses. The knights carry the standards of nearby towns, while at their head rides the Knight of St. Johnsbury, to whom all the people of the pageant sing their glad acclaim. At the top of the hill, under the Old Pine, appears America clad in pure white and accompanied by Vermont and neighboring states. The Knight of St. Johnsbury raises his standard in salute, and all the pageant with full orchestra accompaniment sing the Star Spangled Banner. The knight kneels in homage to America who raises him and gives him her flag to bear. Marshalled by St. John de Crevecoeur, the entire pageant, singing, now marches up the hill in review past America, the states, and the Knight of St. Johnsbury, passing from view over the top of the hill under the Old Pine. The last to go are the knights singing the song to America.

All the parts were played by St. Johnsbury people, and they played in earnest, for to them the story was intensely vital. All classes of the community worked together, old and young, leading citizens and humble laborers; Catholics and Protestants, all united and inspired by the vision of a new and a better St. Johnsbury. Citizens subscribed the funds and made up orchestra, chorus and cast.

The St. Johnsbury pageant united all classes and creeds in thought of the common welfare. It was truly a community expression of the significance as well as the ideals of the life of the town. It offered real education and fresh inspiration both to those who played and those who watched, and it pointed out the problems in which all are interested and gave a vivid conception of their historical origin and their meaning.

JOTTINGS

BUDGET EXHIBIT FOR CINCINNATI

Following the example of New York Cincinnati plans to have a municipal budget exhibit during the first two weeks in October. It is to be held under the direction of the Bureau of Municipal Research. Several thousand dollars have already been pledged to defray the expense, and the largest available vacant floor space in the business section has been secured for the exposition. Dr. L. D. Upson of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research is organizing and directing the enterprise.

City departments, the university, the public schools, the county, the public library, and several civic associations working in co-operation with the city, will be invited to take part. Charts and models will show for what the public are being used.

Cross sections of streets will be presented to show the effect of bad street foundations. Infant milk stations in actual operation, leaking water faucets with a statement of the annual cost of water waste to the taxpayers and condemned weights and measures are other features planned. So far as possible, models of proposed public improvements with statements of purposes, costs, and possible alternatives, will be placed on view to the end of securing intelligent public understanding and discussion of the projects.

Noontime meetings will be held at which outside officials will be invited to discuss municipal improvements in their own cities. Departmental heads will be asked to explain the budgetary increases requested for the ensuing year.

TOWN PLANNING ACTS IN CANADA

The Halifax Civic Improvement League with the aid of citizens, other associations, and the press succeeded in securing the enactment by the provincial legislature of Nova Scotia of a town planning law based upon the British act and of a law providing for the planting and care of shade trees on the city streets. The street tree act was modelled upon the New Jersey law which has become well known.

The town planning act is very similar to one passed at almost the same time by the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick. Both provide for town planning schemes with

the general object of making suitable provision for traffic, proper sanitary conditions, amenity and convenience in connection with the laying out of streets and the use of land and of any neighboring land for building or other purposes.

The city or town council with the approval, in the case of New Brunswick, of the lieutenant-governor-in-council, can prepare a town planning scheme with reference to any land within or in the neighborhood of the area over which it has municipal control.

The town planning scheme may be prepared with respect to any land which is in the course of development or is likely to be used for building purposes and the decision of the council of any city or town or municipality as to whether the land is likely to be used for building purposes or not, shall be final.

The expression "land likely to be used for building purposes" includes any land likely to be used to provide open spaces, roads, streets, parks, pleasure or recreation grounds. Land that is already built upon or land that is not likely to be used for building purposes may be included in any town planning scheme and the council of the city, town or municipality may provide for the demolition or alteration of any buildings so far as may be necessary for carrying the scheme into effect.

The acts in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia also provide for town planning schemes where the land included is in the area of more than one local authority. In Nova Scotia co-operation between the municipalities and local real estate and building companies is made possible. The councils of the various cities and towns in Nova Scotia and the provincial government in New Brunswick may make rules regulating generally the procedure to be adopted with respect to applications for authority to prepare or adopt a town planning scheme, with regard to the submission of plans and estimates, the publication of notices and the procedure before and after the approval of the scheme.

A DIRECTORY OF CITY WELFARE

A guide to the aids and opportunities for promoting city welfare has been published by the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. In a pamphlet of seventy-five pages Edward L. Burchard lists the public sources of aid for civic advance; the exhibitions of child welfare, city planning, housing, health, safety appliances and industry; lecturers who are available for service in the Middle West; motion films and slides which may be utilized for welfare propaganda; the more important civic associations in various cities; and a short selected list of books on civics.

The pamphlet gives in brief compass the material available and its nature, where to apply for it, and to whom to turn for special information on a wide range of topics relating to city welfare.

September 21, 1912.



Ore-washing plant, Coleraine, Minn.

INDUSTRY

SAFETY IN A CONCENTRATION PLANT¹

DON D. LESCOHIER

MINNESOTA BUREAU OF LABOR

One hundred and twelve miles northwest of Duluth stands the city of Grand Rapids, Minn. Five miles east of Grand Rapids is Coleraine, a little city founded in 1905, and one and a half miles from Coleraine, surrounded by the wilderness, stands one of the largest industrial plants in Minnesota, the ore-washing or concentrating plant of the Oliver Iron Mining Company, which handled nearly 3,000,000 tons of crude ore and produced nearly 2,000,000 tons of merchantable ore in the navigation season of 1911. The purpose of this plant is to concentrate a great deal of iron ore found in that section which in its native state contains too much sand to be merchantable. This is done by agitating the crude

ore on moving tables and allowing running water to pass over it and through it.

The building is 240 feet long, 134 feet wide and 125 feet high, and the ore is brought into it by 70 ton, standard gauge engines, each drawing 6 steel cars of 40 tons capacity, at a height of 100 feet above the ground. Four such trains can come into the building at the same time, and so strongly is it constructed that this weight of more than 1,000 tons moving through the building at a height of 100 feet does not jar the structure.

The ore is dumped from the cars into bins from which it passes into the five "units," or sieves, each with an annual capacity of 400,000 tons of concentrates, and thence on to the rock picking belts and "shaker tables."

The most striking safety devices in this

¹In the September 7 issue of *THE SURVEY*, Mr. Lescohier set forth the accident prevention problem of the iron ore mines of Minnesota.



A portion of the concentrating plant of the Oliver Iron Mining Co., showing platforms with hand-rails and toe-boards over table room. Pulleys and belts are completely fenced off and little stairs and platforms lead down from the main platforms giving oilers and machinists safe access to all transmission apparatus.



Steel ladder in the Trout Lake Power Plant rising to top of boilers, with hand-rails around top of boiler setting.

"museum of safety devices" are the platforms constructed to get from point to point in the plant, and the railings and toe boards which make them safe. More than 6 miles of $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch pipe is used in railings;¹ more than 2 miles² of 8 inch timbers, 2 inches thick, for toe-boards, and many thousands of 2 inch plank for platform floorings.

Every section of the building shows absolutely perfect construction in this respect and the stairways are not only railed and toe-boarded but have the backs of the treads covered to prevent objects falling through to the floors below. The same principles are applied on the out-of-door appurtenances of the plant as well as the in-door, and the viaduct over which the trains run when bringing ore into the plant, the water tank, and the shipping bin platforms are all protected in the same manner. In short every place from which a man might fall is protected by a railing, every place through which a man might fall is protected by a grating, and every place from which any object might fall is protected by a toe-board.

Two particular types of railing guards were especially ingenious. A railroad track runs along close to a row of steel columns, and if a man were standing behind one of these columns he might easily step out upon the track and be run over, especially if the plant was running so that it was difficult to hear

¹32,300 feet.

²12,400 feet.

the train. To prevent such accidents the company has run a piece of iron pipe obliquely from that edge of each column which is nearest to the track to the railing running along the opposite side of the columns. In this way the men are prevented from getting into the corners.

The other device prevents men from striking their heads on the underside of floors while ascending winding stairs. It is a similar angling bar which compels them to pass to the center of the stairs and from underneath the floor.

The power plant at Trout Lake, which furnishes the power that runs the concentrating plant, illustrates another important use of railings and toe-boards—and a use that is of much significance to manufacturing and power using industries generally. Workmen in all sorts of establishments must frequently go to the tops of the boilers and the common practice is to use movable ladders for this purpose. Many accidents naturally occur for there is hardly an industrial appliance more treacherous than the ladder—particularly the flimsy or poorly constructed ladder. In the Trout Lake boiler house, and the other boiler houses of the company as well, there is a solid steel stairs leading to the top of the boiler setting and a railing around the top. Toe-boards are also being installed though they had not been placed in the Trout Lake plant at the time of our visit.

The same principles of protection are used on all overhead constructions of every character, including overhead platforms, runways or walks in all buildings, stockpile, rockpile and coal trestles and bridges and viaducts. Wherever possible, access to such overhead platforms, walks or trestles, whether indoor or outdoors, is by stairways, and these stairways are uniformly protected by steel railings and toe-boards. A cleverly devised stairway in the shops of the Duluth, Missabe and Northern Railway (an allied corporation under the same safety officers) shows how completely this principle of avoiding ladders is sought to be realized. At a certain point where it was necessary to have access to a line shaft, the limitations of space prevented the construction of an ordinary stairway, and a winding stair rising perpendicularly was constructed by the workmen in the shop.

Three rules relative to overhead constructions cannot be too highly commended to

employers in general. "Under no circumstances must loose boards be allowed to remain overhead in buildings, on trestles, on stagings or in shaft houses." "All broken boards or planks on stairways, platforms, trestles, floors or walks must be immediately replaced." "Wherever a foot walk, wagon road or railroad passes under a trestle or bridge, the trestle or bridge must be boarded up tight so that nothing can fall through, and if necessary, wings must be provided to prevent material falling off the trestle or bridge."

The protection of the machinery in the power houses, concentrating plant, machine shops, pumping stations and railroad shops of the company, is fully on a par with their protection of overhead constructions. In spite of close, even eager, inspection we were able to make but six suggestions for improvement in the entire course of our investigation and three of those pertained to matters which the company had already taken up and for which they were preparing guards.

It is neither necessary nor possible to describe all these devices in detail, but before calling attention to a few special ones of particular interest, it is worth while to consider the company's general rules of safety with regard to mechanical operations. All gears must be covered with solid steel covers, securely fastened. These must either be easily removable or equipped with doors to give access for repairs or cleaning. All belts and other parts which it is not necessary to cover with opaque guards must be protected with a wide mesh screen, made of a heavy wire, reinforced by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch angle iron. All belts running near or through the floor are guarded to a height of at least 5 feet above the floor, and all belts running horizontally are guarded on their under side. All collars on line shafts must be of solid steel and set screws cannot project beyond the collars. Hollow set screws are used in most cases and all others are covered. "All emery wheels must be of the safety type, fitted with safety collars, and guarded by steel hoods. For special work in shops, where necessity requires, a slow speed emery wheel may be installed and guards dispensed with, but it is understood that safety collars shall be used on all emery wheels." "All wood jointers must be equipped with cylindrical heads." "Both wheels of all band saws must be guarded." "All water gauge glasses seven



Headframe at No. 4 shaft, Genoa, Oliver Iron Mining Co., showing stairway giving access to landing platform and head sheave.

feet or less from the floor must be properly protected." "All stationary engines must be guarded all around, preferably with a pipe railing, protecting the engine, rod, fly wheel and belt." "All fly wheel pits and drum pits must be guarded and fitted with toe-boards." "Fuse blocks on switchboards carrying over 250 volts should be enclosed and danger sign placed on all switchboards." "All turn sheaves and idler sheaves, 7 feet or less from the ground, must be guarded." All saws and other operating parts must be protected as fully as possible, and high speed engines equipped with automatic stops wherever possible.

A special feature on all the machines in the Hibbing shops is a self-locking belt shifter which was invented in the shop. The action of a spring on the clutch throws a lug into notches on a quadrant and prevents the shifter from being moved without definite purpose on the part of the operator. The shifter is handy for the workman, prevents the belt from unexpected shifting from one pulley to another, and is near at hand in an emergency.

Saw guarding has been given a great deal



Photograph of an Oliver Mining Co. machine shop in 1909, before the beginning of the safety campaign, showing unguarded belts, a loose rope hanging near a moving shaft, and a general absence of safety devices at the "danger points."

of attention and it would be difficult to surpass some of the results that have been attained. The general principle followed in devising guards is to entirely cover every moving part except the portion of the saw actually in use, and cover that, if possible, when not being used. Band saw wheels are entirely covered and the blade of the saw except where exposed for cutting.

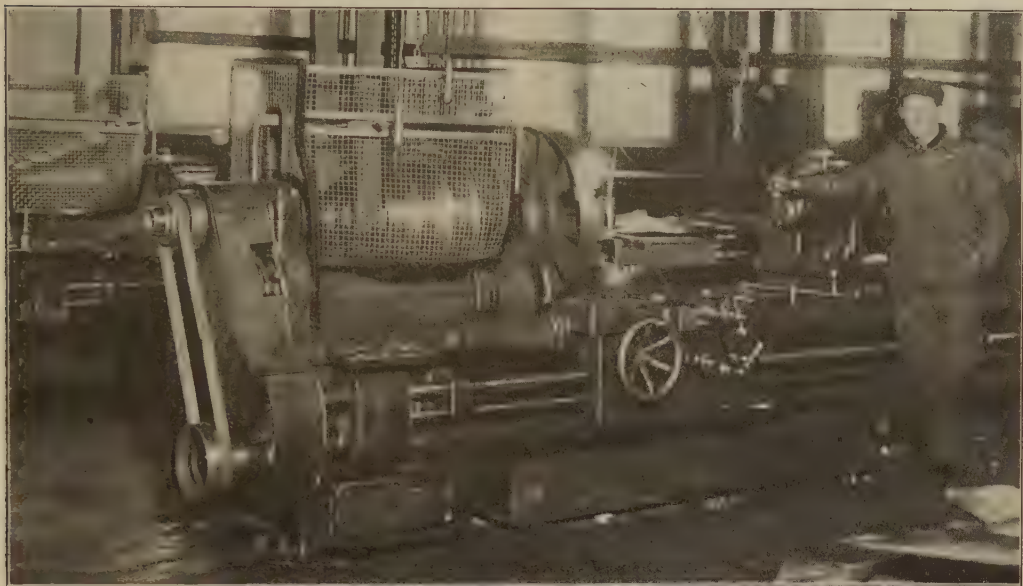
The company's emery wheel guards are the best we have ever seen. A safety wheel, with a safety collar, is enclosed in a case made of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch steel, reinforced by a bar of steel on the inside 1 inch thick and 4 inches wide, while a plate glass eye shield is attached to the front of the guard to protect the operator's eyes.

One more matter relative to the safeguards of this company deserves the attention of manufacturers. It is their methods of guarding the machinery in their power plants. They build wire mesh fences between the workman and all moving parts, providing safe means of access for oilers to the various parts of

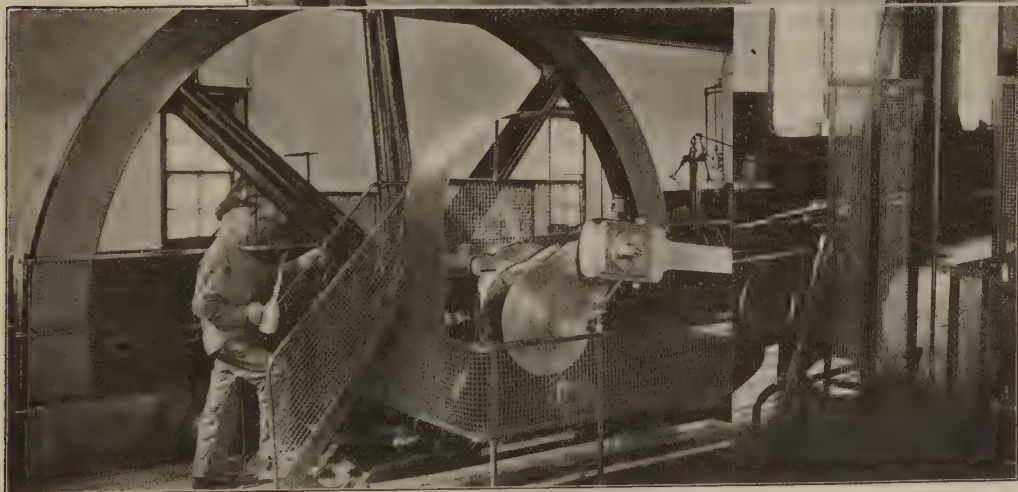
the machinery. This cannot be too highly commended, and the low, scanty railing so common about fly wheels should be condemned not only as unsafe but as a criminal delusion, giving a sense of safety where there is none.

Safety signs are placed at all danger points and when men are temporarily working overhead in the shops, warnings "Lookout! Men Overhead" are placed directly beneath them to prevent workmen from being injured by falling materials. Much attention is also given to keeping all tools, such as cold chisels, cold sets, fullers, hammers, sledges, etc., properly dressed, and the use of hammers or other tools with "mushroomed heads" is absolutely forbidden. Care was taken by our party to see whether or not this rule was enforced and the tools in the various shops were found in a very satisfactory condition. It is apparently not impossible for employers who conscientiously endeavor to do so to enforce such safety rules.

Another important safety measure, the pro-



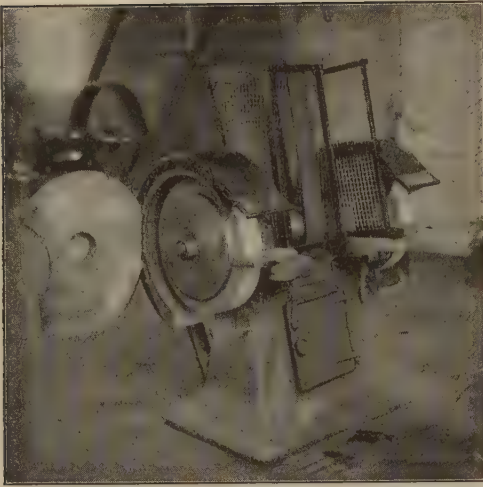
Top — Machine Shop, Oliver Iron Mining Co., at present day. In contrast to picture on opposite side, note mesh screen guard over cone pulleys, with the belt shifter projecting through the screen, thus preventing machinist from shifting belt with his hands; note also the solid steel covers over change gears at left end of machine.



Middle—Carpenter Shop; note guard around belt pulleys and safety appliances over rip saw.

Lower Left—Central Compressor Plant; note safety guards in front of flywheel; also oiling platform.

How belts are guarded at Hibbing headquarters, O. I. Mining Co.



Tool grinders in the Canisteo shop. The picture shows the guards open.

viding of sufficient light, has also been given effective attention. Whitewashed walls and large windows by day, and arc lights by night make it possible for workmen in all parts of the shops to have plenty of light. The writer has been in manufacturing establishments where men were required to work with hammers and other tools in places so dark that it was impossible to see the nails they were driving, and at emery wheels in basements where the only light was given by flickering gas lights so insufficient that the workmen frequently had to feel for their materials. Under such circumstances accidents are inevitable and there ought to be little difficulty in locating the blame for them.

22 YEARS AS MILL SURGEON

John F. Culp, of Harrisburg, recently retired as surgeon of the Pennsylvania Steel Company after twenty-two years' experience. Some of his conclusions and observations were embodied in an article in the *Medical Record* which is now available in reprint form. In a general way, the policy of the company has been to deal directly with the injured employes or their families without the intervention of attorneys or other third parties. Summing up his experiences in 20,000 recorded cases, Dr. Culp says:

"During the twenty-two years that the writer has been the surgeon of this corporation there have been twenty thousand recorded cases of accidents. When we consider the hazardous nature of the work and the large number of workmen, this number of accidents, many of which were trivial, is rather under than over the average. From these twenty

thousand accidents only eight suits for damages against the company have resulted, six for personal injuries and two brought by widows on account of the death of their husbands. These cases resulted, not because the company stood on its legal rights, but because the dependents had visions of large damages to be recovered, and in some instances could not be persuaded to compromise even by their counsel. That this company permits itself to be sued only where all other efforts fail is shown by the results of the cases. Of these eight cases, five were tried in the county courts, and in each case a non-suit was given the company. One of the cases was settled out of court, one withdrawn, and one, brought by a foolish, irresponsible boy, is still pending. This is a record probably unequaled by any other large corporation in this country, and shows what can be accomplished by a policy of fair treatment such as has already been outlined. These results have been achieved without the aid of either a claim agent or a legal department, and while the surgeon is always at liberty to consult a legal adviser, such a recourse has been comparatively seldom necessary. While definite figures are not available, it is safe to say that not more than five thousand dollars have been spent for legal services in connection with these twenty thousand accidents that have occurred during the past twenty-two years. The money went where it did the most good; that is, to the injured and their families.

"Absence of litigation, however desirable, is not the only good to be derived from the carrying out of such a policy. The employer says in effect to the employe: 'I recognize the fact that you are helping me to create wealth, and if adversity comes to you in the shape of an accident it is only fair that some of this wealth that your hands helped me to create should be yours. I will care for you and yours.' The law may not compel this, but whether it does or not it is right and just. Such a spirit of fair and generous dealing cannot but have a far-reaching and lasting effect on the employe. It makes him a better and more loyal workman and is conducive to pleasanter and more harmonious relations between him and his employer. The value of such harmonious relations between master and servant is difficult to estimate in dollars and cents, and in these days of industrial unrest, when capital is preparing to capitulate to labor on the best terms obtainable, the corporation that can stand forth with such a record over a long period of years must perforce have a great advantage.

"While this policy of treatment to the injured workmen and their dependents, as above outlined, is more nearly ideal than any other method, yet it is not without its shortcomings. Its advantages are: That it deals with each case individually, and, while there are certain fundamental principles observed, each case is decided on its merits. It makes the indi-

vidual needs paramount, loyalty and length of service, while considered, being secondary. It makes the attending surgeon, who comes at once into intimate personal relations with the injured, the general agent of the corporation. It eliminates the claim agent and the paid attorney, or, rather, it makes of the attending physician all these and a family counselor as well.

"The disadvantages are: Loyalty and long service cannot amount to so much in time of accident as the industrial necessities. The man who has been frugal and saving gets less in proportion than the man who has been improvident and careless in his living. The needs of the latter are greater because he has saved little or nothing, and it would seem, therefore, that the saving, frugal man was in a measure taxed to help out his unfortunate but less deserving brother. The second disadvantage of this policy consists in making the surgeon not only the healer of the wounds, physical and mental, but also the claim agent and legal counsel as well. It makes so much depend on the tact and temperament of the surgeon. Medical schools can and do teach medicine and surgery, but rare tact born of humane feelings can only be gotten in the great school of life, and if the physician does not have the proper temperament to begin with it can never be acquired.

"In conclusion, the writer not only hopes but predicts that the principles of humanity and justice which have been applied in the treatment accorded to its employes by this one Pennsylvania corporation will be incorporated into a law which will do much to lighten the burden of the industrial workers in time of accidents."

MEN VS. BINDING TWINE

ISABEL C. BARROWS

When an institution has been subjected to the fiery test of deserved criticism and emerges purified, it should have credit for that fact. The state prison of Kansas seems to have come forth from the ashes, like the fabled Phoenix, with renewed youth, judging from the seventeenth biennial report. It is not common to have such reports consider "the man" in the penitentiary; as a rule he is but a cog in the machinery, and no more. Here the convict is made to appear of more importance than the binding twine! The managers say: "It is not a question of how cheaply, but how well, a penitentiary can be managed. The first consideration should be to restore those confined in the institution to moral health and make them as far as possible self-supporting and self-respecting members of society." There is nothing new in this excellent doctrine, but Kansas seems only now to be adopting it. For many years she has had a parole law, and the results at last are satisfactory. The standard set before the men released under this law is high. Following are the rules:

1. The prisoner shall proceed at once to his place of employment and report to his employer.

2. Upon reporting to his employer he shall immediately make out a written report and send it by mail to the warden, announcing his arrival at his destination, and this written report must be indorsed by his employer.

3. He must not change employment, nor leave employment, unless by order of or upon permission from the warden first obtained in writing.

4. He must make a written report to the warden on the first day of each month for the month previous. If the prisoner has been idle during the month he must state the reason. He must also give any other information that will throw light upon his conduct and success during the month. These monthly reports must be indorsed by his employer.

5. He must attend church at least once each Sunday.

6. He must spend his evenings at home.

7. He must abstain from the use of intoxicating liquor in any form. He must avoid all evil association and improper places of amusement, including pool halls and other places not frequented by the best citizens.

8. He must respect and obey the laws cheerfully, and conduct himself as a good citizen, keeping his conduct at all times consistent with that of the best and most respected citizens of his community. He will live with or near his mother or wife and devote his time and earnings to her support as needed.

9. In the event of sickness or the loss of his position through any misfortune whatever, he must immediately report the fact in writing to the warden, or have this report made for him.

10. A violation of any of the above rules forfeits the parole contract on the part of the party paroled and renders him liable to be returned at once to the penitentiary to serve out the maximum sentence.

The warden, J. K. Coddington, had been acting in that capacity a year only, but he seems to have left no stone unturned that would better the health and morals of the men. Cleanliness has been introduced in places where it was sadly needed, and the care of the insane and the tuberculous has been improved. There are many of both classes, one in every five in the prison population having tuberculosis, and one in every fifteen being insane. Outdoor exercise has been introduced for half an hour daily for those who work in shops and factories, and two hours on Saturday afternoon for those who work in the great coal mine which belongs to the prison.

All restraint is removed, and during the thirty minutes they are allowed to do as they please, being required only to behave like gentlemen. They play baseball, pitch horseshoes, play basketball, and take such other exercise as suits their needs. The men visit among themselves, the officers mingle with them, often umpiring their games, and enjoy with the prisoners the half-hour's respite from discipline and work. At the close of the period the men are formed in their divisions, and, in charge of an officer, march in silence to their work.

The results of this simple expedient, which one would think ordinary common sense would have installed long ago, are thus described:

The results of a year's trial have been very gratifying. Not to exceed a half dozen infractions of the rules have occurred on the playgrounds, and almost universally the violations were by the youngest boys in the prison, and were of minor importance. These violators were deprived of the privileges of the yard for a long period of time. The men have almost universally increased in weight as well as chest expansion. They are clear-eyed, walk with an elastic step, and the improvement in discipline has been marked. The usual prison vices have decreased fully 70 per cent, the tuberculosis tent has been torn down, and no new cases have been added during the past six months. Every department of the institution reports that the men have an increased capacity and a desire to do the work assigned them. The increase in the amount of work done, as well as the better quality, is perhaps the most noticeable result of the recreation period.

In addition to the open-air exercises given week days, Sunday morning at eight thirty, when the weather permits, the Bible classes, with 260 members, meet in the prison grove for thirty minutes' study of the lesson, the attendance at this service being voluntary. At the close of the Bible study all of the prisoners occupy the benches in the prison grove for a thirty minutes' chapel service. The men are then given an hour and a quarter of freedom in the inside prison yard. This helps them to endure the eighteen hours of lock-up from Sunday noon to six o'clock Monday morning.

I believe that the relaxation from the discipline, the liberty to talk and laugh and run, and let the natural man assert himself, is as beneficial to the prisoner's mental and nervous being as are the exercises to his physical requirements.

This prison has an interesting fund, started by a prisoner,—Jerry Choteau,—who was so afraid that his own little girl might some time be in want that his sympathies extended to other little girls. The plan is to aid prisoners' families, and it is well organized within the prison. The chaplain, the warden's wife, and three prisoners are the officers. The fund has been nearly all given by the convicts themselves, and small sums are sent to the mothers, wives, and children of prisoners.

In material things,—mining coal, making twine, etc,—the prison seems to be doing well, but, after all, what is the outlook? When, by some happy chance, a good warden is selected he makes a bright spot in its history, and his star is then eclipsed.

It is no wonder that the warden says he is confronted with the difficulty of "the short and uncertain tenure of the warden's office." He has been trying, as best he could, to conduct the penitentiary "on the business principles that are used by the best managed corporations in the state."

Is it not surprising that Kansas, and many other states, should be so short-sighted as not to see that that sort of business management is impossible so long as politics has anything

to do with the tenure of office of a warden? Nothing so surprises Europeans as the insecurity of this office. Without the continuity that allows experience, progress in prison reform is out of the question. Kansas may be congratulated that today there are clean beds and walls, wholesome food, and various other things in the state prison—but who can prophesy what will be the next biennial report? The people of Kansas have this matter in their own hands.

THE HEALTH OF LAUNDRY WOMEN

MARY BROWN SUMNER

Volume XII of the federal report on women and child workers,¹ which is devoted to laundry workers, tells little that is conclusive or satisfying in the face of such a serious demand for information as the laundry workers' strike in New York last winter provoked. Its principal contribution is Dr. Rosa Liebig's study of the health of 539 laundry workers. This is based solely on the women's own statements, and the individual records which fill two-thirds of the volume tend to show only that in the case of many of the one hundred and thirty-five workers who complained of ill health from laundry work home conditions or previous work might be held partly responsible for their condition, and that, in the case of the four hundred and four who made no complaints, as one of them puts it, they were "stronger to begin with," that is, better equipped physically when they went into the work. Dr. Liebig's tables are based on these statements supplemented by no medical examination. They show a larger proportion of machine ironers, many of whom use the foot lever, complaining of ill health than of any other single operation; hand ironers follow, then mangle girls. Swollen or painful legs is the most common complaint; pains, rheumatic or muscular, sometimes from standing, sometimes from dampness, is the next, with about as frequent complaints of pelvic or uterine trouble. Abdominal troubles, nausea and headache, and lung troubles are other complaints and there are three cases reported of accidents to the hands from burns or crushing in the mangle.

The investigation of general laundry conditions covered establishments in four cities: New York, Chicago, Rockford, Ill., and Philadelphia. Three hundred and fifteen laundries employing 6,417 persons, 80 per cent of them women, were visited. These were of all types and it is not stated how many were hand laundries, how many old-fashioned imperfectly equipped wholesalers, and how many steam bundle and flat work laundries with their very complete mechanical equipment. This federal report would, however, it would seem, have been the occasion for a thorough study of the different working con-

¹Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States. Nineteen volumes, Volume XII. Employment of women in laundries, work supervised by Charles H. Verrill; the report on health by Dr. Rosa Liebig.

ditions offered by these different groups. In Chicago alone was any study of hours or wages reported. The Chicago tables are based on wage and hour scales given by employers in nine laundries. These show a normal day of ten hours; hours on individual days ranging from eight to twelve and a half. Wages in these laundries is given as ranging from \$5.50 to \$13.00 a week, the latter wage being paid for such work as starching or overseeing.

The best feature of the report is an excellent account of the machine process and equipment in a model steam laundry.

LABOR IN MARYLAND CANNERIES

Bulletin ninety-six of the federal Department of Commerce and Labor contains a study of the working hours, earnings, and duration of employment of women in selected industries in California and Maryland, by Marie L. Obenauer. In the latter state the study of women is supplemented by a study of children in the same industries. In this Mary Compton collaborated with Miss Obenauer.

Ninety-one establishments in six groups of industries, employing 12,435 women, were studied, almost 3,000 women being interviewed. The most thorough study was given canneries, since the great variation in conditions in different factories made it impossible to generalize from a few. More than half of the establishments studied belonged to this industry, and employed more than half of the total number of women.

"The most impressive thing," says the report, "about the Maryland canneries visited was the large number of children at work, a great many of them, apparently, under twelve years of age, some of them unquestionably, and often admittedly, under eleven. The children appearing in the tables of the report in no way represent the proportion found in the canneries, as only such were scheduled as were helping mother or sister during the period covered by this investigation, viz: May 1, 1910, to April 30, 1911. The companies invariably denied employing these children, contending that they came as helpers to their mothers or sisters; nevertheless about one-fourth of the workers in the canneries visited were children under fourteen."

City canneries in Maryland showed an average season of about six months, and an average weekly work schedule of about 45.7 hours; country canneries showed a season of only eight weeks and a 50 hour average. In striking contrast with the average hours is the not infrequent long day with the occasional long week of work, a characteristic feature of the industry. Fifteen and one-half to seventeen and one-half hours are not infrequent and in some cases employes work night and day in different canneries. One canner gave the following explanation of these hours to the investigator. "These women," said he, "are different from others.

They can work fifteen or twenty hours a day and it won't hurt them. They'd be opposed to any restriction in working hours, for they are greedy and want to make all they can."

The report adds: "This view that 'these people are different,' that conditions ordinarily regarded as menacing do not hurt them, is as common in occurrence as it is singular in theory."

The earnings of these grasping workers putting in long hours average \$4.61 a week for time workers in the city, and \$6.06 in the country. For piece workers with two child helpers the highest average rate is \$4.84 a week in the city; in the country where there is less of the lower grades of unskilled work, the average with two helpers is \$13.30.

Because of the need of saving time in dealing with the local crops the country canneries showed in most cases better labor-saving equipment and often better sanitation. The abominable housing conditions in the country camps, however, more than made up for these better working conditions. Camp conditions are fully described in the report which has this comment to make: "No one has yet measured the train of influences of such living conditions upon the health of the workers—all moral and ethical questions aside. Had time permitted, it would have been entirely pertinent to follow up some of the cases of illness chargeable to cannery camp conditions in order to find out just how much such illness had cost the workers in medicine, doctor's bills, and unemployment. It would be pertinent and interesting because this 'free housing' is held out by canner and 'row boss' as a factor in compensation. While this supplemental search was not possible, the sinister influence of most of the living conditions as described admits of little doubt. It is the more to be regretted because the few camps properly drained and adequately equipped show the possibilities in the line of comfort and health, not only for the workers, but for the babies that might get a breath of country air and a respite from the oppressive heat of the city."

The California canneries differed from the Maryland in having longer average hours, not so large a proportion of child laborers, and somewhat better camp conditions. Bulletin ninety-six also contains Massachusetts Manufacturers and Employes' Health by William C. Hanson of the Massachusetts Board of Health and a translation of the full text of the new German Workman's Insurance Code which went into effect in the beginning of 1912.

JOTTINGS

HEALTH AND WOMEN'S UNIONS

A leaflet published by the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago describes the work and plans of its Health Committee, of which Mrs. Samuel Dauchy is chairman:

"Members of the unions which are affiliated with the Health Committee and which pay an annual tax per member into the Health Com-

mittee fund are entitled to the services of the staff of leading women physicians at their offices without further payment. Certificates must be secured for each visit from the secretary of their local union. The physicians have arranged convenient office hours in different parts of the city and visits are usually possible without interfering with the day's work.

"One of the most important results of making it easy for the girls to go to the physicians is the information thus secured. Data is taken as to the girl's trade, her hours, whether sitting or standing, her food, the circumstances that bear on her health, and then effort is made to do as promptly as possible the thing that needs to be done to bring her back to normal womanhood—not only that she may support herself and her family, as she often must, but that she may have a fighting chance for immortality in her children.

"One of our physicians suggested that the Health Committee support a bed at the Edward Sanitarium at Naperville, at an annual cost of five hundred dollars, where incipient cases of tuberculosis are taken. Since its establishment over a year ago the bed has been constantly occupied.

"Specialists are employed for eye, nose, and throat troubles. The eye-strain endured by the girls is enormous, and it is interesting to note that women are generally employed upon work requiring exceptionally keen vision."

Besides these specialists the committee has five general practitioners. The present membership of the committee is between six and seven hundred.

Figures are but feeble advocates in comparison with the stories of the individual cases told by the physicians themselves. One doctor tells of a girl who had lost the sight of one eye, but had come for treatment in time to save the other one; another, of inducing girls living on the first floor to sleep with their windows open by telling them of the simple plan of nailing an iron bar across the lower part of the sash, thus removing all fear of burglary. The bar could be had of a blacksmith for ten cents, and the rest was easy. The doctors say, too, that in a short time they have only to know the trade of the girl consulting them to predict almost certainly what her complaint will be. In one trade there is a certain sort of eye-strain, and from a certain machine in another trade has come every case of tuberculosis.

SWISS NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT

The Swiss National Insurance Act which has just gone into operation covers, unlike the British with which it forms an interesting contrast in many particulars, not only sick insurance, but insurance for industrial accidents. The industrial accident insurance section, which includes only dangerous trades and some occupational diseases, is, indeed, the only compulsory section of the act. This fund is contributed by employers. Payments

are ordinarily 70 or 80 per cent of wages, but in certain cases, where special treatment is needed, full wages are paid. In case of death the payments are medical and surgical expenses and 60 per cent of wages to dependents. There is no income limit, but fourteen francs is the maximum wage upon which payments are based.

The sickness benefit is voluntary as far as the authority of the federal government goes, each canton being left to decide whether its fund shall be compulsory or voluntary. State, canton, and the insured unite in making up the fund. The weekly sick benefit covers expenses of treatment and, in some cases, a money benefit of one franc a day. Maternity benefit runs for six weeks, but this section contains the excellent provision that a nursing mother's benefit can be extended. The sickness feature includes also accidents not industrial, toward which the individual contributes three-quarters, the state one-quarter. Employers do not, as in the British, contribute to the sick fund.

The insurance is effected through a Federal Insurance Institution, subsidized by the government and governed by a council representing the government, the workman and the employer. Provision is made for co-operation with existing sick funds, and a federal court is established to decide appeals from cantonal courts.

PERSONALS

David Blaustein—scholar, educator, philanthropist and social worker—passed away suddenly on August 26 while visiting the camp of the Educational Alliance at Cold Spring, N. Y.

An editorial appreciation of Dr. Blaustein's life appears on another page. Dr. Blaustein was born in Lida, Russia. He received his early education in Talmudic academies in his native land. At the age of seventeen he went to study in Germany in the cities of Koenigsberg and Memel. During 1886, while attending the teachers' seminary at Schewerin in Mecklenberg, Dr. Blaustein, though anxious to remain in Germany to complete his education, was ordered to leave.

Later in the year he came to Boston and there conducted a German and Hebrew school. Three years later he entered Harvard University, where he took highest honors in a special course in Semitics. While still a student at Harvard he founded philanthropic, educational and charitable institutions, which are still in existence.

Graduating from Harvard in 1892, Dr. Blaustein became the rabbi of the Congregation Sons of Israel and David, in Providence, R. I. While still a rabbi in Providence, he received an appointment as instructor in Semitics at Brown University.

Largely through the influence of the late Isidor Straus, of New York, Dr. Blaustein in 1898 was elected superintendent of the Educational Alliance, an institution for the education and Americanization of immigrants in New York city. He served the Educational Alliance as superintendent until 1907. During the nine years of his superintendency he widened its scope aiming to make it a help to the youth of the immigrant classes. In explanation of its aims Dr. Blaustein once said: "The alliance endeavors to give the immigrant what has been denied him in his native land. It speaks to the older generation of immigrants to consider the future, and addresses itself to the rising generation to have regard for the past. It reconciles the heart of the parent to the heart of the child. It stands as a mediator between the different classes of people of the neighborhood as well as the city at large. It brings about a better feeling between the different classes, and above all makes the foreigner understand American institutions and makes him realize that liberty and law go together; that the right of citizenship implies also duties, and that Americans are a nation governed by the people for the benefit of the people."

In October, 1907, Dr. Blaustein resigned from the Educational Alliance and became manager of the Houston street branch of the Jefferson Bank. About a year later Dr. Blaustein received a call as superintendent of the Chicago Hebrew Institute. He accepted the offer but finding that he met with opposition in matters of policy which he deemed fundamental, he resigned.

In 1910 Dr. Blaustein received the appointment as staff lecturer on Jewish, Slavic and Italian immigration at the New York School of Philanthropy. During the two years of his occupancy of this chair he devoted half the year to travel, studying conditions and opportunities for those living in the congested centers of the East, in the western states, on the Pacific coast and in the Gulf states. After his return from such a trip last February he lectured before various educational institutions, telling young men where opportunities awaited them away from the crowded cities on the eastern seaboard.

Dr. Blaustein intended in the fall of this year to establish information bureaus where individual inquirers could get reliable information as to where to settle outside of New York. He believed that people who have pioneer spirit, energy and small savings at their command should be educated where to go of their own accord without assistance from charity or philanthropy. Governors, state officials, chambers of commerce and boards of trade had promised to co-operate with him in this plan.

One year ago Dr. Blaustein married Miriam Umstadter, of Norfolk, Va., a student of the New York School of Philanthropy. Mrs. Blaustein before her marriage was engaged in settlement work.

Roy G. Harper, who for the past year and a half has been superintendent of the Associated Charities of Tampa, Fla., has been appointed to the same position in Erie, Pa. Mr. Harper is a graduate of the University of Missouri, of the St. Louis School of Philanthropy and of the Law College of Stetson University, Fla. In St. Louis he had experience in juvenile court work and this summer was enrolled as a worker in the Clinton district of the New York Charity Organization Society. He has been in newspaper work in Detroit, St. Louis, and other cities.

James L. Feiser, director of the truancy department of the Indianapolis Schools since 1906, has been appointed the general secretary of the Columbus Associated Charities. It is said that his has been one of the few truancy departments in the country which has viewed truancy as a family problem and not as a mere matter of police regulation. His principle has been case by case work all the way through. Therefore he naturally belonged to the charity organization field.

J. J. Weber, for over a year director of the Civic Association of Englewood, N. J., has just become secretary of the finance committee of the Charity Organization Society of New York. Mr. Weber succeeds J. Byron Deacon, now secretary of the Associated Charities of Pittsburgh.

Bessie Ray, who for the past four years has been connected with the Associated Charities of Atlanta, has been appointed secretary of the newly organized Associated Charities of Columbia, S. C.

COMMUNICATIONS

AN INSURANCE MONOPOLY

TO THE EDITOR:

My attention has been directed to an article which appeared in THE SURVEY for June 29, pages 476 and 477, entitled Liability Fight Before Massachusetts Legislature.

The writer of the article appears to favor giving a monopoly of the workmen's compensation insurance business to the Massachusetts Employes' Insurance Association. He states that the authors of the act "felt that much of the waste which now takes place could be eliminated by giving a practical monopoly to this association."

If the Massachusetts Employes' Insurance Association can do so well in eliminating waste and saving expense, why is not the present arrangement under which the association, the private mutual companies, and the private stock companies are put in competition with each other ideal? If the association can do all that is claimed for it, its competition will soon drive the private mutual companies and the private stock compa-

nies out of business. If it can eliminate waste and save expense, it can reduce its rates and underbid the private mutual companies and the private stock companies and get all the business. This being the case, why take the risk and go to the trouble of establishing a monopoly? Why not let the law of the survival of the fittest work untrammelled and take care of the matter?

If the argument is sound for establishing a monopoly in the workmen's compensation insurance business to eliminate waste and save expense, then it is equally sound as applied to other lines of business. Why not establish monopolies in the steel business, in the textile business, in the grocery business, in all lines of business, destroy competition, and eliminate the waste and save the expense? Why not establish socialism at once, do away with all competition, eliminate all waste, save all expense?

Why not? Because as human nature is constituted, the managers of any institution enjoying a monopoly will at once become slack and indifferent, having no longer the spur of competition, and waste and expense will grow beyond bounds. Besides, the spur of competition is needed to ensure the best possible service from every institution for the community. When managers have no competition, they will become lazy and indifferent, and the community will have to put up with poor service. Competition is the tool by which the community secures efficiency in its servants. All who sell to the community are servants of the community.

Agencies of government should be adapted to the imperfections of human nature. The imperfections of human nature necessitate the organization of society on a competitive basis instead of on a socialistic basis. Competition involves a lot of effort that in one sense is wasted, but the price that society has to pay to secure the best results as human nature is constituted. It is not possible to measure the relative advantage of a thing solely by the amount of expense it entails. Expense must often be incurred to secure efficiency, and to induce men to put forth their best efforts. Neither a state monopoly in insurance nor state insurance itself will work because of the imperfections in human nature.

This is a phase of the matter which should be carefully considered by your readers.

FRANK E. LAW.

[Vice-President The Fidelity and Casualty Company of New York.]

THE CAUSES OF POVERTY

TO THE EDITOR:

In your issue of August 31, the cartoon which you printed on the first page was grossly incomplete, it seems to me, inasmuch as the one cause most overwhelmingly potent in breaking up human homes was not even mentioned. Should you have added a fourth

picture of the average bar-room with a crowd of men leaning up against the rail catching the schooners as they came over, you would then not have been guilty of publishing a partial truth or of trying to make the tail wag the dog.

S. S. KNIGHT.

St. Louis, Mo.

A NEW FRIEND FOR TONY

TO THE EDITOR:

Accept a word of appreciation for your issue of August 17. If this were the only number I received this year I should feel I had my money's worth. Tony and The Trend of Things will give any man food for thought for many weeks and months. Every article in it is worth careful reading. All your issues are good but this seems just a little better than usual.

LUTHER B. ADAMS.

Pittsburgh.

JOTTINGS

TAX REFORM IN MISSOURI

If adopted at the November election, two amendments proposed to the constitution of Missouri will revolutionize the taxation system in that state. The first makes a fundamental change in the basis of taxation; the second, a reform in the administration of the tax system by providing for a permanent tax commission similar to those already existing in almost a dozen other states.

Bonds issued by the state, by its municipalities, or other local units, are to be exempted from taxation at once. All other forms of personal property, tangible as well as intangible, are to be exempted in 1914, at which time poll taxes and merchants' and manufacturers' tax and business licenses of all kinds (except those imposed under the police rather than the taxing power) also are to be swept away. In the case of real property, a differentiation is made between land and improvements on land. So far as improvements are concerned, the tax is to be reduced gradually, being levied on three-fourths of the improvements assessed in 1914 and 1915, one-half in 1916 and 1917, one-fourth in 1918 and 1919, and thereafter improvements of all kinds are to be exempt. The real reduction would, however, be much less gradual because improvements to the extent of \$3,000 on each homestead are to be exempt, beginning in 1914. After the year 1919, accordingly, land would remain the sole object of taxation, except that public utility franchises are also to be taxed, and it is further provided that the amendment "shall not be construed as limiting or denying the power of the state to tax any form of franchise, privilege, or inheritance." The amendment provides that the assessment of property for taxation shall be at its actual value.

CIVIC SERVICE HOUSE

Hard by the famous little shop where once upon a time "Old Solomon Levy" displayed his bargains in "coats and everything else so neat," stands Boston's Civic Service House, a youngster among the historic landmarks of the North End, but a real part of the teeming life of the community.

Civic Service House has celebrated its tenth anniversary. Twenty-six of the house clubs held a reunion concert and dance, and some of Boston's leading social workers contributed to a speech-making program.

The settlement has been true to its name, for no class or club whose aim is not toward better civic conditions is given room in the house. All the activities are confined to adults, although every effort is made to find other locations for newly organized boys' and girls' clubs of recreational or social nature.

Prof. Frank Parsons early became interested in Civic Service House and, with the co-operation of Meyer Bloomfield, the director, Ralph Albertson, and Philip Davis, established the Civic Service House Vocation Office, the forerunner of the present Vocation Bureau at 6 Beacon street, of which Mr. Bloomfield is director.

The Music School Settlement is another offshoot of the work of Civic Service House. It was organized in November, 1910, when a remodelled tenement adjoining the settlement was obtained and a number of teachers and assistants volunteered their services. Prof. Walter F. Spaulding, head of the Department of Music at Harvard, was chosen director of the settlement, and Daniel Bloomfield became executive head. During the first week 111 children applied for instruction at the Music School Settlement, and the second year opened with a waiting list of over 200. Through the faculty the settlement has connections with practically every musical organization of importance about Boston. On hot summer evenings roof concerts are given by the pupils of the Music School Settlement. The roof of Civic Service House itself was early supplied with flower-boxes, a canvas top was erected, and benches, chairs, and lights provided. Every evening during the summer volunteer teachers give elementary instruction to the immigrants of the community.

The settlement has a summer camp, Camp Agassiz, near Gloucester, where there are three well equipped cottages.

IMMIGRATION COMMISSION FOR CALIFORNIA

Governor Hiram Johnson of California has recently appointed a State Immigration Commission for the purpose of working out a plan for the wide distribution of the immigrants who will, it is expected, flock to California after the opening of the Panama Canal. The commission is charged to report to the next legislature such laws dealing with the situation as may be thought best. It is composed of Robert Watchorn and Dana W. Bartlett of Los Angeles, Simon Lubin of

Sacramento and Robert Newton Lynch and Katherine Felton of San Francisco.

N. Y. TRAMP FARM SITE CHOSEN

Governor Dix of New York announced last week that 821 acres of land in Dutchess county, twenty miles south of Poughkeepsie, has been selected for the state farm colony for tramps. The purchase price is to be \$60,000. The legislature last year made a preliminary appropriation of \$100,000 to establish the new institution which will cost \$500,000. Practically all of the land selected is tillable, which Governor Dix says is a feature that prompted his approval of the site.

TUBERCULOSIS DAY

October 27 is announced by the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis as the third national Tuberculosis Day. On this day the association asks 100,000 churches and religious societies—double last year's number—to give special attention to this disease, from which the census shows, the churches lost 52,000 communicants last year.

LENGTH OF PROBATION

Wherever states are discussing the probation system they are laying stress on the length of time that the person on probation should be under surveillance. In Belgium the period must be at least two years. In a paper read before the international congress *Des Patronages*, Dr. Rosenfeld, of Berlin, recommended that the period should not be less than two years nor more than five. The object of this long term is to enable the delinquent to repair, as far as possible, the injury he has inflicted by his crime. He says that the sense of moral obligation to make such reparation has so completely disappeared among criminals that they think imprisonment has wiped out all their wrong-doing, and they fiercely combat any suggestion to make good the injury they have done. He would have no one absolutely free from probation till he had seriously applied himself to making all the reparation in his power.

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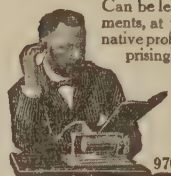
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Public Care of Children, Miss S. P. Breckinridge, Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley. Administration of Institutions, Mr. Alexander Johnson, Miss Julia C. Lathrop. Social Legislation, Professor Ernst Freund.

The Social Movement, Leaders, History, Literature, Professor Taylor, Miss Jane Addams.

Social Functions of Local Government, Professor Taylor, Mr. George C. Sikes.

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Municipal Control of Public Health and Housing; Miss S. P. Breckinridge, Miss Abbott, Chief Sanitary Inspector Charles B. Ball.

Physical and Psychical Factors of Dependency and Delinquency; William Healy, M.D., Juvenile Psychopathic Institute.

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[Those whose names are marked with an asterisk give Courses in Evening School this year]

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The Scientific Basis of
Social Work

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*Orlando F. Lewis
Delinquents

*James Alexander Miller
Medical Sociology

Mary K. Simkhovitch
Social Settlements

Lawrence Veiller
Housing

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Neighborhood Activities

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Social Ideas in Literature

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In addition to the important developments in the School of Philanthropy announced in the June Bulletin, which will be sent on request to any address, it has been decided to offer four evening courses, identical with the corresponding courses in the day school. Full credit will be given for these courses towards satisfying the requirements for the diploma of the School.

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Mr. Watson

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Mr. Thurston

(THURSDAY AND FRIDAY AT 8 P. M.)

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Public Care as substitute for home: asylum, reformatory, Juvenile Republic, etc.

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THE NEW YORK SCHOOL OF PHILANTHROPY
105 EAST 22d ST., NEW YORK CITY

Volume XXVIII, No. 26

Week of Sept. 28, 1912

THE
SURVEY
SOCIAL CHARITABLE CIVIC

WHO SHALL BE BORN?

*The importance of this question is illustrated
by a striking chapter from one family history*

*How Industrial Education of the Negro
Pays the Individual, the Race and Society*

*Fifty years ago this week Lincoln issued
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*An Exported Immigration Problem—the
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THE PITH OF IT

FOR years efforts have been made, from within and without his own race, to educate the Negro industrially. Have these efforts paid, not only in dollars and cents, but in an enrichment of life and in an increased capacity for service to mankind? Favorable answers to these questions are afforded by a recent study of Tuskegee graduates. P. 787.

IF you are under twenty-one and attend a public dance in Denver, Col., you must write down your name and address at the door; if you are under eighteen you can't stay later than ten o'clock without proper chaperonage; not even then can you attend if liquor is sold—these are some of the provisions of a new ordinance conceived in the belief that juvenile crime is in some way connected with unlicensed pleasure-seeking. P. 788.

WHO shall be born? And when born, how shall they live—uncontrolled lives of weakness and sin, forced upon them by a degenerate inheritance and causing havoc to themselves and society; or controlled lives of order and celibacy that stop the poisons of race-decay before contamination has spread to the third and fourth generation? These questions are forcibly raised by a chapter from family history that is, in its effects, still current event. P. 789.

LOS ANGELES will have a chance next month to adopt a charter permitting municipal ownership of theaters, dairies, banks, butter and cheese factories, pawn shops, department stores—in fact, any kind of business which an individual or corporation may own. P. 796.

A BRITISH correspondent tells what he regards as some of the accomplishments of the "Pollard plan" of administering the abstinence pledge to drunkards. P. 794.

HE WHO studies immigration from the point of view of the receiving country knows but half the problem. How many adventurers return, and what gifts do they bring back—higher standards of living, more cosmopolitan culture, or devitalized bodies, broken spirits, and newly-acquired vices? A bit of all, if we may trust evidence furnished by the Italians. P. 791.

GOVERNOR Eberhart, declaring that two billion dollars and 20,000 lives have been lost by fire during the last fifteen years, has set aside October 9 as Fire Prevention Day in Minnesota. He urges that it be observed in all departments of the state, in all institutions of learning and by all persons interested in the social and economic uplift of the state.

THE SURVEY

EDWARD T. DEVINE,
EDITOR

GRAHAM TAYLOR, JANE ADDAMS,
ASSOCIATES

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IN THE preliminary election to pick a candidate to run against John J. Breen, the school committee man convicted of planting dynamite during the Lawrence strike, Augustine Q. Dooley, the only man whose name appeared on the ballot, received 763 votes to 108 for Breen. Five more wrote in the name of Breen, which did not appear on the sheet because it automatically goes on the final ballot, but gave the wrong address which made their votes void. Eight other men had one vote apiece. There was little interest in the voting which was light because it was a foregone conclusion that Attorney Dooley would be the candidate to oppose Breen at the recall election on October 1.

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THE SURVEY, 105 East 22d Street, New York

THE COMMON WELFARE

RESULTS OF INDUSTRIAL TRAINING OF THE NEGRO

Does industrial education of the Negro pay, in dollars and cents, in an enrichment of life, and in an increased capacity for social service? This question was at the bottom of a recent study made by Tuskegee Institute among its former students. In his collection of facts, Frank P. Chisholm, financial secretary and instructor in mathematics, had an eye to the benefit both to the individual and to society at large. The inquiry embraced the industrial careers of 746 individuals taken at random—417 graduates and 329 former students. Mr. Chisholm writes thus of the conclusions to be drawn:

The following questions, based on the facts in hand, lead to some striking and impressive deductions:

1. Of how much financial benefit is the industrial training at Tuskegee to the individuals trained?
2. How much return does the public get for the money which it has expended in the training of these persons?
3. Of what economic benefit has their training been to the South?

The great majority of graduates and former students were adults when they entered the institution. They had, as a rule, an earning capacity of from \$5 to \$10 per month and of from 50 to 75 cents per day. After three years' training, this was increased from \$1.50 to \$3.00 per day, with a rise as experience was gained, which means that there was an increased demand for their trained services. Further, it is seen that a very large percentage of the men and women earn money by doing more than one thing. For example, some are engaged in both teaching and farming. Others have accumulated profit-paying property, which is but another way of increasing their earning capacity through an increased income. The high efficiency of these combination workers is due to the fact that they go directly to the agricultural districts of the South, where the majority of the Negroes live. Here, by combining agriculture with teaching, they not only increase their own income, but are direct and potent factors in the industrial advancement of the community.

Since the founding of Tuskegee, an average of two years of training has been given to approximately 9,000 persons, whose average earnings have been \$700 per year. The study shows, says

Mr. Chisholm, that the average length of time these 9,000 students have been out is fourteen years, during which time their estimated earnings have been \$88,200,000. If these 9,000 individuals had not received an industrial training, they would have earned during the fourteen years only \$12,600,000. That is, by receiving an industrial training, they have been able to earn \$75,600,000 more than they would have earned had they not received this training.

It is declared that one rarely finds a Tuskegee man who does not have a bank account, own some property, and who is not buying a home. In many communities, Tuskegee men are listed among the largest tax payers. The investigator found it difficult to obtain data necessary for determining the exact amount of property holdings of the 746 persons under study, but reports from 242 showed an average holding of \$4,000 worth of property. Mr. Chisholm says:

It is likely, of course, that the real average for all the persons who have benefited by the teachings of Tuskegee is lower. The average property holding, however, will hardly fall below \$1,700. As property holdings go in the South, this is not bad. In fact it is considerably above the average among Negroes. It is seen, therefore, that the property holdings of the 9,000 persons who have attended Tuskegee aggregate \$15,000,000.

WHAT SOCIETY GETS FROM IT

The relationship between what the public has expended on the training of students at Tuskegee Institute and what the public has received in return for such expenditure is also considered. It is estimated that the total cost of the industrial training of 9,000 students has been approximately \$1,467,000. Here is the reasoning to show whether society has benefited:

Before this money was expended, the earning capacity of each of these students was about \$100 per year. Reckoning their ability as capital and the wages which they could command as interest upon this capital, this would make the ability of each student, on a

6 per cent basis, worth \$1,666.66, and the ability of the 9,000 about \$15,000,000. After these students had received their industrial training, they were able, on an average, to command as wages \$700 per year. Reckoning this as interest upon the value of their ability we have the ability of each of them on a 6 per cent basis in round numbers to be about \$11,700,000, and the value of their total ability to be \$105,300,000. That is, by means of the \$1,467,000 which the public expended in the training of these students, the value of their ability to the country has increased \$90,300,000. The country, therefore, has received a return of 600 per cent on the capital which has been invested in the training of these 9,000 students.

The argument to show what benefit the South has received from the industrial training of these 9,000 individuals is as follows:

If we reckon the working people as so much capital available for its development, then, on the basis of the estimate made above, these 9,000 students without industrial training would have been economically worth about \$15,000,000 to the South; but by means of industrial training their economic value has been increased \$90,300,000.

This statement becomes more significant when it is remembered that Tuskegee is located in the heart of the South's Black Belt; that the great majority of persons trained at this institution are at work in the South; that they are raising the standard of farm life by improving the Negro farmer; that, as leaders, they are lifting the struggling black masses to higher planes of usefulness and Christian citizenship; that by their examples of thrift, industry, sobriety, obedience to law, and improved personal and family life, they have become agents of improved economic conditions.

The great difficulty of the South is to get trained, reliable workers to develop its vast resources. Experiments in imported labor have been tried, and they have failed. The labor of the Negro is available. Untrained, this labor is crude and has but small earning power. Trained, as seen from this study, its value is many times enhanced and the wealth of the country correspondingly increased.

Stirring as this story is of the increase in efficiency among a group of ambitious colored youths, there are students of the southern situation who point out that the industrial schools of the South touch but a small part of the Negro population. In 1909, in Alabama, Tuskegee's own state, only 29.18 per cent of the Negro school population was in regular attendance at public schools; while the average length of

the year's term was 98 days. In 1910, the term for the Negro schools was reduced to 90 days.¹ It must be remembered that only an insignificant number of the colored children within the state can secure sufficient education to knock at Tuskegee's door. "The illusion of the near," of the wonderful philanthropy which the North supports, must not blind the nation to the fact that the great majority of the colored children of the South have no education worthy the name, and that without good primary schools they cannot but remain crude, unskilled, poorly paid laborers.

LICENSING DANCE HALLS IN DENVER

Apparently convinced that the attendance of unchaperoned minors at moving-picture shows, public dance halls and skating rinks is in some way related to juvenile crime, the council of the city and county of Denver, Col., last month passed an ordinance regulating these and other places of amusement and creating inspectors of public amusements to help carry the provisions of the law into effect. It is made unlawful to permit any person under eighteen, not accompanied by a parent or natural guardian, to attend public dances after ten o'clock in the evening; it is made unlawful for any such person, with or without a guardian, to attend any dance hall or ball where liquor may be had. Children under sixteen, unless accompanied by a guardian, cannot attend any moving-picture show or place of public amusement after 7 P. M.

Friends of the Juvenile Court in Denver are hopeful that the ordinance will be a material aid in protecting young people from the evils of unguided pleasure-hunting. Beginning October 1 a license must be secured from the Fire and Police Board before a public dance or ball can be held, or before a place can be hired in which to hold classes in dancing. The annual license fee ranges from \$6 to \$30, being graded according to the size of the hall. No license of course is to be issued until it is found that the hall complies with all the or-

¹The Negro Common School, Atlanta University Bulletin, 1912.

dinances, health and fire regulations of the city, is properly ventilated and supplied with sufficient toilet conveniences and "is a safe and proper place for the purpose for which it is to be used." The ordinance makes it a duty of the chief of police or inspector of dance halls to cause

the place, hall or room where any dance or ball is held or given to be vacated whenever any provision of any ordinance with regard to public dances and public balls is being violated, or whenever any indecent act shall be committed, or when any disorder of a gross, violent or vulgar character shall take place therein.

Active duties are laid upon keepers and proprietors. All public halls must be closed by 12:30 A. M., provided, however, that

upon the application of a bona fide and responsible organization or society and upon an investigation and favorable report by one of the inspectors of amusements, the Fire and Police Board or the mayor may grant such organization or society a permit to continue a dance until 2 A. M.; no ticket shall be sold or accepted for admission after the hour of 12 o'clock midnight.

Every keeper or proprietor must keep a written record of the names and addresses of all persons under twenty-one, or apparently under twenty-one, who attend dances given by them or in their halls; they must record also the date of such attendance and name and address of the male escorts accompanying all girls under twenty-one. The inspector of amusements may require that all such persons be made to write their own names and addresses, the penalty for refusal to sign being non-admittance to the hall. The register of names is to be open to the inspector of amusements and to probation and public officers.

All these provisions apply equally to public roller skating rinks.

For the better enforcement of the ordinance and "for the protection of the youth of the city and county of Denver," the position of inspector of public amusements is created. The Fire and Police Board is to appoint two such officers, one man and one woman; the former must be a member of the regular police force. The salary of neither is to exceed \$125 a month, that of the man

received as member of the police force to be credited to the account of his salary as inspector of public amusements.

Any person, persons, society, club or corporation violating any provision of the ordinance may be fined upon conviction not less than \$10 nor more than \$300, or be confined in jail thirty days or less, or both. Any boy or girl under eighteen violating the law is to be dealt with by the Juvenile Court.

EDITORIAL GRIST

UNTO THE THIRD GENERATION

ELIZABETH S. KITE

Field Staff New Jersey Training School for
Backward and Feeble-Minded Children

The investigation of the family history of each of the 400 defectives sheltered in the Vineland Training School, Vineland, N. J., has revealed the lamentable state of ignorance which exists in the minds of even our more enlightened citizens in regard to the symptoms which are characteristic of feeble-mindedness. Society seems unaware that such degenerates should not be allowed to marry, or that where illegitimate unions have been formed the simple performance of the marriage rite before legally authorized functionaries does not in the least protect society from the venom of the race.

A striking instance of this lack of public recognition of defectives came to the notice of the institution in connection with a little girl of seven who was brought to us some fifteen years back.

On investigation it was learned that the child had been born in an almshouse. Her mother, pretty, attractive, had formed an attachment for a man in the neighborhood and the rumor was that they were engaged. Nothing came of it, however, for she was poor and was put to service with a family in a distant city. No one thought of her as feeble-minded; no one thought much about her at all, for her family had sunk so far as scarcely to emerge above the social level. The

sad story of her mother which I shall tell—the grandmother of the girl at Vine-land—had been forgotten, and the busy world went on its way intent upon cares and interests of its own. But it was only a few months before she came back bringing with her the burden of approaching motherhood. Her mother, crushed under her own load of misery, was dying or dead, and the daughter went to the almshouse. Let no one suppose that this was tragic for her. Suffering comes only with intelligence, a sense of shame only with the power to grasp an ideal, and to realize that we have fallen below it. In her case, both conditions were wanting. Like an irrational creature she had followed a blind impulse, and as blindly accepted her fate, understanding nothing, learning nothing from her fall, which in her case was no fall at all.

Previous to these happenings, the respectable community in which they took place had been roused to indignation on learning that her father¹ had been holding criminal intercourse with one of his own daughters. He was a degenerate, and when he had been put in jail the public wrath was satisfied. No one thought of his wife, who, though she belonged to a good family, had lost all social recognition through her unfortunate marriage with this man of unknown ancestry. Feeble in health, weak in will, overworked, and above all broken-hearted, she had not proved the dominant factor in the union. All she could do was to transmit enough of her own gentle, refined nature to her defective children to make them a more dangerous social element than they could otherwise have been. So she sickened and died, and it was in an almshouse that the little grandchild was born with whom we must reckon in the generation now approaching maturity.

At this point the respectable community began to take an interest in the daughter, now a young mother. A

humane though misguided feeling led one of its members to remove the mother and her baby from the almshouse, taking them into her own home. The step at first seemed admirable and was applauded on every side. The young woman was perfectly honest, strong, willing, and trainable in household affairs. There was something about her large, brown, appealing eyes that went to one's heart, while her gentle and unobtrusive ways won the approval of her mistress and the interest of her friends. But this was only for a time. It was not long before a strange look came into her eyes; her manners changed; she was not steady at her post; even her little child ceased to hold her, and she would be off and away no one knew where. The mistress, now deeply interested in the welfare of her charge, sought by every means in her power to bring the young woman back to her former self, but in vain. Failing here, she next sought out the cause of the change and found it in the person of a low, degraded fellow, recognized in the community as half-witted as well as alcoholic, besides being subject to strange drunken fits. Still hoping to save the girl, she attempted further to interfere but received only insults in return. Feeling, rightly enough, that something ought to be done, she decided upon what seemed to her the only alternative, that of forcing the young people to marry. Both were willing to do this, since some one cared to bother with the arrangements which meant nothing to them. Lawyer and minister were promptly summoned and the pair duly recognized as man and wife before the law.

In a little cabin down the road, the already deserted wife brought her second baby into the world. Except for the constant care of her former mistress, mother and child must have perished, for the winter was hard and the husband did nothing towards their support.

But our good woman was not at the end of her resources; she had seen the couple married and she intended to see that the husband took care of his family. After infinite trouble and annoyance, she succeeded in getting the pair

¹ Further investigation showed this degenerate father to be one of a family of twenty brothers and sisters, many of whom had records similar to his. The completed history of this family has recently been put into book form by Dr. H. H. Goddard under the title *The Kalikak Family*.

engaged to work on the land of an unmarried farmer living some distance back in the country and away from any settlement. There it was hoped they would learn to tend to their own affairs and grow into respectability. It was on this farm that a second child was born to the couple, so that the family now numbered three.

But with all our good woman's foresight, with all her honest intentions, she could not have hit upon a more ill-advised scheme. The farmer in question, though himself not of normal intelligence, was good-looking and far superior in every way to the drunken imbecile to whom the girl had been married. More than this, he proved to be the man to whom report had said she had earlier been engaged. So it was not long before another child was to come to the farm, which the husband and the farmer each referred to the other and which both consequently refused to claim.

The situation had become for the third time tragic, and our good woman felt she must again intervene. She more than suspected the farmer's guilt, and was indignant at his attitude. Reflecting on the husband's character and finding that it had always been unfit, she determined to see the pair divorced, and the woman then married to the farmer, who would thus be obliged to undertake her support. The determination was put into execution, though not until the two children born of the first marriage had been placed in a home, the farmer stoutly refusing to provide for them. The mother, however, sought to keep her oldest child with her, though in this she was not successful. Very soon she brought the little illegitimate girl to the woman who had interfered so much in her life, explaining that there would be no peace in the home while the child remained.

It was a really wise move, the one which our good woman next made, that of applying to have the child received into the Vineland institution. It had begun to dawn upon her that the family was not normal, and that special training was needed. In this way the little seven-year-old found entrance to the sphere in which she rightly belonged.

But the mother's story was not yet at an end. Her union this time proved successful. She was satisfied with her husband and he apparently with her. Her defects in housekeeping and personal tidiness did not wear on his dulled intelligence, while he possessed capacity enough to run his farm and provide for his constantly increasing family. Today five strangely interesting, yet strikingly defective, children grace his home. The oldest girl is on the point of being put out to service.

One is appalled at the thought! Will some clean youth be attracted to her (for she is attractive, and only a trained eye could readily detect her deficiency) and so bring disaster upon himself and his home? Or will she sink to the lowest level of her kind, and add to the horror of degradation and crime with which the land abounds? Heaven forbid. Yet one of these fates surely awaits her, while society stands passively by. No one can be brought face to face with a fact so apparent without feeling that something must be done and done at once, if this girl and thousands of similarly defective girls are to be saved from themselves, and society saved from the evils they unwittingly engender.

This is indeed but an isolated case, yet in this girl's family alone, seven other deficient boys and girls are growing on to manhood and womanhood, each having the same tendencies, bearing the same taint; while from the families of her mother's deficient brothers and sisters other children of like grade are advancing swiftly on the selfsame road.

HOME-GOING ITALIANS

VICTOR VON BOROSINI

The present Italian emigration is mostly transoceanic, and has lost to a large extent its former seasonal character. The average proportion of men to women emigrants is 78.5 per cent to 11.5 per cent, the proportion of emigrant families being smallest from south Italy. Seventy-four per cent of the emigrants from northern Italy return to their native villages, while the South sees again only 41 per cent of those who leave. The proportion of returning women is

smaller than of men. Of the native Italians who return to Sicily, Campagna, Abruzzi, Latium, and Apulia, from 75 to 90 per cent come from the United States. As three-fourths of the men are between sixteen and forty-five years of age, their most productive period, the total loss Italy suffers by emigration is not very large.

The death rate among Italian emigrants is not known, but is probably, on account of bad working and housing conditions, higher than at home. Most Italians remain in the United States from two to five years, the northern Italians not staying as long as their southern compatriots, in all probability because as skilled and better educated laborers they immediately command higher wages in the New World, and work steadily, while the illiterate southerner works at low wages and is often unemployed during the winter.

Returning emigrants are in much improved economic circumstances, their average savings being from \$250 to \$1,000. This money is placed in postal savings or co-operative banks until it is used to buy land, cattle, and machinery, or for building. The increasing demand of the returning emigrant has raised land values, especially in the South, where land jobbers and large proprietors make immense profits by dividing estates and selling plots to the land-hungry crowd.

Emigrants returning from small American communities show more markedly than those from large cities the influence of decent surroundings in their standard of living. One lesson they all take home is the knowledge of how great a handicap is illiteracy in the struggle for existence. Hence, they favor strongly obligatory instruction for their children, and co-operate willingly to extend the system. With their wider experience their political interest increases, and frequently they try to introduce into public life methods of American politics—not a wholly desirable importation.

North Italians tend to become more tolerant toward other churches and more indifferent toward their own, while even five years in the United States fails to eradicate the superstitions of the south-

erner. The latter do, however, become not infrequently adherents of radical ideas, such as Socialism and Syndicalism, already current among the North Italians before emigration.

Criminal statistics reveal a curious phenomenon. As a consequence of better economic conditions crimes against property decrease, while those against persons and propriety increase, the men having adopted the dangerous habit of carrying pistols and drinking heavily.

One reason for these crimes is immorality caused by the long-continued separation of husbands and wives who part at a period when sexual instincts are strong. Frequently the husband, emigrating soon after marriage, leaves a robust, young, and pregnant wife in the care of parents or relatives. He does not lead a chaste life, but demands absolute faithfulness from her. But women in Italy have the same inborn tendencies as men—they are not satisfied with the regularly arriving money order. As a consequence illegitimate children, child murder and abortion are increasing alarmingly as are acts of vengeance committed by wronged husbands. While abroad men often acquire venereal diseases, and after their home coming they infect the whole family. The mother country is much concerned in the physical condition of returning emigrants. Statistics are incomplete, as many return on lines which do not report to the government, and besides only a small percentage comes under medical care on board. Sometimes appalling illnesses are neglected, because the men do not know that the Italian law makes special provisions for free treatment on board. Though some leave the ships' hospital improved, in 1909 over 1,500 were landed in a serious condition. Chronic tuberculosis and venereal diseases are acquired in the United States, while from Latin America emigrants bring trachoma and hookworm.

Each year the consuls send back a number of invalids who are no longer of use to the country, which exploited their labor power to the utmost. The most desperate of these cases are treated in the marine hospitals of Palermo, Naples, and Genoa. Their capacity is

not, however, sufficient for all cases and many patients are sent to their homes in out-of-the-way places, where there is great lack of physicians, hospitals, and general hygienic provisions, and where, in their ignorance, they become a dangerous source of infection to the whole community. Italy proposes to increase her hospital sanatorium service, and to teach therein the elements of hygiene and sanitation. She plans also to inaugurate an information service by which the authorities at home can be warned of the impending arrival of a diseased citizen and told of the proper steps to be taken for the protection of others.

THE TREND OF THINGS

CUSTOMER—

Merchant, merchant, tell to me
Where these goods are made for thee,
I don't know, but I'll go see.

MERCHANT—

Jobber, jobber, tell to me
Where these goods are made for thee,
I don't know, but I'll go see.

JOBBER—

Factory, factory, tell to me
Where these goods are made for thee,
I don't know, but I'll go see.

FACTORY—

Contractor, contractor, tell to me
Where these goods are made for thee,
I don't know, but I'll go see.

CONTRACTOR—

Homeworkers, homeworkers, tell to me
How these goods are made by thee,
By the children,—can't you see?
ELIZABETH WATSON.

These verses show in a nut-shell the shifted responsibility that makes home work flourish in the tenements of New York and other congested cities—show, to the minds of most social workers and investigators, the need of legislation, not to regulate but to abolish it.

* * *

The *Saturday Critic*, a Pittsburgh weekly, makes use of its covers to quote from the writers of the world showing that the problems of other places and other people are equally the problems of America and of Pittsburgh. The French dramatist Brieux in *Damaged Goods* makes what can readily be turned, in terms of America, into a plea for a federal bureau of health. In this plan the doctor is demonstrating to Loches, the legislator, three of his neglected social responsibilities—alco-

holism, tuberculosis, and disease. "Take tuberculosis," he says. "Everyone knows that the real remedy is to pay sufficient wages and have insanitary workmen's dwellings knocked down. But no one will do it, although the working class is the most useful we have as well as the worst rewarded. Instead workmen are recommended not to spit. Admirable, isn't it? Finally, disease. Why do you not concern yourself with that? You create offices of state for all sorts of things, why do you not one day set about creating an office of public health?"

* * *

A couple of years ago when the Illinois Manufacturers' Association was attacking the ten-hour law for women, the company which brought suit with the backing of the association contended in its brief that a woman employe could not earn a living unless she worked more than ten hours a day. The contention proved a boomerang, shocking people everywhere into realizing how low the standards of pay were in that industry. The incident was recalled by *La Follette's* in reviewing the last debates on the Children's Bureau bill. Senator Overman of North Carolina expressed the fear that such a bureau would be the means of publishing disagreeable and scandalous information similar to that contained in the recent report of the federal bureau of labor on conditions of work of women and children. "I want to say," said Senator Overman, "that some of the reports were so obscene that it would be indictable to send them through the mails, but that part was suppressed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor at my instigation." To quote *La Follette's*:

Upon whose authority he thus censored a government report, Overman did not say.

But it quickly appeared that he was not alone in this; there are other self-constituted suppressors of "scandalous" information in government reports.

Gallinger said: "I recall the fact, if the senator will permit me, that under a former administration there was what I regarded as an unauthorized commission appointed, called the Homes Commission. The manuscript from that commission *chanced to drift into my hand*—I have forgotten just why—and I blue-pencilled two chapters in that report, which certainly ought not to have been put in the hands of any child in this country, although it dealt with the diseases of children. The rest of it was published, I believe."

It is unfortunate that Gallinger has "forgotten just why" that manuscript "chanced to drift" into his hand. It would surely be an interesting and illuminating bit of information for the public. It would also be interesting to know, as in the case of Overman, upon whose authority Gallinger "blue-pencilled two chapters" in that report, without protest or without interference.

Borah had an answer to Overman and Gallinger. He said:

"There may be things in those reports that senators ought not to read, and I hope they will not, if they ought not to read them. *But the fact remains that a vast amount of the facts were based*

upon real investigations and brought forth a number of things which were startling to the country. I do not know whether there are things in them that are untrue or not, but I know from investigations of my own, which have resulted since I took charge of this measure (the Children's Bureau bill), a great many of those things reported to be true are true.

"And if they are true, Mr. President, there is certainly nothing that we need to know more concerning than the condition, environment, and circumstances under which the children are growing up to manhood and womanhood."

Like the Illinois manufacturer's attack upon the ten-hour law for women, the assault of Overman and Gallinger upon the child labor report and the report of the Homes Commission, serve only to throw into a clearer light the conditions that called forth the reports.

However shocking were those chapters that were stricken out of the reports by Overman and Gallinger, they surely were no more shocking than the fact that such conditions exist in this country. Would the senators say that the bare account of a terrible evil is more scandalous than the evil itself? No one, not even a grown man, ought to read revolting literature, but no one, and especially a grown man, ought to hide his head ostrich-like from conditions that are revolting. An evil must be seen to be attacked.

The senators might find an answer to the La Follette query in a little book written by one of the foremost publicists of his generation—Charles A. Dana of the *New York Sun*, who in *The Making of a Newspaper* set a clean-cut standard of responsibility for those at the sources of information to bring out all the facts.

* * *

Texas has a Bohemian population of more than 50,000, Leroy Hodges tells us in the *Texas Magazine*.

These people "are engaged principally in agricultural pursuits, scattered through eighty of her counties. More than 60 per cent of them own their property, and over 50 per cent of that number have their holdings free of debt. The majority of these people entered Texas without sufficient money to purchase land at first, and have won their present prosperity by thrift and hard work.

"Together with the Germans, the Bohemian farmers have given Texas her great agricultural industries and have been largely responsible for her rapid development. . . .

"Socially, the Bohemians in these colonies are perhaps on a lower level than the Germans, but as farmers they exemplify the qualities of industry, intelligence and perseverance that have been commonly and properly associated with the German land owners. They are quick to utilize improvements in machinery and methods of agriculture, and their progress to the economic and social level of the native farmers is much more rapid than the advancement of the other Slav races in the Southwest."

It is not only Young Men's Christian Associations and organizations of social workers who recognize the need of social life and recreation on the farm. In the *Rural New Yorker* two farmers tell how they made playgrounds on their farms.

Says one, after describing with what enthusiasm his boys worked with him in building up his farm:

"One of the main reasons why my boys loved the farm life and home so well that they never wanted any of the dissipations that are demoralizing, and which the young people on the farm engage in because there is nothing that satisfies their natural love for play and recreation, was that I spent \$30 to build a playground where they could play baseball, tennis or croquet, and I played with them. I have stopped work right in haying time to play with the boys and then we all worked better for the change."

The other describes the mingled work and play of making the playground. Says he: "The writer has tried to give much of his own experience in trying to make the farm the best place in the world for two children, and he wants to say that making a playground not only for the children but for the whole family is not expensive on the farm, for there are all the farm tools at hand with which to do the work, the plow, harrow, and roller. You have some fairly level piece of land not too far from the house, perhaps 100 or 200 feet long and half as wide, that you can spare. When the early crops are in, the boy would like to fit it up for a playground. Because interested yourself and telling them how first to plow it nicely, harrow it finely, then with a shovel or garden rake fill the deepest hollows, and remove the stones on the surface, the boys will enjoy doing the work."

COMMUNICATIONS

THE PLEDGE FOR DRUNKARDS

TO THE EDITOR:

I think it will be of interest to the readers of your magazine to know of the wonderful success which has attended the actual operation in the English courts of justice of what is known as the "Pollard plan."

This method of enforcing a total abstinence pledge upon drunkards as an alternative to fine or imprisonment has now been in operation five years. After two years' working, the British parliament appointed a government departmental committee to enquire as to whether or not this method had met with the success which had been claimed for it. The answers of the witnesses were most gratifying.

Judge Wallace, K. C. Chairman of the London Sessions, said: "The condition of abstinence makes the whole difference to the man," while Cecil Chapman, London police magistrate, said: "I think the condition of absti-

nence for probationers a most valuable one," and when asked by the committee if he inserted the abstinence condition in the probation order, he replied: "Wherever drink is the cause of the offense, I always do."

A probation officer attached to another court in speaking highly of the good results said: "The worst case I have had was a young man charged with stealing a bicycle. Drink had been at the bottom of his failure all along. He was an outcast from his father's home. He was bound over by the magistrate not to enter a public house or to drink. He has completed his term now. He has a nice little sum in the bank and has a good situation. When I last saw him he was full of gratitude to the magistrate who had given him the opportunity, but he also said one of the things that helped him most was that he dared not go into a public house because he was afraid a policeman would see him."

Judge Wallace recently said: "I am convinced that there is a gradual diminution of crime throughout London, a most gratifying diminution of crime, which I attribute very largely to the new method adopted in dealing with our prisoners."

It is important to note with reference to Judge Wallace that in every probation order issued by him in a drink-caused case the words are inserted "that the offender shall abstain from intoxicating drink and also from frequenting public houses."

Magistrates and judges have come to recognize the necessity not only of restraining a probationer from drink, but also of restraining him from going to places where drink is sold. Professor Green has said:

"Once a man has broken the law and been arrested, society has not only the right, but a duty, and that is to do anything that may be necessary to prevent the individual from again breaking the law," whilst John Stewart Mill in his essay on Liberty said: "As soon as any person's conduct affects prejudicially the interests of others, society has jurisdiction over it."

The probation officer of the Manchester police court (where 260 pledges were taken in one year), wrote me that she had met with great success as the result of this method. She speaks of one case of a married woman with one little girl. The mother had given way to drink and was sent to a reformatory for three years. On her return, she found another woman installed there with two children and learned that her little girl had been burned to death. The poor creature took refuge in drink again, and was locked up. Next morning she confided in the probation officer, who told the magistrate, and he put her under probation for twelve months. She took the pledge, kept it absolutely, got work in a laundry, and was kept from thinking of the past by the influence of the probation officer. The woman says that had she been sent to prison again she would have drunk herself to death as soon as possible.

Edward Smith, J. P., gave a supper re-

cently at the Temperance Hall, Dudley, to a large number of men under probation on pledge. He told the story of one man's rescue by means of the court pledge as follows:

"The man appeared in the dock in a terrible plight, shivering with cold, clad in two garments, an old coat and a pair of trousers. The charge was 'drunk and disorderly.' 'Gentlemen,' said the prisoner, in a pleading tone, 'give me the benefit of this new law. I have never had the chance.' After consultation the magistrates agreed to put him on probation. The chief of the police then produced the great recording book showing the debit account of this man. He had no less than seventy-two convictions. The magistrates further consulted.

"This act was never made for a man like this," urged one magistrate, while another replied:

"This court has tried seventy-two times to cure this man without success. Why not grant his plea and give him the benefit of the new act?"

"They agreed to do so, and the sequel is a splendid justification for the 'Pollard plan,' for this man got work, furnished a home, took his wife out of the workhouse, and has become a sober, God-fearing citizen."

These cases could be multiplied.

It is a great tribute to the American people that the beneficent reform which is having such far-reaching effects should have been initiated by an American police judge.

Judge Pollard has compelled the attention of criminologists and sociologists throughout the world by a method which after all is really so simple and so obvious, that one wonders why no other judicial authority had ever previously thought it worthy of attention.

I have only today received a letter from Dr. Otto Bauer of Germany in which he says that three German governments have now adopted the "Pollard plan." This is remarkable when one remembers that it is only six years ago since Judge Pollard gave his first lecture in England, since which time his method has been embodied into the statute law of Great Britain, Victoria (Australia), three provinces of Germany, and New South Wales, and is under consideration by other governments.

Governments and judicial authorities are at last realizing that Judge Pollard was right when he said: "It is much better to reform than to punish the drunken offender." The drunkard needs sympathy, encouragement, and help rather than punishment on his first appearance in a police court. He is not an ordinary criminal. His offence is often accidental. A thief sets out to steal, but a drunkard seldom sets out to get drunk, but simply succumbs to a legalized system which makes it easy for him to get drunk. If any offender therefore is entitled to any special consideration, it is the drunken offender.

The precise moment to attempt his reform is when his habit has brought him within the power of the law, and the abstinence condi-

tion will do this more effectively than any other method. Once drink has brought a man into court, the court should make total abstinence for at least one year a condition of probation in lieu of the maximum punishment.

WALTER EAST.

Leicester, England.

JOTTINGS

NEW CHARTER FOR LOS ANGELES

The new city charter for Los Angeles, which is to be submitted to the voters this fall, embodies several unique features which the experts who attended the convention of the National Municipal League in that city declare to be in some respects the best yet devised.

Under the terms of this charter the city is given the broadest grant of powers for the taking over and running of municipal enterprises of any city in the world. It provides that Los Angeles may acquire and run any kind of business, precisely like an individual firm or corporation. The charter specifically mentions that the city may operate stadiums, theatres, public forums, fountains, dairies, creameries, milk stations, butter and cheese factories, banks, savings depositories, pawn shops, loan agencies, bureaus of funeral supplies, bake shops and department stores.

Perhaps influenced by the example of Kansas City, Los Angeles plans to have a separate Department of Public Welfare. Los Angeles will be the first municipality to have a public defender. This official will be paid by the city to defend poor persons charged with crime and to render legal aid to the needy in certain civil matters.

Special effort is being made to make the regulations governing the selection of civil service employees effective without being pedantic and narrow. The Civil Service Commission together with the comptroller will constitute an efficiency bureau charged with maintaining the records of efficiency of individual employees. Promotions will be largely governed by these records.

The charter, which will be brief, is to be supplemented by an administrative code which may be changed by the vote of the people while the provisions of the charter can not be altered without consent of the legislature.

TECHNICAL PAPERS ON MINE SAFETY

The Bureau of Mines, now in its second year, has already brought out a substantial number of practical and technical publications on the subject of safety in mines. Technical Papers 11, 13, 18, 19 and 21 relate respectively to means of detecting carbon monoxide, gas analysis as an aid in fighting mine fires, the care of explosives, and safety in electrical mine installations. Bulletin 10

is on permissible explosives, and six circulars for the use of miners instruct them in safety precautions and methods of resuscitation. The bureau has recently issued preliminary tables of mine accidents during the last eighteen months.

POINTERS ON SAFETY

W. F. Houk, commissioner of labor of Minnesota, has issued a series of short and effective safety bulletins. Those at present available are a general safety bulletin, Forty Pregnant Pointers on Safety—from the proceedings of the state conference on safety in 1911—a bulletin showing what some industrial corporations are doing for accident prevention and outlining a general plan for workmen's committees on safety, and the proceedings of the last Minnesota Industrial Safety Conference (1912).

FIRE WATER AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Prof. Irving Fisher's statement of the sale of intoxicating liquors, made at a recent congressional hearing, has been published as a pamphlet and may be obtained of the author at New Haven, Conn. Testifying as president of the Committee of One Hundred on National Health, Professor Fisher has assembled in a few pages the striking aspects of the relation of alcohol to health, crime and the social evil in a way that will make it useful to social workers.

CALENDAR OF CONFERENCES

OCTOBER CONFERENCES

CHARITIES, Massachusetts State Conference of. Haverhill, Mass., Oct. 23-25. Sec'y., Parker B. Field, 279 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, Canadian Conference of. Montreal, Quebec, Can., Oct. 9-12. Joint Secretaries, Rufus D. Smith, 70 Mance St., Montreal and F. M. Nicholson, Parliament Building, Toronto, Ontario, Can.

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, Illinois State Conference of. Springfield, Ill., Oct. 19-22. Sec'y., A. L. Bowen, Springfield, Ill.

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, Indiana State Conference of. Logansport, Ind., Oct. 12-15. President, Emma Lee Elam, 1320 Park Ave., Indianapolis.

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, Maine State Conference of. Saco, Me., Oct. 28-30. President, E. P. Wentworth, New Castle.

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, Pennsylvania State Conference of. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Oct. 29-31. Sec'y., William B. Buck, Charities Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.

CHILD WELFARE EXHIBITION, First Canadian, Montreal, Oct. 8-22. Sec'y., Anna Louise Strong, Monument National, Montreal.

CONSERVATION CONGRESS, National. Indianapolis, Ind., Oct. 1-2. Sec'y., Thomas R. Shipp, Indianapolis, Ind.

FARM WOMEN, First International Congress of. Lethbridge, Alberta, Oct. 21-25. Sec'y-Treas., Eleanor L. Burns, Lethbridge, Alberta.

FIRE EXPOSITION, and International Conference of Fire Prevention, Protection and Extinguishment. Madison Square Garden, New York City, Oct. 2-12.

INFANT MORTALITY, American Association for Study and Prevention of. Cleveland, O., Oct. 2-5. Exec.-Sec'y., Gertrude B. Knipp, Medical and Chirurgical Faculty Bldg., 1211 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.

NO-LICENSE LEAGUE, Massachusetts. Boston, Oct. 29. Sec'y., Robert H. Magwood, 310 Equitable Bldg., Boston.

PELLAGRA, National Association for the Study of. Columbia, S. C., Oct. 3-4. Information may be secured from Dr. J. W. Babcock, Columbia, S. C.

LATER MEETINGS

BLIND, Fourth Triennial International Conference on the. London, England, 1914; probably July 20. Sec'y., Henry Stainsby, 206, Great Portland St., London, W.

CHILDREN'S WELFARE, International Congress for. Amsterdam, Netherlands, 1914. President, Dr. Treub, Huygenstraat 106, Amsterdam.

PRISON CONGRESS, Quinquennial. London, Eng., 1915. Sec'y., F. Simon Van der Aa, Groningen, Holland.

RELIEF, Committee on Public and Private. London, Eng., 1915. Sec'y., Charles S. Loch, Charity Organization Society, London, Eng.

UNEMPLOYMENT, International Association for Fight Against. Ghent, Belgium, 1913. American Corres. Officer, John B. Andrews, 1 Madison Ave., New York.

NATIONAL

COSMOPOLITAN CLUBS, Association of. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, December, 1912. Sec'y., Louis P. Lochner, 612 S. Brearly St., Madison, Wis.

LABOR LEGISLATION, American Association for. Sixth Annual Meeting of. Boston, December, 1912. Sec'y., John B. Andrews, 1 Madison Ave., New York.

MUNICIPAL IMPROVEMENTS, American Society of. Dallas, Texas, Nov. 12-16. Sec'y., A. Prescott Folwell, 50 Union Square, New York.

PRISON ASSOCIATION, American. Baltimore, Md. Nov. 14-19. Sec'y., Joseph Byers, 13 Central Ave., Newark.

RED CROSS, The American. Washington, D. C., December. Sec'y., Charles L. Magee, Washington, D. C.

STATE AND LOCAL

BAPTIST CONVENTION, NORTHERN, Detroit, Mich., May, 1913. Cor.-Sec'y., Rev. W. C. Bittling, St. Louis, Mo.

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, Iowa State Conference of. Cedar Rapids. Nov. 17-19. Gen'l. Sec'y.-Treas., J. L. Gillin, Iowa City.

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, New York State Conference of. Syracuse. Nov. 19-21. Sec'y., Wm. J. Doherty, 105 E. 22d St., New York.

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EXPERIENCES OF A WELFARE WORKER. The story of what a woman welfare worker could and what she could not do to secure justice for women factory workers at the hands of their employers.

TRUE STORIES OF WAGE EARNERS. *By Sarah R. Parks.* Clean-cut bits of experience from the lives of working girls, simply and compellingly told by a member of the Women's Trade Union League.

MASSACHUSETTS AND THE MINIMUM WAGE. *By Elizabeth G. Evans.* A discussion of the new law, the investigation on which it was based and the results it is expected to accomplish. Mrs. Evans was a member of the State Commission which made the investigation and secured the passage of the law.

THE INCENTIVE TO MOTHERHOOD. *By Leonora O'Reilly.* The answer to the statement of a New York State Senator that the vote would destroy the incentive to motherhood, by the brilliant young organizer of the Women's Trade Union League.

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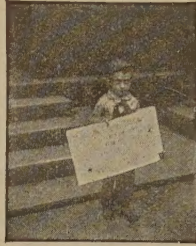
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